

TYC CONFERENCE ABSTRACTS

Note from the organisers: this document contains all the abstracts we have received. Not all abstracts are present, because in some cases, an entire panel has been accepted and a detailed abstract for each speaker was not always available. In the time available, we have formatted this table in the simplest possible way. Speakers are listed in order of the surnames; by clicking on this name in the table of contents, you can navigate to the abstracts.

We have endeavoured to list the speakers primary affiliation where this is available. This has not been possible in all cases; however in these cases, the affiliation is fully listed in the panel descriptions which you will find in the main table, and in the paper, if provided.

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UNDERSTANDING THE PAINS OF A SAPPED GENERATION: AFRICAN YOUTHS AND THE ENDURING LEGACIES OF THE STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMMES (SAPS)

Abstract: As thousands of African migrants, mostly young able bodied men and women, continuously brave the odds in their bid to migrate to Europe and other parts of the world in search of better social and economic opportunities, the failures of more than three decades of neoliberal economic reforms on the continent continues to be a major push factor of new migrants. Not even the dangers involved in attempting to cross the Mediterranean Sea, a Sea that has so far claimed several thousands of lives in the past five months alone, serves as a discouraging factor for the increasing numbers of young people willing to risk everything in order to get to the shores of Europe. At the same time, for some of their peers who remain on the continent, their socio-economic realities is a major motivating reason to extreme measures, including joining terrorists' organizations like AQIM, Al Shabab and Boko Haram, as a means of overcoming the challenges of everyday life. At the same time, the eviscerating opportunities and seemingly endless defenestration of hope for a better future under the current socio-economic circumstances remain grim in many countries. This is despite the valiant efforts of youth led movements such as the Arab springs events of 2011 and 2012, and the resistance of many young people to dictatorships in countries like Burkina Faso and Burundi in recent times, representing evidence of the resolve of young Africans to take their own destinies into their hands. This paper traces the well-spring of some of the current socio-economic circumstances, especially as they relate to high rates of youth unemployment and absence of quality social security systems in many countries to the structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) implemented during the 1980s and 1990s in Africa. In particular, using a political economy approach, the paper argues that to understand some of the current pains of young Africans, a critical analysis and appraisal of SAPs, their failures and enduring legacies of SAPs, are necessary. Hence, the paper maintains that for generations of young Africans born since the 1980s, the current pains being experienced are not unconnected to the vagaries of neoliberal capitalism's ill-conceived reforms. To overcome some of the problems associated with the present neoliberal capitalist order on the continent, the paper argues for socially democratic and developmental states.

TANWEER AKRAM (VOYA INVESTMENT MANAGEMENT)

JAPAN'S LIQUIDITY TRAP

Abstract: Japan has experienced low growth and either low inflation or deflation for more than two decades. Nominal short-term interest rates have been close to zero, and nominal long-term interest rates, as measured by the yields of Japanese government bonds, have been also been extremely low for many years, while the Bank of Japan's monetary policy has been extremely accommodative. Japan appears to be caught in a liquidity trap which is defined as a condition where accommodative monetary policy, characterized by low nominal interest rates and elevated balance sheet of the central bank, is insufficient to revive economic growth and prosperity. This paper examines the case of Japan in light of different strands in the theoretical literature on liquidity trap. Firstly, it points out that the notion of liquidity trap is incompatible with the classical view and Say's Law. Secondly, it revisits John Maynard Keynes's original analysis of liquidity trap. Thirdly, it discusses the recent literature on liquidity trap in modern mainstream macroeconomics, including the works of Bernanke, Krugman, Eggertsson, Woodford, and others. Fourthly, it presents a Keynesian analysis of liquidity trap. It is argued that the insights from a Keynesian perspective are relevant both for understanding Japan's liquidity trap and for providing alternative strategies for renewing economic growth and prosperity in Japan and other advanced economies experiencing similar conditions.

SABAH ALNASSERI (YORK UNIVERSITY)

IMPERIALISM AND STATE VIOLENCE

Abstract: In times of multiple crisis, to generalize and present wars, conflicts and violence in religious and cultural terms is to apologetically cover up what essentially is a class conflict, above all among fractions of the ruling class and their political representatives, and to create an image of senseless violence. This class scenario cries for a security state, order and monopolization of violence, i.e. the making of a class state. The constitution, coherence and homogeneity of any ruling class is not pre-given, rather it necessitates a project of political hegemony within the power block which is established, reproduced and guaranteed by the state, absence of which conflicts among fractions of the ruling class permeate all societal levels to the extent that the state apparatus itself becomes an instrument, mean and object of the conflicts rather than its purveyors and mean of pacification. The *intersection* of imperialist wars, violent claims for hegemony among regional contenders, and domestic struggle over political power assumes inevitably fractured-particular forms: religion, race and ethnicity. Thus, not the latter are the cause of violence; rather the former is the reason why the latter are violently manufactured and set in motion. In the absence of emancipatory alternatives, religion, race and ethnicities are mutated to ideological centrifuges.

ROGER ANNIS, INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR AND JOURNALIST

CLASS AND NATION IN UKRAINE

Abstract: The war in Ukraine and the 100-year history of independent Ukraine are replete with conflicting and opposing interpretations. According to the 'monist' Ukrainian nationalism (Richard Sakwa) that has been on the rise for the past ten years, Ukraine's past and present history is defined by conflict with its Russian neighbour. Today's military conflict in eastern Ukraine is a war of national defense by a country aspiring to something called "European values" against a tyrannical Russian government if not nation. An opposing interpretation presented in this paper looks at the multilingual and multinational character of Ukraine as well as the dismal economic performance of the country's new economic elite which arose following Ukraine's second independence in 1990-91. The paper seeks interpretations of contemporary Ukrainian nationhood and nationalism in that context. If Russia is not an aggressor in Ukraine, what, exactly, are its interests there, and how have these shaped its role in the tumultuous events of the past two years? Concerning Crimea, Russia's critics accuse it of "annexation", but a large majority of the people who live on the peninsula express a different viewpoint and welcome the political change of March 2014. One hundred years ago, the fates of Russia and Ukraine were inextricably bound in a revolutionary uprising against World War One and the tyrannical rule of the Romanov monarchy. Are their respective fates still bound?

HÜLYA ARIK (YORK UNIVERSITY)

THE REVIVAL OF ISLAMIC VISUAL ARTSCAPES: A COMPARATIVE APPROACH TO ISLAMIC ART AND IDENTITIES IN TURKEY AND CANADA

Abstract: What is "Islamic" art? What counts as "traditional" and in which tradition of Islam? These are essential and age-old questions (Talbot Rice 1965, Grabar 1973) that are now being revisited along with the global rise of Islamist politics and 'fundamentalisms'. Transnationally, we witness a flourishing of Islamic/traditional visual arts which host various debates on the contours of "Islamic" history and aesthetics by artists and curators whose identities are constantly and differentially redefined based on each socio-political context. In Istanbul, Turkey, Islamic visual arts emerge as a crucial cultural component of Islamic revivalism. The new Islamic middle or upper-middle classes contribute to the production and consumption of "Islamic/traditional" arts to revive the aesthetic and ethical values, as well as histories, forlorn under Western hegemony since the beginning of the Turkish

republic. An increasing number of practitioners, mainly women, make calligraphies (*hat*) of Quranic verses or Hadiths (the reports of teachings, deeds and sayings of Prophet Mohammed) and then decorate them with the non-figurative ornaments of Islamic illumination (*tezhip*), or with Ottoman miniature (*minyatür*). In Toronto, Canada, such cultural production and consumption takes place within Muslim diasporas who constantly negotiate their identities in response to Islamophobia and racism that impinge upon them as minority groups. In this context, cultural centers, such as the newly opened Aga Khan Museum of Islamic Arts, constitute counter hegemonic cultural spaces where Islamic identities consume and produce art in tune with various forms of Islamic traditions. These spaces at the same time play a key role in creating moderate and liberal forms of political and cultural articulations of Islamic artistic traditions in responding to an atmosphere of fear that surround Islamist “radicalization”. In my presentation, I will reflect on the differentiated articulations of “Islamicness” in cultural productions of Islamic visual arts and explore how Islamic visual art constitutes a productive field where debates take place over the limits and standards of following a particular tradition of Islam, as well as the possibilities of breaking away from it. I will base my analysis on preliminary research in Istanbul Islamic Design Center and Toronto Museum of Islamic Arts which host variety of workshops and classes for practice of various forms of Islamic art and also exhibitions and galleries where artists, instructors, curators, directors, gallery owners and patrons of art interact. This way I aim to open up new discussion platforms for transnational understanding Islamic identities both in Muslim majority and diasporic contexts.

JAMES COELHO ARRUDA (YORK UNIVERSITY)

PRESENTATION OF A WORK-IN-PROGRESS

Abstract: The purpose of this presentation is to start a critical discussion about the colonial aspects within the economics discipline in Canada. In other words, can economics be decolonized, or at least be subjected to an anti-colonial or anti-oppression perspective? As a work-in-progress, this project requires an early critical orientation from other scholars and researchers. The economics discipline is definitely a **social construction**. Just as many other sciences, it was constructed by a small group of **individuals with certain privileges**. Hence, it becomes interesting to understand for whom and what society it was constructed for, and for whom it was not. For instance, **feminist economics** has challenged this androcentric academic body by re-centering gendered inequities into the analysis. Although the recent wave of feminism (and antiracism) has encouraged intersectionality in its analysis, it is still in the early steps of critically engaging colonialism, let alone settler-colonialism (Tuck et al., 2012, and Dua et al., 2005). The **ecological economics** movement has also confronted neoclassical economics by reforming important pillars – scale, distribution and efficiency – and redirecting the attention of economists to the biosphere. However, this North American academic development has not fully embedded itself in its political context, namely settlercolonialism on Turtle Island. My focus examines the oppressive and colonial aspects of (neoclassical and ecological) economics. This approach then studies the capitalist market as a colonial tool, which has oppressed, and still oppresses, Indigenous people in Canada. Hence, this implication disorients the neoclassical and neoliberal trajectory of economics.

ARINDAM BANERJEE (AMBEDKAR UNIVERSITY DELHI)

UNDERSTANDING CONTEMPORARY GEO-POLITICS THROUGH THE LENS OF FOOD SECURITY: A POLITICAL ECONOMY ANALYSIS

Abstract: In human history, food security has been a primordial aspect in the evolution of geo-politics. It cannot be overlooked that the severe food crisis in Europe, which coincided with the crisis of feudalism (12-14c) gave birth to the phenomenon of colonialism and subsequently to capitalism in the World. The urge to cross the seas in search

of 'New Resources' and the phenomenal European success in colonizing 'New Lands', decisively solved the problem of hunger and associated harsh winters in Europe. The complex interactions, since the 16th century, between colonialism, commercialization and subsequent industrialization, and the international division of labour altered the balance of economic power and consolidated food security in Europe so overwhelmingly that the latter question is often overshadowed by conflicts over currency domination, extractive resources or military-industrial complexes in the geo-political discourse.

The relationship between geo-political economy and food security, however, remained too obvious. At the moment of de-colonization in the 20th century, food sufficiency and battles against famines (an authentic legacy of colonialism from Ireland to India) featured among the central policy discourse of newly-independent countries in the South (Davis, 2001). National food policies, decoupling from the global economy and often within a socialist framework, were introduced and experimented within ex-colonies. The post WW-II period also witnessed the corporatization and restructuring of food systems in the North, often aided by US food-aid Imperialism (Freidman and McMichael, 1989). The economic interests of Transnational Food Corporations (TNFCs) remained in conflict with the food-self-sufficiency approach adopted by many developing countries.

The advent of Neo-liberalism and structural adjustment policies, following the 70s crisis, gave rise to a new geopolitics of food, attempting to resolve that conflict between TNFCs and national food policies. This brought back the complexities of global food system, that characterized 18-19th century colonial capitalism, but within an altered geo-political economy. Relocation of production to emerging economies and incorporation of local capital and elites in developing countries into global capital are some of the new paradigms that emerged with neo-liberalism (Desai, 2014). Financialization and commodity speculation or environmental concerns and agro-fuels are new processes that significantly influence global food situations, though unevenly across regions (Ghosh, 2010; Patnaik, 2005; Banerjee, 2011). The contemporary persistent global food crisis presents the opportunity to understand the longer food crisis since mid-eighties within the new geo-political economy.

This paper undertakes a historical cross-country, cross-region analysis of food production and consumption for the period after WW-II. Using an economic class analysis of food consumption (Yotopoulos, 1985), it attempts to reconstruct and comprehend the contemporary political economy of food systems. The paper maps historical processes like decolonization, rise of TNFCs and different crises and regimes of capitalism in order to explain the diverse spatio-temporal dynamics of food security.

STEPHEN BARTON

This abstract is unavailable because the contribution is a part of a panel.

KAUSIK KUMAR BHADRA (NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC FINANCE AND POLICY)

INEQUALITY EFFECTS OF FISCAL POLICY: ANALYSING THE GENDER DISAGGREGATED BENEFIT INCIDENCE ON HEALTH SECTOR, INDIA

Abstract: Analysing inequality effect of fiscal policy is a rare area of research. Using the unit record data of recent National Sample Survey rounds on health, the paper analyses the benefit incidence of public health spending, categorised by region, gender and economic class. Morbidity (in-patient service delivery) data among quintile-wise monthly per capita expenditure classes (MPCE) across three Indian states – Bihar, West Bengal and Kerala - are examined to decipher whether the benefit incidence of public spending is pro-poor. The concentration curves and polarisation and odds ratios for the three states have revealed significant regional and gender differentials in access and utilisation of health services at sub-national levels of government of India. In relatively poor states like

Bihar and West Bengal, despite all price and non-price constraints, the poor quintiles seek treatment to public health sector for their ailments. However, Bihar shows a plausibility of not only significant regional differential but also significant gender differential where female are worse off than male. Such gender and regional gaps have appeared comparatively less for West Bengal. The instance of Kerala from the analysis of benefit incidence indicates that even if benefit incidence accrues to the poorer section, utilisation of it depends on the non-price factors and choices by “voting with their feet”. The result on behavioural access of public and private to in-patient health care validates such indication. The co-existence of private and public service provisioning in health sector may be one of the reasons for this behavioural ‘exit’ in Kerala, however it is equally interesting to note the ‘voice’ elements when the targeting of public spending reveals more pro-rich. However, given the low level of public health spending (in both per capita and as percent to GSDP terms), the region-wise composition of public health spending differs across these states and lower in rural as compared to urban area. Moreover, if the composition of public spending is not properly framed on the basis of requirements for greater coverage and failed to target the poorer segment the incidence of benefit may not bear the fruit, no matters whether it is pro-poor.

RAVI BHANDARI (SAINT MARY’S COLLEGE)

THE TITLE OF THIS PAPER IS UNAVAILABLE

Abstract: The Millenium Development Goals (2004) has identified the eradication of poverty as a leading global priority. Given the primarily agricultural character of developing countries (where the majority of the world’s poor reside), land reform has resurfaced as a core policy to reach this goal. The policy has two major aims: to increase land tenure security in order to encourage investment in intensive farming, and to eliminate slash-and-burn agriculture to protect the environment in countries facing pressing environmental and political problems where poverty and agricultural stagnation are the norm. State intervention is once again being called upon to intervene in the land market, however, this time it is to deregulate the operation of land markets rather than impose regulations. The state is assumed to take the form of land allocation, a process which combines the protection of some areas of village land with the formal recognition of private ownership in authorized farming areas.

The continued widespread and continued support of land reforms as a highly progressive policy to root out the twin evils of inequality and inefficiency, contradicts the historical experience of the majority of land reforms in the Third World in the 1950’s-2010 (with notable exceptions--South Korea, Japan, Taiwan, and China), which worsened the welfare of the intended beneficiaries, the poor tenant-cum-borrower.

This paper challenges the established orthodoxy and belief system in development economics and social science in general where individual, formal, and private ownership of land (with associated rights), regardless of its size or physical and structural limitations, is generally assumed to be more efficient than the alternative and diverse “pre-capitalist” social and contractual arrangements that persist and prevail in developing country agriculture. By exclusively holding the English system of capitalist farming as the ideal model in each approach, land reform proponents ignore the unique history of developing countries and a history of colonization, which has given rise to the very institutions that are to be transformed (institutions that are inevitably held constant in pre- and post- land reform analysis), and the wider social economic context. Land reform has historically always been entangled with Western notions of universalism, progress, and historical inevitability.

This paper traces this large-scale failure on three separate and related levels: a failure within neoclassical theory to justify an attack on the sovereign rights of property, a new historical analysis of Nepal’s historic and comprehensive Land Reforms of 1964 pointing out the limitations and unforeseen consequences of past state-led land reforms, from a historical analysis of Nepal, the necessary but not sufficient macroeconomic conditions for successful land reform. I conclude based on this theoretical and historical analysis of both state- and proposed

market led-land reforms In Nepal, that without a radical change in the external imbalances and macroeconomic conditions, even the best and most well intended progressive land policies are doomed to failure and will unintentionally result in further division among the rural poor, such divisions they can ill afford.

Of course, the political dimension will not be ignored since land reform in Nepal today is motivated by the communists as much as the “stakeholders” to pacify the current Maoist “insurgency” (People’s War). The communists rightly argue for a radical redistribution based on a wider economic system move from predatory capitalism to one of socialism, without which anything less than a full-blown out redistribution will be counterproductive.

M. BHUIYAN

This abstract is unavailable because the contribution is a part of a panel.

GREGORY BLUE

This abstract is unavailable because the contribution is a part of a panel.

AMINA BOUTOUIZERA, (IREA - UNIVERSITÉ DE BRETAGNE-SUD)

CONTINUITÉ ET RUPTURES DANS LA PENSÉE ÉCONOMIQUE, KEYNES ET AU-DELÀ LA MONNAIE
DANS LA PENSÉE DE J.M. KEYNES

Résumé: Aujourd’hui, la monnaie trouve difficilement une place dans la description du monde que nous fournit la théorie économique dominante. Sa présentation suit deux courants complètement opposés : le premier repose sur la théorie quantitative de la monnaie et le second est défendu par les non quantitativistes. Il paraît difficile de concilier les deux courants. Pour la plupart, ceux qui se réfèrent à la conception quantitativiste, la monnaie est exogène et ne participe pas directement à la formation des grandeurs et variables économiques. Pour d’autres, moins nombreux, la monnaie jouerait au contraire un rôle important dans le fonctionnement de nos économies modernes.

Le noyau fondamental des interprétations courantes de la monnaie est constitué dans le cadre individualiste d’équilibre général ; il s’agit d’une approche « dichotomique » qui consiste à déterminer d’abord les caractéristiques de l’économie réelle, basée sur une théorie de la valeur, ou des prix relatifs dans une économie de troc, pour lui associer ensuite la monnaie.

Aujourd’hui, il paraît nécessaire de reprendre et de poursuivre la démarche engagée par J. M. Keynes (1933) et de développer une théorie monétaire de la production. Il s’agit donc de comprendre le rôle « actif » de la monnaie et la manière dont elle entre en relation avec les biens et services produits. Dans le *Collected Writing XIII*, Keynes a posé clairement le caractère problématique du cadre théorique de l’économie d’échange, en proposant celui de l’économie monétaire de production pour le dépasser. L’auteur distingue entre l’économie coopérative et neutre ou « Real exchange economy » caractérisée par le salaire réel, l’égalité du produit et de la demande globale, la permanence du plein emploi et l’économie d’entrepreneur ou « Monetary economy », dans laquelle sont présents, la monnaie « active », le salaire monétaire, le revenu et l’emploi variables.

Cet article se propose de montrer la dimension macroéconomique de la monnaie et de la production mises en avant principalement par Keynes à travers le concept d’économie monétaire de production.

KATHLEEN BUDDLE (UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA)

THE INTER-NATIONAL ROOTS OF THE INDIGENOUS NATIONALIST MOVEMENT IN CANADA

Abstract: By the turn of the 20th century, Aboriginal peoples in Canada had been pushed to the margins of every conceivable Canadian domain. They were secluded on remote reserves and subjected to a totalizing regulatory regime. In addition to managing other aspects of everyday life, colonial legislation prohibited the pursuit of Indigenous political and economic practices and Indigenous participation in Canadian affairs, while ensuring that settler commerce would be unfairly subsidized. The effect was to render Indigenous economies non-competitive and Indigenous polities impotent.

Enlisting for service in the World Wars provided segments of the Indigenous population with a temporary escape from the degenerating social and material conditions that colonial government policies produced on reserves. While abroad, Aboriginal soldiers developed a consciousness of the common and systematic means by which Indigenous peoples from Canada were subjugated at home. Many of the returning veterans resolved to politically mobilize a national “Indianness,” (as opposed to Creeness, for example), toward particular strategic ends. The articulation of this oppositional discourse signaled the beginnings of the intertribal or “pan-Indian” movement. The Canadian public, moreover, when provided with images of communist and Nazi villains against which to measure the virtues of liberal democracy (and Canadian identity), became increasingly interested in these formerly vilified Indigenous compatriots.

Indigenous political organizers use the mainstream newspapers and Indigenous media to de-emphasize regional and socio-historical particularities, along with cultural, gender, age and class distinctions in and between tribal groups in order to promote the interests of a nation-wide Aboriginal citizenry. Ultimately, this nascent nationalism found its expression in the creation of the first national Aboriginal organization in Canada - The League of Indians. The League employed the English language and the common elements of an Aboriginal identity in the pursuit of explicit political objectives – namely, Aboriginal political and civil rights. This paper examines some of the reasons this collectivizing project would ultimately fail at this historical moment, drawing attention to the divergent interests that were produced by the uneven governing strategies of the Indian Department and to the particularized experiences of diversely articulated Aboriginal reserve communities.

ROBERT CHERNOMAS

THIS ABSTRACT IS UNAVAILABLE BECAUSE THE CONTRIBUTION IS A PART OF A PANEL.

SHOKO CHUMA (KOKUGAKUIN UNIVERSITY)

CONTEMPORARY SIGNIFICANCE OF UNEQUAL EXCHANGE OF LABOUR

Abstract: Dependency Theory and the theory of world-system, that developed during 1960s and 70s, explained expanding economic disparities between the North and the South as an inevitable consequence of unequal exchanges of labour, which had continuously existed throughout both the colonial era and the post-colonial era under the Bretton Woods system. This view offered, on the one hand, a theoretical basis for supporters of the so-called Third World. On the other, it was exposed to severe criticism against its static nature of theory which is not able to explain the dynamics of newly emerging economies.

For sure, some developing economies, such as Asian NIEs: South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore, and BRICs: Brazil, Russia, India and China, have performed a high growth rate. These economies, however, involve vast economic disparities between urban and rural areas, which provide sources of cheap labour making the international unequal exchange possible. Further, labour conditions for manual workers in developed countries have been also deteriorated due to the severe competition with industries of developing economies. In case of

Japan, poor conditions of labour spread broadly beyond manufacturing industries via deflationary pressure during 1990s to 2000s, while multinational manufacturing corporations increased direct investment to developing countries and gained vast profits from such unequal exchanges. Thus, international unequal exchanges of labour themselves have induced multilayered global structures of economic disparities including both developing and advanced economies.

Starting from re-examination of the theory of unequal exchange of labour, we need to reconstruct the theory into an effective tool to explain such internationally and domestically expanding disparities in the contemporary global economy. In this paper, I would like to work on such a topic by clarifying concrete mechanism of unequal exchange of labour, taking examples from Japan-China relationship in economic trade and direct investment.

NATHAN CLARKE (MINNESOTA STATE UNIVERSITY MOORHEAD)

POLITICAL ECOLOGY AT THE END OF A GLOBAL COMMODITY CHAIN: THE ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS OF THE FISHMEAL INDUSTRY IN CHIMBOTE, PERU, 1955-2000

Abstract: I study the intersections of nature and politics at the end of a global commodity chain. Peru led the global 'blue revolution' after World War II by fishing almost exclusively for two small pelagic species, the anchoveta (*Engraulis ringens*) and the pilchard (*Sardinops sagax*) to produce fishmeal, a high-protein animal feed additive for nearly exclusive export to the First and Second Worlds. By the late 1960s, fishmeal had replaced copper as the nation's top foreign exchange earner and, given Peru's seemingly unending aquatic bounty, had unlimited growth potential. The governments of the 1950s and 1960s had limited effective interaction with the industry, which rebuffed most attempts at regulation. The Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces, however, had a more meaningful impact on the industry.

I use archival research and oral histories to examine the environmental management of the fishing industry during the Peruvian Revolution. From 1968 to 1980, a progressive, nationalist segment of the Peruvian military assumed control and led a frontal assault on the oligarchy that had controlled Peru since the conquest. The military government created the Ministry of Fisheries and took over the international sale of fishmeal. The industrialists and government maintained a close relationship, a stark difference from its interactions with other sectors of the economy. Nature disrupted this close relationship.

The anchoveta stocks, under relentless assault for nearly two decades, disappeared during the El Niño phenomenon of 1972-3. Boats returned to port empty, pushing the industry toward bankruptcy, and throwing nearly thirty thousand people out of work. In response to the crisis, in May 1973, the military government expropriated the entire fishmeal industry, bailing out industrialists and forming a national fishing company, PescaPerú, with the stroke of a pen. The expropriation and creation of PescaPerú represents both the military government's most revolutionary moment, the creation of the world's largest fishing company, as well as its most foolish, as it now had to carry the debt burden of the three-dozen heavily indebted companies it took over. Furthermore, I show how this moment marks a turning point for the regime: its violent repression of striking fishermen in May 1973 shifted the perception of the military government, bringing it closer to the murderous regimes of its neighbors than ever before. Finally, the military government's (mis)management of the fishing industry allows for interrogation of environmental authoritarianism.

RADHIKA DESAI, (UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA)

KEYNES'S JOURNEY FROM SUPPORTER TO CRITIC OF THE GOLD STANDARD

Abstract: This paper traces Keynes' transformation from being a supporter of the gold standard at the beginning of this career to an opponent by the time he went to Bretton Woods. It argues that this transformation – from *Indian Currency and Finance* (1913), which was a paean to the gold standard's wonders, to his proposals for a multilaterally created currency, *bancor*, which was designed to eliminate gold from international payments for good – occurred at the intersection of a fact and a development. The fact was Keynes' deep involvement – whether from within or outside Whitehall – with British economic policy-making at its highest levels. The development was Britain's declining international position. She had begun losing competitiveness in the late 19th century and, by the early 20th century, it was becoming increasingly certain that she would lose her empire, which had increasingly cushioned Britain from the consequences of this competitive decline. This article argues that Keynes' opposition to the gold standard occurred in tandem with Britain's transformation from an imperial power into a national economy, one which was, moreover, increasingly under competitive pressure. This argument has critical implications for the increasing discussion for the future of international money in the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis as well as for our understanding of Keynes' critique of the monetary role of gold.

BRONWYN DOBCHUK-LAND (UNIVERSITY OF WINNIPEG)

GOOD INTENTIONS, BAD RESULTS? THE SETTLER COLONIAL DYNAMICS OF CRIME PREVENTION POLICY IN MANITOBA

Abstract: In the Western Canadian Province of Manitoba, Indigenous peoples make up 76% of the incarcerated population, and that number is on the rise. In recent years, the Province of Manitoba has emphasized its commitment to crime prevention as a response to this crisis. They have increased funding for community-based crime prevention programming, and moved responsibility for crime prevention policy out of the Department of Justice to a new dedicated ministry, the Children and Youth Opportunities Department. However, at the same time they have worked hard to appear “tough-on-crime” by pursuing unprecedented increases in policing, incarceration, and punitive legislation. In this paper, I draw on interviews with bureaucrats, policy-makers, and politicians involved in designing Justice and Crime Prevention policy in order to trace the logic by which they have justified increases in carceral infrastructure.

I argue that settler colonialism is the particular racial formation through which crime prevention comes to be understood as complementary to increased policing and incarceration. I find that policy-makers construct crime in Indigenous communities as part of a legacy of settler colonial harm in the past, and fail to acknowledge how policing and incarceration are experienced as settler colonial violence in the present. This temporal logic is the condition under which non-Indigenous people in power understand themselves as people who can and should intervene in the lives of Indigenous people. In this context, crime prevention policy does not stem the tide of Indigenous incarceration. Instead, it contributes to justifications for increased state-led intervention in Indigenous communities, including policing and incarceration.

MATHIEU DUFOUR (CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK) PRESENTING TOGETHER WITH ELLEN RUSSELL, (WILFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY)

WORKER BARGAINING POWER IN A MULTIPOLAR CONTEXT: THE CANADIAN EXPERIENCE OF STAGNATING WAGES

Abstract: Neoliberalism justificatory discourse promised a “rising tide that lifts all boats”, yet decades of stagnating wages and rising inequality demonstrates that neoliberal capitalism does not deliver on its promise. In many national and sub-national jurisdictions, real wages fail to reflect productivity growth, particularly for the most vulnerable workers. We argue that many public policies ostensibly designed to enhance productivity and thereby

lift wages have the opposite effect: these public policies create an overall labour market environment that erodes worker bargaining power and thereby reduce most workers' capacity to benefit from any "rising tide".

Our analysis focuses on several Canadian neoliberal public policies justified as increasing productivity and thus wages (International trade agreements, reforms to Employment Insurance, minimum wage regulation, changes impacting union membership and anti- inflationary monetary policy). We find that these public policies have exacerbated the inability of workers to secure the fruits of productivity growth.

In a multipolar context, the Canadian experience is instructive. Neoliberal public policies evolve unevenly across multiple national and sub-national jurisdiction, depending on a host of factors related to the differing institutional contexts, the specificities of business agendas, the state of worker resistance and other considerations. In some contexts, a confluence of circumstances enable workers to resist certain neoliberal initiatives. Yet this uneven evolution in neoliberal public policies shaping worker bargaining power itself contributes to the dynamic we analyze. As workers in one jurisdiction succeed or fail in resisting neoliberal imperatives, this shapes the situation facing workers elsewhere.

In this context, national or subnational setbacks in workers' agendas can become generalized. Neoliberal pro-productivity policies are often explicitly framed as being necessary to support business confidence to secure investment, jobs and so on. Workers who succumb to neoliberal pressures in one jurisdiction increase the pressure on workers elsewhere to acquiesce lest businesses gravitate to the most business-friendly environment.

RYAN DUPLASSIE

This abstract is unavailable because the contribution is a part of a panel.

EMILY EATON (UNIVERSITY OF REGINA)

BEYOND SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC AND NEOLIBERAL MOMENTS OF COLONIAL EXTRACTION IN SASKATCHEWAN: A CASE FOR RENEWABLE, RECIPROCAL AND ANTI-COLONIAL ECONOMIES

Abstract: Across Canada extractive economies are being challenged by alliances between environmentalists, Indigenous land defenders and settlers. Such movements are mounting serious challenges to a renewed period of extractivism that is driven by heightened global demand for resources and that is facilitated by projects of environmental de-regulation. In this paper I examine the history of extraction in Saskatchewan and compare two periods of environmental policy and regulation of oil -- the largely social democratic era from 1944-1982 and the neoliberal period from 1982- present. The former period was characterized by limited efforts at nationalization and the introduction of environmental assessment meant to minimize the impacts of extraction and garner public input into and consent for development. The latter period is marked by the active retreat of the provincial state from regulation and a movement toward industry self-regulation dubbed 'regulation by declaration'. During this neoliberal period the Saskatchewan state has increasingly conceptualized its role not as an active regulator, but as providing the right investment climate through financial incentives for industry. While the first period is often characterized as socially and environmentally progressive, I argue that the two periods share a productivist developmental program that is thoroughly colonial in nature. I conclude by turning to contemporary Indigenous thought and movements opposing extractivism to argue for modes of production that are renewable, reciprocal and anti-colonial. The paper is based largely on secondary literature about the history of environmental regulation and extraction in Saskatchewan and is supplemented by government documents as well as interviews conducted with environmental policy makers and regulators. It is further informed by a community-engaged research practice

that fosters conversation and alliance building between Indigenous land defenders and settlers impacted by resource extraction in Saskatchewan.

MOHAMED ELMI, (INFORMATION SYSTEMS) (UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN)

INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGIES AND THE STABILIZATION OF A FAILED STATE: THE CASE OF SOMALIA

Abstract: Somalia is an enigma in the international state system. The country has been embroiled in civil war and has had no effective, functional state apparatus for the last twenty years. Somalia has been divided between differing traditional factions, an internationally backed Federal Government, militants inspired by trans-national ideology, and secessionist regions of Puntland and Somaliland. The FG, which is considered weak and ineffectual, controls only a fraction of the entire country. As a result, the term 'failed state' is often applied to Somalia. For a state to formally function, the ability to legitimize its authority over a territory should be unquestioned, with its citizens pledging allegiance to that state, and clear recognition by other states. However, in Somalia, the governance shortfalls have left a void which has attracted a cadre of legal and illegal organizations to insert themselves into the resulting vacuum. Despite this chaotic and violent political system Somalia has been able to foster a vibrant ICTs (Information and Communications Technologies) sector, comparable to that of its far more stable and wealthy East African neighbours. Consequently, the objective of this study is to examine how information and Communication Technologies are utilized within communities that lack defined, legitimate, failed (or failing) a state apparatus. Thus, the guiding research question for this paper is: What organizational and societal structures have enabled Somalia to create an environment that fostered ICT industry? Consequently, the purpose of this study is to examine how information and Communication Technologies are utilized within communities that lack defined, legitimate, failed (or failing) state apparatus.

LYNNE FERNANDEZ

This abstract is unavailable because the contribution is a part of a panel.

BRADLEY FIDLER, (UCLA COMPUTER SCIENCE DEPARTMENT)

TOWARD A GEOPOLITICAL ECONOMY OF INTERNET INFRASTRUCTURE

Abstract: This talk is part of an ongoing effort to develop a geopolitical economy of Internet infrastructure. In doing so I link key technical and institutional design decisions of the Internet during the 1970s and 1980s with the geopolitical interests of the US Department of Defense, key defense contractors, and the engineering practices and philosophies engendered in part by these institutions. In this portion of my study I focus on Internet routers: the devices that inter-link networks, and groups of networks, to provide the inter-networking capability that is the foundation of the modern Internet. By linking their design and function to the broader geopolitical economy noted above, we can begin to understand these technologies not just in terms of general social forces, but a more specific conceptualization of the international order.

Routers (formerly called gateways) emerged out of research conducted by the US Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) in its early efforts to connect the dissimilar packet-switched military networks (ARPANET, PRNET, SATNET) that it was funding during the 1970s (Fidler & Currie 2015). As the general technological principle underlying these networks, packet switching, was demonstrated as reliable and survivable, the US DoD undertook an effort to modernize and extend its communication infrastructure based on these technologies (Hinden et al. 1983). As such, routers moved from early tactical experiments to a technology that was developed for large-scale

international infrastructure, connecting military assets (and later, civilian resources) across the world. The contemporary network architecture of autonomous systems – networks of networks with unique routing and other policies, run by single organizations, and linked to other networks of networks (Rekhter 2005) – is an outcome of functional requirements and design decisions made in this context.

This study has two functions. One, it clarifies efforts to locate the “origins” or “purpose” of our modern Internet infrastructure by Internet historiography (Abbate 2000, Russell 2014), by linking specific, core technologies to specific, contextualized goals of the US Department of Defense. Two, it begins a discussion in which Internet functions and technologies can be understood in terms of post-war geopolitical economy (Desai 2013).

ANDREW M. FISCHER (INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES (ISS))

RETHINKING THE DIALECTIC OF DEVELOPMENTALISM AND DEPENDENCY WITHIN THE EVOLUTION OF HIERARCHICAL MULTI-POLARITY

Abstract: With the revival of interest in developmentalism – often termed as neo-developmentalism – and the consolidating literature on the developmental state, a contrast is often made between developmentalism and dependency as two antonyms, or as opposing outcomes of different development trajectories followed in the post-war period of the twentieth century. Accordingly, national developmentalism is posed as the solution to dependency, requiring various degrees of delinking. Indeed, one weakness in the current developmental state literature is the degree of tautology used to define developmentalism, whereby the characteristics of ex-post success are used to identify developmental states and define developmentalism, and then these characteristics are used as a litmus test with which to judge the extent or effectiveness of developmentalism in other contexts. However, this binary view obscures the main point that emerged out of earlier analyses of dependency in Latin America, which explored the interdependence rather than antithesis of developmentalism and dependency, to the extent that scholars such as Cardoso or Evans explicitly tied these two terms together in their respective examinations of the right-wing developmentalism of the Brazilian military regime.

This paper proposes a framework for integrating a holistic understanding of the interdependency of these two fundamental aspects of contemporary development by examining the manner in which developmentalism has always engendered a structural dependency on foreign finance, which has played out in quite distinct systemic patterns in different geopolitical regions. This interdependency of developmentalism and dependency continues to be played out today, whether in the recent resource driven growth cycle of Africa or Latin America, or else in the more crucial case of state-led industrialisation in China, and continues to be crucial for understanding the constraints facing contemporary development in the global South. This perspective is then used to reflect on contemporary multi-polarity, with the suggestion that, insofar as multi-polarity is emerging with the success of certain so-called ‘rising powers’ (China most notably), it needs to be conceived in terms of a hierarchical multi-polarity given the continuing peripheral characteristics of these rising Southern powers.

ALAN FREEMAN, (GEOPOLITICAL ECONOMY RESEARCH GROUP (GERG))

COMBINED DEVELOPMENT, SCIENTIFIC AND CREATIVE LABOUR, AND THE MODERN DEVELOPMENTAL STATE

Abstract: This paper, based on the author’s work (Freeman 2015) on creative labour, seeks to deepen our understanding of the role of the state in the introduction of new technologies by comparing previous booms with current East Asian growth.

A growing mass of empirical evidence shows that purely mechanical revolutions in productivity can no longer drive the radical socio-economic transformations associated with previous periods of accelerated capitalist growth, such as the industrial revolution, 1848-1871, 1890-1914 or the postwar boom of 1942-68.

When 80-85% of the labour of the advanced countries is service labour, major transformational technical advances can only take place in services. In consumption sectors this means design and aesthetic content; in production sectors the generalised application of scientific labour and science-based products to process innovation.

In the advanced economies the creative industries have shown growth rates vastly in excess of the remainder of the economy (DCMS 2015). In the past 15 years, the world centre of growth has begun passing to China and also Korea and Singapore which are emerging as new centres of growth of high-end products. This success arises from conscious policies adopted by the states of these countries which set out to prioritise growth in these sectors as early as 1995.

This success contradicts conventional developmental wisdoms: it does not conform to the Washington Consensus which explicitly proposes developing countries should specialise in resources and labour, nor to Dependence strategies such as import substitution. It is instead a striking confirmation of the principle of Combined Development, in a new technological and geopolitical context.

It conflicts with other developmental experiences notably Russia, where a modestly successful IT sector has not given rise to a general process of development. The paper will explore some of the explanations for this difference, focussing on the concept of 'National Systems of Innovation' (Freeman, C. 1995) and the concept of human development as a driver of growth.

MARA FRIDELL (UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA)

THE INDISPENSIBLE SOCIALIST BACKBONE V. PATRIMONIAL CAPITALISM

Abstract: This paper engages the insights of Kalecki on capital's incentives, Meidner & Rehn on labor markets and finance strategy, Keynes on the socialization of investment & rentier euthenasia, Picketty on social wealth and patrimonial capitalism, Wood on the origins of capitalism, and Harvey and Marx on 'So-called Primitive Accumulation' to advance a political-sociology approach to internationalist, social democratic and alternative economic mobilization and polity strategies, in the context of an historical and adaptive conceptualization of capitalism.

MARK GABBERT (UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA)

THIS ABSTRACT IS UNAVAILABLE BECAUSE THE CONTRIBUTION IS A PART OF A PANEL.

JAMES GACEK (UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA)

CARCERAL SPACES AND INDIGENOUS MASCULINITY: NARRATIVES FROM FORMER INMATES

Abstract: This research derives from my Master's thesis project, in which the themes of spatiality, masculinity, impression management and inmate identity construction were examined. Specifically, in this presentation I highlight one theme that arose from that work, particularly the impact of carceral spaces on Indigenous masculinity. Drawing on Foucault's (1995) and Wacquant's (2010b, 2010c) perspectives of the prison, as well as Moran and colleagues' (2013) conception of carceral space, I examine through former inmate narratives how (hyper)masculinity was formed, how masculinity can incorporate Indigenous culture (McKegney 2014) and if—and

how—emotions were managed in prison (Crewe 2004; Crewe et al. 2014). Furthermore, by conducting semi-structured qualitative interviews with 10 former inmates that have been incarcerated in Manitoba, my findings suggest that not only do inmates enact hypermasculine behaviours to masquerade their ontological selves from others, but that such identity constructions within prison become irrelevant upon release. Caught within what Wacquant (2010b) refers to as the ‘carceral continuum,’ Indigenous inmates oscillate between the carceral edifice and the inner city, inhabiting carceral spaces that further marginalize them. In effect, these men’s chances of desisting from crime and fully reintegrating back into the community are considerably reduced. I seek to outline how the Indigenous men in my research group conceptualized ‘manhood,’ and what their experiences of community reintegration revealed about their struggles and social supports in the community. A focus on the relationship between spaces and emotions enriches sociological and criminological studies, while at the same time, it engages in novel conceptualizations about the plausibility of Indigenous peoples reintegrating into the community, and the extent to which restorative justice can assist in future inmate re-entry frameworks. In effect, my findings indicate that emphasizing *restoration* over reintegration empowers Indigenous men to connect to their community through Indigenous culture and teachings, while concomitantly empowering the community to reconceptualise former inmates as assets rather than as liabilities.

MASON GAFFNEY

This abstract is unavailable because the contribution is a part of a panel.

CARLOS E. GALLEGOS-ANDA, (CONSULTANT FOR UNDP AND VARIOUS OTHER GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS IN ECUADOR)

DEVELOPMENT IN ECUADOR: THE BIFURCATION OF MODERNITY AND *GOOD LIVING*

Abstract: Ecuador’s 2008 Constitution enshrined a development model that sought to guide state policy through the aspirational materialisation of *good living* (Buen Vivir). This novel constitutional precept epitomised the triumphs of indigenous as well as other grass roots social movements, through the tangible assertion of collective rights, environmental sustainability and intergenerational responsibility. All of which were to be clustered in an economic development model set out to achieve *organised, sustainable and dynamic groups of economic, political, socio-cultural and environmental systems which underpin the achievement of the good way of living.*

To transcend the idealisation of modernity in development will require an epistemological leap that configures economic development as a mere means towards *the good way of living*. In doing so the consolidation of human rights through the constitutionality block will be imperative in order to consolidate an enforceable principle that can give way to a hybrid legal system where the institutions and legal structures inherited from the West meets the constitutional aspirations of the rest.

ANA SAGGIORO GARCIA (PACS) (FEDERAL RURAL UNIVERSITY OF RIO DE JANEIRO)

STRIKES, BREAD RIOTS AND BLOCKADES: MOZAMBICAN WORKERS AND COMMUNITIES IN RESISTANCE

Abstract: The industrial proletariat, mass political parties and national liberation movements that led struggles for social justice and transformation in the 20th century are not, today, in the forefront. Patterns of discontent and protest are changing. There is a generalized distrust of politicians and electoral processes and the media. A student fee increase (Quebec) or a rise in the cost of urban transport (Brazil) or demolition of a park (Turkey) can quickly conflagrate into a mass protest, linking readily with other sources of discontent to prompt thousands to the

streets. These grassroots actions, whether urban or rural, are often driven by local issues and by ordinary people fed up with exploitation and social exclusion. These protest actions are often emblematic of deeper yearnings and alternatives - more citizen participation and protagonism, more compassionate societies, more robust democracies and wiser stewardship of the planet.

While Mozambique is not a country noted for its protest movements, citizens do revolt against the austerity measures of their now neoliberal government, and periodically bring thousands to the streets in bread riots. The land grabs associated with agro-industry and the new extractive sector generate frequent protests. Many of them have been triggered by the new investments from BRICS multinationals. The messages from Brazil's Vale and India's Jindal of South-South solidarity are quickly unmasked by their aggressive practices both in workplaces and surrounding communities. While Mozambican union leaders are silent and/or side with management, workers carry out wildcat strikes for a living wage, basic respect, parity with foreign workers and workplace safety. The communities dispossessed of their land and livelihoods to make way for the open pits are resettled but then left without land or water or compensation payments. They revert to blockading the railway line carrying coal to the port for export.

This paper will explore the forms of resistance in 21st century Mozambique with particular attention to the question of whether investments in the mining sector financed and implemented by companies from Brazil, India and South Africa, point to any new forms of "south-south development partnerships" qualitatively different from the old imperial investment models.

KEELIN GRIFFIN

THIS ABSTRACT IS UNAVAILABLE BECAUSE THE CONTRIBUTION IS A PART OF A PANEL.

JULIE GUARD (UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA) PRESENTING TOGETHER WITH MERCEDES STEEDMAN, (LAURENTIAN UNIVERSITY)

THE RISE OF BRICS AND CHANCES FOR AN ALLIANCE FROM BELOW

Abstract: Since the financial crisis in 2008, the relative economic decline of the United States, Europe and Japan has been often linked to the rise of an 'emerging' bloc comprising Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS). For many, they represent a challenge "from the South" to Western powers. New financial institutions (such as the BRICS Development Bank and the Asian Infrastructure Bank) would appear as alternatives and instruments for a more democratized global economic architecture. Yet, despite obvious tensions between the U.S. and the Europe with Russia, and sometimes with China, the underlying BRICS project has much in common with the Western *status quo*, especially concerning the stabilisation of the financial world, growing trade and in stabilising multilateral governance. BRICS' economies are based on (and promote abroad) extractive industries and major infrastructure projects with great environment and social impacts. In other words, the rise of BRICS occurs in the context of the expansion and deepening of capitalism, and not against it. This article aims to give a critical view on the rise of BRICS, exploring its contradictions. Considering the various stances taken towards BRICS using a class analysis, we will discern some rough ideological positions, namely 'BRICS from above', 'BRICS from the middle' and 'brics from below'. We argue that, even though 'BRICS from below' is still a lose term, it helps identifying collective experiences of resistance and struggles (within and outside of the BRICS countries), as those against big infrastructure and extractive projects involving multinationals originated in the BRICS. The coalition of "People Affected by Vale" (the Brazilian mining giant) can be a concrete example of this.

TED GWARTNEY

This abstract is unavailable because the contribution is a part of a panel.

JAMES HANDY

This abstract is unavailable because the contribution is a part of a panel.

PATRICIA HARMS

This abstract is unavailable because the contribution is a part of a panel.

CRAIG K. HARRIS (MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY)

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF THE GEOPOLITICS OF SEAFOOD

Abstract: As we look back on the past 100 years in the seafood sector, we can see clearly the dialectical tension between the drive for increased international governance of the sector with the aim of sustainability, and the drive for increased accumulation of wealth from activities in the sector.

Prelude – The Imperial Period

Fish was one of the foods that motivated the imperial project – cod from North America to Europe, European fleets off the coast of west Africa, Russian activities in the North Pacific. The technology of the times largely limited the harvest to species that could be salted and/or dried.

Act One – The Thirty Years Crisis

Exploitation of fisheries increased in waters away from military activities (e.g., South Atlantic, Indian Ocean). Technological development (e.g., on board freezing and cold storage, synthetic fibers for nets) also continued despite the wars and the Depression. These two developments created the conditions that enabled fisheries to take off in Act Two.

Act Two – The Bipolar World

Each pole develops the fisheries in its sphere of influence (the West in South America and India and North Africa and the west coast of Africa, the East in the western North Pacific and southeast Asia and Cuba). The two poles both try to develop the fisheries in contested zones (the east coast of Africa, the Middle East, and the North Pacific).

Entr'acte – “The American Decades”

The roughly two decades between the mid-1970s and the mid-1990s constitute a period when the U.S. is arguably the dominant world power. The period is marked by the dominance of neoliberal policies in the U.S. and western Europe and in international agencies (e.g., the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund). But the period is also marked by the negotiation of a major international agreement on access to fisheries (UNCLOS -- the United Nations Convention On the Law of the Sea), and the beginnings of international agreements on fishing technologies on the high seas (e.g., drift nets) and on the regulation of fishing (illegal/unregistered/unlicensed boats). The period is also marked by the increasing power and effectiveness of harvesting technology, and by the rapid increase in aquacultural production stimulated largely by the U.S. in Latin America and southeast Asia.

Act Three – The Multipolar World

The past two decades have seen increasing confrontation over fisheries between China and Japan in the North Pacific, between Russia and other countries in the Black Sea, and between Russia and Canada and the U.S. in the

Arctic. Russia is seeking to expand its North Pacific fisheries beyond sustainable limits. The African coastal states are insisting on renegotiating terms of access for European and Chinese fishing fleets. At the same time, these developments and confrontations take place in a strongly internationalist context structured by the World Trade Organization, UNCLOS, and other fisheries agreements.

Finale – The Future

The geopolitics of seafood will continue to be driven in part by (1) the political economies of nation states at different levels of development, and by (2) the accumulationist imperatives of large transnational producing, processing, marketing and financing corporations. But these dynamics are now joined by (3) a global movement for sustainable production and consumption, and (4) local movements for seafood sovereignty. Fisheries are mostly associated with food, either directly (for human consumption) or indirectly (e.g., poultry and aquaculture feed). Despite its luxury manifestations (caviar, bluefin tuna), the function of fish and seafood is largely (5) to provide upscale diets for the emerging and expanding middle class in the BRICS and other developing countries, and healthier diets for consumers in Europe and North America. The interaction of these five dynamics will determine the geopolitics of seafood in the decades ahead.

GORDON HOLMES (MONGOLIA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY (MIU))

THE TITLE OF THIS PAPER IS UNAVAILABLE

Abstract: Political economy at the beginning of the twentieth century was a diverse discipline that accommodated a wide range of approaches. Canadian universities included representatives of all schools of economic thought, but the historical approach to political economy was prominent in all departments from the 1880s to the 1950s. The first two Chairs of Toronto's department of political economy were British scholars who contributed to European economic history and together they planted their method in Canada's largest faculty. Academics at Queen's acquired national prominence for their historical writings prior to World War I.

In the 1920s, Harold began Innis careers by creating his *staples thesis* to understand the colonial economy of British North America. My dissertation (completed in 2013) situated Innis' writings as a major contribution to the once-prominent field of imperial political economy. British Imperial history was an important discipline of inquiry in the interwar period throughout today's Commonwealth. My paper re-examines the writing of Innis and his followers that I call the Toronto School of political economy. These scholars Canada's economic past as a chapter in the broader understanding of Britain's imperial history.

Members of the Toronto School employed an interdisciplinary approach that examined the role of imperial institutions in British North America. Its members were the first generation of Red Tories whose conservative political economy stood in intellectual opposition to Canada's hegemonic liberalism. The perspective of the Toronto School was firmly established in 1950 but virtually disappeared by the late 1960s in universities with graduate programs. Orthodox economist, and even economic historians, abandoned the approach of the 'old' Canadian political economy.

One of the legacies of the old political economy was the construction of historical data sets that are rarely used in contemporary studies. The collection of historical data related to staples activity waned as the focus shifted to the construction of national accounts. My research continues the tradition of the Toronto School with its emphasis on the long-term evolution of economic societies within the current boundaries of Canada. My research paper will briefly present a new series of trade flows for the whole of British North America from 1829 to 1960. The insights that I uncover will be of interest to social scientists and those in the human sciences. Economic historians will now have a continuous series of meaningful trade statistics to facilitate future research. Now, they can evaluate the

long-run evolution of the structure, behaviour and performance of Canada's international economy from a simple colonial society to the modern era.

The first section of my paper for the conference will focus on these implications of these geographical trade flows for Canada's geo-political economy. These trade statistics enable me to test basic assertions of Canada's old political economy. It will also provide the basis for the second half of my research paper that parallels a central theme of your conference. I will present a comprehensive profile of Canada's international economy as it transitioned from an imperial relationship with the UK in the pre-World War I era to one dominated by the USA in the 1950s. Participants of the conference will be the first to view this radical transformation and how Canada moved away from a British orientation to one centred around the American economy.

IAN HUDSON

THIS ABSTRACT IS UNAVAILABLE BECAUSE THE CONTRIBUTION IS A PART OF A PANEL.

MAKOTO ITOH, (UNIVERSITY OF TOKYO)

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF DISPARITIES RE-EXPANDED – COMMENTS ON *CAPITAL IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY*

Abstract: Beginning with a brief summary of Thomas Piketty's *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, this paper comments on its significance and problems to be followed up from a Marxian perspective. Piketty clearly brought us back to a central issue in long history of political economy on economic disparities concerning distribution of wealth and income within capitalist economies. His statistical data work on the ratios (β) of capital stock to national income, and resultant trends of the ratios α of capital income in the national income is especially noteworthy. It demonstrates that in the interwar periods including the thirty years crisis economic disparities in wealth and income were widely reduced and remained relatively narrow in the high economic growth period after World War II. However, they re-expanded remarkably since the 1980s. While welcoming Piketty's long term fact finding, this paper presents several problems in his arguments and analyses to be followed up from a Marxian perspective. For instance, we need to examine Piketty's notions of capital, the average rate of return on capital, the analyses of historical tendency of the rate of return on capital, and of capital/income ratio, and his treatment of financial instability. The historical significance of economic disparities re-expanded should not be regarded as a natural trend restored after the exceptional period since World War I and the thirty years' crisis, but to be criticized as a renewed historical trend promoted by neoliberal globalization of capitalist economies in our age. His proposal of tax reforms also inspires us to reconsider wider alternative strategies for 21 century models of social democracy and socialism.

BONN JUEGO (UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ)

POLITICAL ECONOMY ANALYSIS AND ELITE INTERESTS IN ASIAN CAPITALISMS

Abstract: In recent years, multilateral development institutions such as the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank have complemented their earlier institutionalist approaches to good governance for competitiveness with the organization of 'political economy analysis' research units. The introduction of political economy in the good governance agenda is in recognition of the limitations of 'institutional economics' in understanding development constraints, and in appreciation of 'the political' dimension of economic reforms in developing countries. However, this emerging 'institutional political economy' analysis would prove inadequate for

both academic theorizing and development policy advice when specifically applied to the concrete cases of failed infrastructure projects associated with neoliberal policies for state restructuring and market reforms.

Cases examined will be neoliberal reform initiatives in diverse socio-economic formations of the Philippines and Malaysia which have been plagued by controversies and allegations of graft and corruption involving factions of domestic elites and transnational capital. These will show how vested elite interests actively mediate, negotiate, or effectuate the neoliberalization process. The empirical cases will elucidate this elite dynamics vis-à-vis old and new patterns of accumulation interests in usurping or profiting from the neoliberalizing capitalist regimes of Southeast Asia.

A couple of interrelated phenomena of elite dynamics in the neoliberalization process will figure prominently in the analysis of the examined cases: elite capture and elite conflicts. Firstly, the cases will exhibit an *elite capture* of the ideology of neoliberalism and the process of neoliberalization through behaviours, decisions, and actions where vested interests from dominant local and transnational political-economic classes usurp the process to expand, protect, or promote their accumulation interests and, at the same time, profit from said ideology while effectively bastardizing the principle of competitive capitalism where no particular faction of capital is supposedly favoured. Secondly, the cases will suggest that while there are political-business elite alliances in making the process of neoliberalization work, there are also *elite conflicts* arising from competing interests brought about by an enlarging space and sources for capital accumulation in Southeast Asia's neoliberalizing regimes. The analysis of these empirical cases will thus illuminate the structure-agency dynamics in capitalist development and the inherent conflicts—alongside class alliances—in accumulation.

The empirical examination will also bring to light important differences in the elite interest-driven and conflict-ridden process of neoliberal capitalism between the Philippines and Malaysia. Significant contrast points in respective regimes are: the power structure, the prevailing economic development structure, and political institutions.

BORIS KAGARLITSKY

THIS ABSTRACT IS UNAVAILABLE BECAUSE THE CONTRIBUTION IS A KEYNOTE SPEECH.

BINOY KAMPMARK (SCHOOL OF GLOBAL, URBAN AND SOCIAL STUDIES, RMIT UNIVERSITY)

THE TRANSPARENCY MOVEMENT IN GEOPOLITICAL ECONOMY: WIKILEAKS, ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY AND THE REDISTRIBUTION OF POWER

Abstract: This paper addresses the emergence of various social movement challenges to concentrated state power that have taken place in the last 10 years, notably that posed by the transparency movement. This is best reflected by the work of WikiLeaks, a publishing outfit that emphasises scientific journalism and a form of radical transparency by publishing sensitive documents obtained through whistleblowers.

It seeks to examine the role played by such groups as Wikileaks in lifting the lid on clandestine discussions on the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement and the Trade in Services Agreement. These agreements, negotiated with minimal participation from the citizenry of relevant states, suggest a grand capitulation to various centres of power, mainly of a corporate nature. Seen as a unified whole, they also exclude the BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) while undermining sovereignty and the delivery of affordable public services. This is proving to be one of the defining challenges of the next few decades.

The paper, to that end, examines political movements centred around the transparency agenda, spearheaded by WikiLeaks, and what this says about emerging movements of civic power and accountability in influencing the global political economy. There is, effectively, a test of will between the boardroom and the meeting hall of citizens; between the profit based corporate interest and the welfare based public interest. Central to this is the lynchpin of transparency as to available information, which has been seen as a potential antidote to the opaque functioning of states and their relationships with corporations. Are the days of total government secrecy numbered?

NITASHA KAUL (UNIVERSITY OF WESTMINSTER)

CONTEMPORARY NEOLIBERAL DEHUMANISATION

Abstract: This paper will trace the contours of 'dehumanisation' in the contemporary neoliberal era, with a focus on how a particular understanding of rational 'economic logic' globally enables economic violence and economic injustice. In my book 'Imagining Economics Otherwise: encounters with identity/difference' (Routledge, 2007), I argued for a juxtaposition of questions of identity with questions of the economic. There is a slippage between the notions of economy, economic, and economics which have significant implications for the way in which culture and economy have been understood as separate spheres, with the latter seemingly having a logic of its own. This is questionable since the translations between 'value' and 'values' are only fixed by maintaining as constant and invariant a universal metaphor as the standard which designates value. However, any such fixing of value (in metaphorical invariance of substance, formalism, social conventions and so on) is only achieved by isolating the economic logic from values which are seen to belong to the cultural sphere. What is needed is to deconstruct the economic itself as an a priori possibility. The economic is not something that draws upon a separate understanding of rationality. It is important to realise that within the dominant framework, there is no way of being irrational without also having been uneconomic. The monopoly of economic logic upon rationality per se is what often makes necessary humane and just acts of resistance (personal and collective) seem illogical and irrational. The Human is our only shield against a ubiquitous economic logic, and the Human is also what most needs shielding against this economic logic!

JENNIFER KEITH (UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA)

STATE FORMS OF WRITING: THE MORE WE CHANGE THE MORE WE STAY THE SAME

Abstract: This essay will analyze how the state uses forms of writing to establish control and ownership over Indigenous lands and define Indigenous land rights. Numbered treaties represent one of the historical forms of writing used by the state to achieve this objective. These treaties alienated Indigenous peoples as the text was largely inaccessible, seen as inaccurate compared to oral agreements and was used as a tool of land dispossession. Modern-day treaties proposed to resolve the inherent problems of the early treaties through a lengthy negotiation and consultation process and recognition and protection of inherent Aboriginal rights.

Analyzing historic and modern forms of writing used by the state in their relationship with the Tłı̨ch̨ Dene demonstrates how state forms of writing have evolved and changed. The Tłı̨ch̨ Dene whose traditional territory lies in the western Arctic of Canada's North signed Treaty 11, with the Government of Canada in 1921. After almost 100 years of disputes over the ownership and control of lands and the interpretation and meaning of Treaty 11, a modern day treaty, the Tłı̨ch̨ Agreement became effective in 2005. Advocates of the agreement boast that it returns 39,000 km² of land and decisions making control over these lands to the Tłı̨ch̨ Nation. But, is the outcome of this agreement different then Treaty 11? Although the modern treaty process proposes to settle outstanding disputes over lands and legally defined rights, and bring certainty to the relationship between Indigenous peoples

and the state, this paper demonstrates that little has changed. A comparison of Treaty 11 and the Tłı̨chǫ Agreement offers a historic and theoretical perspective of Indigenous land dispossession and capital accumulation. This paper will argue that although state forms of writing have change and there is a perceived advancement in the recognition of Aboriginal rights, state writing remains alienating and continues the process of land dispossession and capital accumulation.

PAUL KELLOGG, (ATHABASCA UNIVERSITY)

PANIC CAPITALISM: REFRAMING NEOLIBERALISM IN THE CONTEXT OF MULTIPOLARITY

Abstract: This paper introduces the concept “panic capitalism” as a means by which to assess neoliberalism. First, the paper will focus on the origins of neoliberalism, origins usually framed in voluntarist terms. Duménil and Lévy, for instance, in their influential *Capital Resurgent*, see neoliberalism as the conscious attempt by US and European capitalists, to “recoup class power”. Panic capitalism suggests that the rise of neoliberalism should rather be seen in materialist terms, resulting from a series of ad-hoc, pragmatic and sometimes desperate policy responses to crisis conditions at the end of the 1970s and early 1980s. The voluntarist approach overly-focuses on actions from within the Global North, while under-appreciating, or even ignoring, actions from without – in particular, those associated with China, the world’s biggest country.

Second the paper examines the way in which the unfolding of the neoliberal era further embedded a misunderstanding of the role of the Global South, China in particular. It became a commonplace to describe China and the United States as “two drunks propping each other up.” But this metaphor first emerged to describe, not China and the United States in the 21st century, but Japan and the United States in the 1980s. Yet China and Japan are two very different countries at quite different levels of development.

Finally – in the wake of the 2008-2009 Great Recession, the absencing and misunderstanding of China became acute. The US Federal Reserve has now concluded its extraordinary “quantitative easing” experiment – an exercise in massively expanding the size of its balance-sheet, taking on debt to force liquidity into the economy. This exercise was certainly a key factor in the recovery from the Great Recession. But this radical central bank balance sheet experiment: a) had its origins not in the US but in Japan; b) was an idea treated with derision by the US elite prior to the Great Recession; and c) was well underway in China long before it was turned to – in panic – by a desperate and disoriented US elite.

Why have the actions of the US been consistently exaggerated and those of China consistently ignored or minimized? The paper will conclude by suggesting that these are rooted in what Edward Said called Orientalism, an Orientalism which needs to be confronted and surpassed if we are intelligently to navigate the multipolar world economy of the 21st century.

BENJAMIN KLASS

GIFT HORSE OR TROJAN HORSE? FACEBOOK’S EFFORTS TO CONTROL THE INTERNET IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH

Abstract: The Internet is often described as a global “network of networks” designed to facilitate electronic communication without the need for centralized control by state or corporate authority. The rapid development of digital computing technologies and high-capacity communication networks that occurred at the end of the twentieth century was accompanied by a discourse that viewed the Internet’s rise as an ineluctable force of freedom, liberation, and democratization for citizens around the world (Barlow, 1996).

Today, this view has largely been dismissed as naïve and idealistic (Goldsmith & Wu, 2006). State actors have successfully imposed censorial controls over how citizens access and interact with communication networks, most notably in China, Russia, and Turkey. Following the Snowden leaks, it is now known that major Western governments have also been engaging in broad-ranging control measures designed to surveil the communication activities not only of their citizens but of network users across the globe.

If the rhetoric of the 90s was overwhelmingly about “networks of freedom,” then the discourse today is centred on “networks of control” (Lessig, 2006; McKelvey, forthcoming).

While much attention has been given to the primacy of nation states in exerting control over the Internet, the last decade has witnessed the rise of another source of dominance: giant, Silicon Valley-based multinational communication firms such as Google and Facebook, who ostensibly offer “free” services to users, but generate profit by collecting and processing data produced by the online activities of Internet users and selling online audiences to advertisers (McGuigan & Manzerolle, 2014; Morozov, 2014). These firms seek to control the means by which people access the Internet in order to maximize their access to data, and thus their profitability.

It has been predicted that an additional 1 billion people will connect to the Internet in the next 5 years, most of whom live in the Global South, bringing the total number of users to 3.9 billion (Cisco, 2015). This growth represents an irresistible attraction to private Internet firms, whose user base in North America and Europe is reaching its upper limit.

This paper explores the contemporary efforts of US Internet giants to expand control over the Internet in the Global South, focusing on Facebook’s “internet.org” initiative. The paper explains what internet.org is and why it is important from a geopolitical economy perspective. Eschewing the broad view of the Internet as a “global” network, it details the country-specific (mixed) reactions of national communication regulators and civil society groups in places such as India, Indonesia, the Philippines, and South Africa. Through this examination, the paper challenges the view that the Internet is a global network that undermines state and corporate control, but does not acquiesce to the view that those forms of control are necessary or inescapable.

ANNA KLIMINA (ST. THOMAS MORE COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN)

DE-OLIGARCHIZATION IN POST-SOVIET TRANSITION THROUGH THE LENS OF HETERODOX ECONOMICS: THE TALE OF RUSSIA AND UKRAINE

Abstract: Using economies of Russia and Ukraine as cases in point, the paper discusses ways out from oligarchic control in historically backward transitional states of Former Soviet Union. It explains that as a result of neoliberal reforms of the 1990s in the context of a highly concentrated industrial structure, privatization of large-scale state property in these countries has resulted in highly concentrated private equity ownership dominated by oligarchic groups. By the end of the 1990s both Russia and Ukraine were characterized as elitist oligarchic states, in which newly rich business tycoons controlled the lion’s share of social surplus and influenced societal choices. In the first half of 2000s, Russian President Vladimir Putin’s authoritarian action restored the state’s control over strategic industries and most of the nation’s resource wealth, turning Russia into state capitalist economy, while in Ukraine oligarchic groups have captured the state to such a degree that even after two pro-democratic and essentially anti-oligarchic revolutions (The Orange Revolution of 2004 and the Euromaidan Revolution of 2014), Ukraine’s politico-administrative organization still remains firmly seized by oligarchic vested interests. The paper thus juxtaposes two ways out of oligarchic capitalism - fortification of neoliberalism - the way that mainstream analysts suggest for post-Euromaidan Ukraine - and state capitalism, and argues that neither neoliberal market reforms nor state capitalism, as it presently exists in Russia, offers a genuine alternative to Ukraine’s current elitist economy.

Particularly, state capitalism, seemingly fair in its re-nationalization of unfairly appropriated state assets, is not a panacea for unjust development and should not remain an end in itself. Juxtaposing Russia with Ukraine through the lens of progressive economics, the study exposes the neoliberal nature of social provisioning processes in both countries, whether social surplus is largely controlled by top bureaucrats as in state-capitalist Russia or by oligarchs as in Ukraine. In this case it matters little who owns that majority of assets simply because the result has been increasing inequality in wealth and income, entrenched power distribution, growing workers' alienation, and marginalization of trade unions. This is the current disagreeable reality of both Ukraine and Russia. As an exit strategy from oligarchic capitalism, the paper recommends that state capitalism be implemented as a transitory condition only, to divest oligarchs of their power, and then discusses in detail how a powerful and progressivist state can nurture institutions that promote effective economic democracy, thus becoming the agent of its own social control.

JEREMY KOWALSKI (WILFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY)

THE TITLE OF THIS PAPER IS UNAVAILABLE

Abstract: In the early 1990s, Edward Herman and Gerry O'Sullivan observed that "it is the West and Western interests that have pushed 'terrorism' to the forefront, not the terrorists. They have done this because they wanted to use terrorism as an ideological instrument of propaganda and control. This mission of 'terrorism' has been accomplished with outstanding success" (Herman & O'Sullivan, 1991, p. 39). In many regards, as the authors later identify, this success was largely attributable to the development of a cultural industry of terrorism composed of mass media outlets, institutes, think tanks, and state intellectuals (terrorism "experts") that dutifully supported and promulgated the desired messaging of elite interests. Indeed, following the events of 11 September 2001 and ensuing war *of* terror, this cultural industry of terror has continued to expand as evidenced by the proliferation of the infrastructure and resources committed to promoting terrorism as both an absolute evil and an existential threat to Western society. However, beyond the aforementioned elements of this industry, how has the cultural industry of terrorism found material expression in everyday popular forms? And, what do these material expressions reveal about the relationship between state practices in the war *of* terror and everyday social practices? In an effort to answer these questions, I analyze some of the popular geopolitical artefacts that have been produced as a result of the war *of* terror and discuss how these materials encode particular forms of ideological violence that (un)consciously destabilize the social in order to stabilize elite political-economic interests.

OLDRICH KRPEC (MASARYK UNIVERSITY)

CZECHOSLOVAK TRADE POLICY AFTER FIRST WORLD WAR (1918-1929)

Abstract: Czechoslovakia (CS) in 1918 inherited 75% of industry of 52mill. Austria-Hungarian (A-H) market. CS can be considered to be a remarkable example of industrial economy strongly dependent on international trade (had to export most of industrial output and to import many industrial raw materials). For the entire period CS experienced trade surplus, strongest in industrial consumer goods but also in industrial producers good. Nevertheless CS applied high (in some cases prohibitive) tariffs on industrial products supplemented by strict NTBs. Duty by weight tariffs were tripled by government's deflation policy leading to massive revaluation of CS crown. As our paper shows, the trade policy was decisively influenced by strong nationalism, both political and economic. CS economic policy issue was owned by National Democrats (Czech conservative nationalist party) connected to Živnostenská Banka (ZB; Czech commercial bank dominating Czech nationality capital and industrial circles). While traditional consumer goods export industry was mostly in German hands (3 mill. out of 13 mill. inhabitants of CS

were of German nationality), the heavy industry dominated by (Czech) ZB consortium was generally import competing (and dependent on import of raw materials), dependent on domestic market. Until 1925 the CS government was formed by Czechoslovak-national coalition including Czech and Slovak conservative, national, agrarian and socialist parties (all German and Hungarian parties being in opposition). In this period the CS trade policy was instrumental to the foreign policy objectives: to limit the economic ties to Germany, Austria and Hungary and to develop all types of relationship with Triple Entente countries, and political allies Yugoslavia and Romania. This attempt mostly failed – facing assertiveness of west European countries and import substitution industrialization in economies of traditional agricultural exporters. This foreign policy orientation was (without any success) criticized by opposition – proposing trade liberalization (possibly even custom union of A-H successor states). Another line of critique was represented by socialist parties (both Czech and German) stressing the impact of trade protection on consumer (especially the strategy of Czech national import competing industry: forming cartel, exploiting remarkably high domestic prices while dumping exports on foreign markets). Foreign trade therefore represented important class conflict line in CS politics. The turning point was the new government based on coalition of all (Czech, German and Hungarian) industrial and agrarian capital, catholic and nationalist parties since 1926 (opposition was formed by Czech and German socialists). The key was the agreement on supplementing the high industrial protection by significant agricultural tariffs.

The goal of the paper is therefore to contribute to the discussion of (arguably the least probable case) of trade policy of high industrial and agricultural protection by strongly trade dependent, industrialized country generating trade surpluses. The paper elaborates on economic history literature (e.g. Olsovsky 1961, Pryor 1975, Taichova 1985, Lacina 1995, Prucha 2004) but mainly it is based on genuine content analysis of primary sources – parliament debate of tariffs, NTBs, trade treaties (analysis of unabridged stenographic records 1918-1929), in relevant committees and in cabinet meetings (minutes from meetings).

PETER KULCHYSKI (UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA)

INDIGENOUS EMERGENCE: REFLECTIONS ON THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICIZED INDIGENOUS AGENTS

Abstract: This essay will probe the emergence of global indigenous political agency in the last one hundred years, offering a broad historical and theoretical overview and a periodization. Though the focus will be in Canada, broader lessons and other examples will be used. In looking at the neo-liberal era and current period, an analysis of the geopolitical strategic value of indigenous peoples to Marxist theory and socialist practice will be advanced, with an emphasis on the continuing spatial politics – a racial reconfiguration and redistribution of social wealth – of resource extraction.

GULJAHAN ATAKHANOVNA KURBANOVA (INDEPENDENT RESEARCHER)

COORDINATION OF THE EURASIAN REGIONAL COOPERATION ON FOOD SECURITY AND AGRICULTURE

Abstract: Food security issues rivet more and more attention due to economic trends, marked at the beginning of this millennium - volatility of agricultural markets and food prices, crop yield reduction, a slowdown in agricultural production and continued growth in demand for food. Despite the progress made over the last two decades in the fight against hunger and malnutrition, chronic hunger still affects about 800 million people. According to reports, 171 million children under the age of five suffer from chronic malnutrition (stunting), nearly 104 million of them are underweight and about 55 million suffer from acute malnutrition. It should be noted that a shortage of micronutrients or "hidden hunger" in the world are facing more than two billion people, which hinders the

development of human potential and the socio-economic development and does not allow to break the vicious circle of malnutrition and underdevelopment. At the same time, the number of overweight and obesity are estimated at 1.4 billion and 500 million people respectively.* However, the slowdown of agricultural production growth, reduction of productivity and yield of the agricultural sector (crops, livestock, forestry and fisheries), puts challenges on food security. The growth of the agricultural sector is one of the most effective means to reduce poverty and achieve food security.

Nowadays the world has recognized that the improvement of food security and its stability is determined not only the responsibility of the state, it goes beyond it, and depends largely on the trade policies and building infrastructure. National borders constitute an obstacle to market interaction between the entities and economic actors. Regional integration between the countries and the formation of a single space contributes to the creation of larger markets, both for producers and consumers, and contribute to economic growth by reducing barriers to trade, capital and labor. Attempts in this area are undertaken the CIS and the Eurasian Economic Union (EEU).

One of the major challenges that EEU and CIS countries are facing at the dawn of this new century is maintaining stable economic growth and agricultural development. Meeting these challenges will help achieve sustained development of peoples' living conditions as well as better nutrition and food security for all. At present, countries in the region are facing difficulties such as market fluctuations, climate change and increasing inequality in society. The magnitude of the challenges is reflected in a number of factors, including food price shocks, fluctuations in staple food production, and trade policy measures distorting the market, and geopolitical situation.

Despite relatively stable economic growth in recent years, countries in the region remain vulnerable to socio-economic and political changes due to poverty, global economic trends and the financial crisis. In addition, unemployment, food insecurity and malnourishment, low life expectancy, and disease are prevalent across the region. In order to address these challenges, a multi-dimensional approach is essential; one that addresses both internal and external constraints on development and takes full advantage of regional cooperation. Implementing such a multi-dimensional approach helps to increase the efficiency of production, trade and limited natural resources. It also increases the endowment of knowledge and research potentials. Agriculture and trade are two of the key instruments for mitigating challenges and helping to improve people's livelihoods as well as access to nutritional food and preparedness for any shocks.

In light of the above facts, it is clear that CIS and EEU countries need to further strengthen trade and economic cooperation in order to achieve a sustainable agriculture and trade, and in order to improve food and nutrition security.

In the current era of globalization, the importance of trade as an engine for economic growth and development has increased. However, CIS countries have remained marginalized in the global trading system and have not been able to effectively use the advantages of regional economic and trade cooperation to achieve sustained economic growth, which would help mitigate the impact of market fluctuations on food and nutrition security.

Enhancing the region's global trade performance and using trade as an engine for the realization of sustainable development will require, among other things, the diversification and strengthening of production capacity for value added products and the boosting of inter-regional trade.

The EEU's primary objectives include the promotion of sustainable development at economic, social and cultural levels, as well as the integration of member-countries' economies as food exporters. Since the EEU was established, its activities have included the main mandatory functions on trade, infrastructure, agricultural policy and natural resources, focused on a number of initiatives for the attainment of these objectives. The effective

implementation of organizational functions will enable agriculture and trade to serve as instruments for the attainment of a sustained economic growth and development, including the alleviation of poverty, food and nutritional security.

Improvement and strengthening of the institutional mechanism of coordination in matters of food security and agricultural development as its basis, will allow for taking into account the favorable factors for using synergy effect. One of these factors is complementarities of potential production and the single transport infrastructure between Asia and Europe contributing to the formation and development of the common agricultural market as well as a clear and realistic definition the stages of integration processes in agrarian economy. The formation of such a coordination mechanism also involves the exchange of knowledge and experience in the relevant fields requiring setting up a single information space, which will track, monitor and assess the impact of implemented programs, innovations and emerging situations on the state of food security.

PETAR KURECIC (UNIVERSITY NORTH)

THIS ABSTRACT IS UNAVAILABLE BECAUSE THE CONTRIBUTION IS A PART OF A PANEL.

RODRIGO JORGE DE LIMA (SÃO PAULO STATE UNIVERSITY)

WAYS OF DEVELOPMENT: RETHINKING MODERNIZATION ROLE IN BRAZILIAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Abstract: In the contemporary international system, the growth of countries like China, India, Brazil, Russia, South Africa and Turkey poses a new global landscape. New elements, actors, crisis and themes, powered by globalization and domestic processes, challenge the international agenda for both developed and emerging countries. Such transformation taking place around the world has also produced effects over Brazil's strategies in its quest for development. This paper aims to explore the modernization concept as a core value that shapes Brazilian diplomatic activity, in light of the foreign policy objectives and, therefore, the international insertion of Brazil in the last decades.

The end of the Cold War unleashed a review of foreign policy paradigms. The rising of the new world order have seen the reshaping of traditional hegemonies based on the nation-state model and the concept of power politics - military or economic - and introduced a complex historical scenario characterized by the diversity of ways in which political situations, cultural references and forms of economic production evolve for each society.

For Brazil, the change in the international system, where a new distribution of power strengthened emerging countries, has improved its capacity to support domestic development by rethinking the foreign policies strategies, especially through cooperation and partnership with regional and global players.

This paper presents the intersection between the foreign policy agenda and aspects of transformation in Brazil, considering the concept of modernization in Brazilian history. In this sense, it examines how the Brazilian government has managed its international image through its political and economic influences, what is the role of the so-called "South to South" diplomacy, and which domestic and international issues should be consider to fulfil its national interests without interrupting social and democratic relevant advances in the country development path.

ALEXANDRA LOUGH

THIS ABSTRACT IS UNAVAILABLE BECAUSE THE CONTRIBUTION IS A PART OF A PANEL.

JOHN LOXLEY

THIS ABSTRACT IS UNAVAILABLE BECAUSE THE CONTRIBUTION IS A PART OF A PANEL.

SHAUNA MACKINNON

THIS ABSTRACT IS UNAVAILABLE BECAUSE THE CONTRIBUTION IS A PART OF A PANEL.

JULIE MARSHALL

THIS ABSTRACT IS UNAVAILABLE BECAUSE THE CONTRIBUTION IS A PART OF A PANEL.

BRADLEY MAYER, INDEPENDENT RESEARCHER

THE HEGEMON THAT FAILED

Abstract: Three “Thirty Years’ Crises” have been critical turning points in the development of the United States in the capitalist world system. Birthed in England during the original Thirty Year’s War in Europe, the U.S. alone cast off the “old order” of post-feudal bourgeois aristocracy in the first 1775-1815 crisis only to become a semicolonial republic of cotton slavery fueling an “industrial revolution”. The second 1890s-1945 crisis uniquely saw the U.S. capitalist oligarchy evade both the final Götterdämmerung of Europe’s aristocratic caste as well as the rise of mass working class parties. Adhering to the form, if not the logic, of Arno Mayer’s ancien regime approach, the 18th century North American state remains the only one fundamentally unreformed while its working class alone has never concretely passed through the experience of 20th century “socialist” betrayal. In contrast to the preceding crises which featured the English, French and Russian revolutions, to date the present 21st century crisis is notable for the absence of a key state actor in the throes of social revolution.

Historical analogies are useful for exposing key *differences* in crisis-points of capitalist world development. Here the identification of difference in unity will focus on the variable relation of the North American state and its English colonial predecessor to the developing world system. This relation will be traced within the domestic continental and *inter-territorial* spaces out of which the U.S. first emerged and proved most adept at exploitation. Framed in their continental/interterritorial unity, social classes, strata and their leading fractions within the U.S. will be identified as the effect of a trajectory of capitalist accumulation that is both given by and in turn alters that framework. These historical outputs were never the simple functional results of the effect of a structure on inputs of the various political agencies and actions of social classes: If the English settlers came for a New Jerusalem or an El Dorado, they left behind Black slavery as central motor of accumulation and White supremacy as its central institution. Its Founders envisioned an agrarian republic; they got a commercial-industrial oligarchy. From free rider at the periphery to the central organizer of a shrunken postwar capitalist world system and now, with its re-expansion, grand conductor of an increasingly chaotic and system-less world, the United States has rapidly moved from apparent Cold War triumph to resemble more a latter-day Hapsburg Spain in a failed attempt at global hegemony.

MANOJ MISRA (UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA AND HEIDELBERG UNIVERSITY)

CAPITALIST AGRO-FOOD REGIME, ECOLOGICAL CRISIS AND RURAL MALNUTRITION IN BANGLADESH: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

Abstract: Bangladesh presents an interesting case of sustained economic growth yet persistently high levels of malnutrition. The country has maintained 6% economic growth over the past decade, and has achieved its millennial development goal (MDG) of reducing poverty by half over the 1991-92 level. Yet, it has failed to achieve the MDG target of halving the proportion of malnourished people by half. The absolute number of undernourished people has increased from 39.3 million in 1990-91 to 44 million at present, which was supposed to be reduced to 31.8 million by 2015 to meet the MDG target. In fact, Bangladesh has one of the highest rates of chronic and acute malnutrition in the world, particularly among women and children. Faced with this, the government has partnered with the Geneva-based Global Alliance for Improved Nutrition and the Scaling Up Nutrition to reduce malnutrition. A closer look at the policies targeted at reducing malnutrition reveals an overwhelmingly public health-centric bias in terms of addressing malnutrition. To frame malnutrition as merely a pathological health condition resulting from the deficiencies of certain nutritional elements in a population's diet – as can be deduced from the government's policy response – deliberately circumvents the question around class, inequality, the existing mode of agro-food regime and associated ecological degradations that limit people's access to healthy diets. The health-centric approach tends to depoliticize the broader question of how the agro-food regime of a country is structured that leads to a certain section of the population being systematically denied of access to balanced diets necessary to maintain a healthy living. In departing from this narrow health-centric depoliticised understanding, I argue that malnutrition must be analyzed as symptomatic of a deepening agrarian crisis of the agro-food regime in which capitalistic logics trump people's democratic right to culturally appropriate good nutritious food. Malnutrition epitomizes the disjointed synergy between what the human body needs for a meaningful living and what the capitalocentric agro-food system offers. I posit that the high concentration of malnutrition in rural areas and among the poor has to be analyzed in relation to the totality of Bangladesh's agricultural modernization processes, capitalist development and the associated ecological crises. I conclude that the solution to malnutrition lies not in food fortification but in reimagining the entire agro-food regime.

HALYNA MOKRUSHYNA, (UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA)

DE-HUMANIZING THE OTHER: DARK, RETROGRADE, SOVIET DONBAS AS AN ANTI-HERO OF EUROMAIDAN UKRAINE IN THE DISCOURSE OF UKRAINIAN POLITICAL ELITES AND MEDIA

Abstract: Based on analysis of articles, blogs, comments in the social media, this paper argues that in spite of many honest attempts to understand what Donbas identity is, the representation of Donbas in the discourse by "democratic", pro-Western Ukrainian elites and media often focuses on depicting Donbas as a "depressive" region with a retrograde Soviet mentality. Such pejorative stereotyping has existed since the early 1990s, but intensified in the political crisis of 2004, and particularly in 2013, during "Euromaidan revolution". Donbas is seen as the antipode of Euromaidan Ukraine: retrograde, dark, paternalistic, pro-Russian, while Euro-Ukraine is modern, bright, free, and democratic. The snobbish-condescending cliché of Donbas as a land of lowbrow lumpen-proletariat, Homo Sovieticus, who strive for a strong ruler and cheap food and drinks and do not care about history, language, and culture, dehumanizes Donbas residents, transforms them into slaves that need to be "civilized" by the "democratic" Ukraine no matter the cost. The discourse of current Ukrainian political and media circles regarding Donbas follows the logic of the "civilizational" mission of European colonialism which cost millions of lives to those who "enlightened" Europeans wanted to civilize against their own will. Ukrainian colonizers refused to negotiate with Donbas that articulated its own grievances in response to Euromaidan Ukraine which was perceived by Donbas as violent and anti-Russian. As long as Ukrainian political and intellectual elite refuse to recognize Donetsk and Lugansk residents as human being with views and values, different from their own, there will be no peace in Ukraine, and no true reconciliation would be possible.

JULIO LUCCHESI MORAES (UNIVERSITY OF SÃO PAULO)

CREATIVE ECONOMICS 3G: TECHNOLOGY, BRICS AND THE NEW SHAPE OF CREATIVITY

Abstract: In the last decades, Culture and Creativity managed to settle as research objects within the sphere of economic reflection. The maturation of Cultural Economics led to substantial impact in terms of academic production, but also in the design of sectorial public policies. It is undeniable the strengthening of a Creative Agenda in a worldwide scale. Far from a neutral debate, this process connects itself to a series of important paradigmatic shifts that are, in many ways, still sub-explored. The aim of this paper is to present and explore, in an introductory way, some of these new challenges.

A first question deals with the never-ceasing widening of scope of the creative object. In contrast to the first debates of the Cultural Economics, XXI Century Creative Economics is sprawling far beyond the usual and traditional supports. Sectors heavily intense in technology – with special emphasis to certain areas of the Information and Communications Technology (ICT) – are being allocated inside the creative sector. Even more important, many authors are recognizing this sub-segment as the most dynamic one within the Creative nucleus.

It is yet unclear to what extent this change alters the sheer nature of the concept of Creative Economics. The grouping of highly heterogeneous products and services under a same sector poses theoretical and methodological questions, forcing scholars and policymakers to rethink the whole field.

Still more problematic are the challenges connected to the emergency of a Creative Agenda within developing economies. The entrance of new global players – especially large scaled economies from the so-called BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China) countries – poses a blurring in conventional definitions. From international geopolitics to theoretical conceptualizations, the entry of new economic actors leads to shifts in practical and theoretical aspects of Cultural Economics.

JORGE NÁLLIM (UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA)

THE WORLD CRISIS AND ARGENTINE CULTURAL CIRCLES, 1930S-EARLY 1940S

Abstract: Since the late nineteenth century, the history of Argentina was intrinsically connected to the North Atlantic world. A dynamic export economy and large immigration, mainly from Spain and Italy, cemented that relationship and provided the foundations for the country's overall, albeit uneven, prosperity. The world economic crisis of 1929 not only provoked the disruption of the export economy and steered the country toward growing state economic intervention; it also had important political circumstances, contributing to the first military coup of modern Argentine history in 1930 and the rise of conservative governments based on electoral fraud and exclusion. This paper looks at how the world economic crisis, along with the rise of European fascism, impacted debates in Argentine cultural circles. Their cosmopolitan orientation, along with the national political context and the particularly heavy influence of the Spanish Civil War in the country, explains how that influence materialized, including direct participation of European intellectuals in Argentine debates and diverse ideological influences as different cultural groups debated on the changing global and national circumstances.

ALAN NASSER

THIS ABSTRACT IS UNAVAILABLE BECAUSE THE CONTRIBUTION IS A PART OF A PANEL.

TRINE ØLAND, (UNIVERSITY OF COPENHAGEN)

UNIVERSALISM AND THE DANISH WELFARE NATION-STATE'S BOUNDARY WORK

Abstract: The image of Scandinavian Welfare States as social-democratic welfare states, identified by principles of universalism, is still referred to as rather different from liberal welfare states and corporatist welfare states. In this paper, I want to indicate how the Danish welfare state operates on the basis of ambiguities between what Danish ethnologist Thomas Højrup terms a positive universalism of social policy and a negative universalism of cultural policy, and how it furthermore has traits of a liberal/neoliberal welfare state. The positive universalism gives everyone social rights, the right to public goods and a good life through provision of universal education, health and child care, but the negative universalism excludes some versions of the good life in favour of what has historically been determined and highlighted as a universal standard. 'Welfare workers' understood in a wide sense, but in this paper narrowed down to community police officers and street-based social workers' work with immigrant juvenile delinquency in Copenhagen after 9-11, are inscribed in these relations and promotes both universalisms. In the paper, I will show how these specific welfare workers make symbolic boundaries of legitimate 'universal' behaviour and membership of the Danish community when the Danish welfare nation-state is affronted by globalisation and immigration after 9-11. They do so promoting Danish culture as sort of a superior democratic culture, and appealing for morally apt behaviour and interest in own individual development. Throughout Denmark's history, there are examples of similar 'internal front' strategies to develop a civil and national identity as a defence and survival strategy in the regional and global community. Facing fascism and Nazism in Europe in the 1930s, it was stated politically that Denmark as a small state could never defend itself by military means, but it could stand strong symbolically, drawing on, e.g., progressive pedagogy voicing 'schooling for democracy'. Thus, a Danish welfare nation-state formed after WWII as a political disciplinary project of state-crafting, and it was reproduced anew after 9-11.

GRACE OLUSEYI OSHINFOWOKAN (NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF POLICY AND STRATEGIC STUDIES)

THE INTERNATIONAL SEA BED AUTHORITY AND THE COMMON HERITAGE OF MANKIND: AN AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE

Abstract: In current debate about the world economy, "growth is good" often appears as truism. Growth leads to wealth it is said and greater wealth is surely desirable especially for the poor countries it is in realization of this, that in the 1960s and 1970s, the new regime for deep sea bed mining then under negotiation was seen by some as a source of untold wealth and an inspirational precedents for the New International Order. While the third world especially Africa doubted the tales of great riches and feared the precedent of exploitation, the developed world are still in the stead to explore the resources because they have the knowledge, the technology and the resources .The concept of the areas finds its roots in the speech of the Maltese Ambassador Arvid Pardo before the General Assembly of the United Nations on 1st November 1967 with the aim of preventing harm resulting from the appropriation of seabed resources by States. Pardo proposed reserving the seabed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof beyond National jurisdiction exclusively for peaceful purposes and the use of their resources for the common interest of mankind.

The international sea bed authority is one of the organizations expressly created by the UN conventions on the law of the sea of 10th December 1982. (UNCLOS) this convention came into force on 16th november 1994 and it established the primary framework of the law of sea applicable today. The principle of Common heritage of mankind (CHM) was introduced in international law to internationalize certain spaces beyond national jurisdiction. The Seabed and ocean floor and subsoil thereof has been placed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction. It is worthy to note that what triggered the convention is at same time responsible for it demise The common heritage

of mankind prohibits States from proclaiming sovereignty over only part of the deep seabed, and requires that states use it for peaceful purposes. In essence what the principles means is that all rights in the mineral resources of the deep ocean floor are vested in mankind as a whole, on whose behalf the International Seabed Authority (ISA) shall act .the international seabed authority is an autonomous International organization through which States parties to UNCLOS organize and control activities in the areas, particularly with a view to administer the related resources.

This article intends to interrogate the principle as it relates to African states and the provision of the UNCLOS to ascertain the practicability of this provision to Africa situation in terms of creating wealth and exploring the resources of the sea bed.

SERGIO ORDÓÑEZ, (INSTITUTE OF ECONOMIC RESEARCH OF THE NATIONAL AUTONOMOUS UNIVERSITY OF MEXICO)

KNOWLEDGE CAPITALISM, GLOBALIZATION AND HEGEMONY: TOWARDS A SOCIO-SPATIAL APPROACH

Abstract: The actual global struggle between two supranational hegemonic projects implying the crisis of the US hegemony system of states and neoliberalism, carries on a necessary re-discussion of globalization concept.

We do that from a socio-spatial approach, introducing gramscian hegemony concept on a national and supranational dimensions, in such a way as to conceive globalization as an essentially (socio-) spatial concept referring to the spatial dimension of knowledge capitalism, by which supranational scale becomes predominant over the others spatial scales, but with a fundamental active role of national space on the re-articulation and re-hierarchisation of scales involved in the process.

In order to support that vision we argue about knowledge capitalism as a new phase of development of capitalism, in which knowledge becomes the principal productive force of economic growth, with the electronic, informatics and telecommunications sector becoming the new coordinator and dynamic nucleus of production, growth and world trade, and a new cross industry division of labor which overlaps and has an increasing specific weight over the configuration of global space, in relation to the (former) international division of labor.

We argue, as well, about neoliberalism consisting on a predominant development path oriented to the goals of freed market forces and property rights under the dominance of financial capital and a new (global) regionalism that results on a fragmentation and dismantlement of national space, coexisting with alternative developing paths such as the Scandinavian solidary liberalism and the Asian selective corporatism.

We then state the existence of a first globalization path based on the US hegemony system of states and neoliberalism, whose actual crisis is opening-up a trend towards multi-polar globalization derived principally from the irruption of China, the BRICs and the Global South as an unarticulated supranational hegemonic project, in which the national space and the state recover/renew an active role configuring the global space.

JAMES PARISOT (BINGHAMTON UNIVERSITY (SUNY))

IN AND AGAINST AMERICAN EMPIRE REVISITED: NEW DIRECTIONS IN THE CAPITALIST WORLD ORDER

Abstract: All around the world China appears to be making new investment plans and institutional connections that challenge American power, from investments and increased political ties throughout Africa and Latin America,

the Nicaragua Canal, the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, the New Silk Road stretching to Europe, and beyond. Many of these new connections, such as the BRICs development bank and Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, are also being pursued multilaterally. Moreover, this seems to be part of a larger trend away from a US-centric capitalist world order to a multi-polar one.

On the other hand, the US appears relatively secure in many of its traditional positions of dominance, including expressing its power through international organizations such as the IMF, World Bank, WTO, NATO, and so on. The US is also pushing new agreements such as the Trans-Pacific Partnership, bypassing China, to secure closer alliances with states against China's rising power. Beyond this, in some respects, China's integration into global capitalism has provided a new space for US capital to reproduce itself, and generate profits from American capital in China, made possible by China's integration into the American Empire. Overall, these types of developments suggest the continuation of an American-centered world order, in which the US continues to set the rules of the international system other states must follow.

How to make sense of these shifting contours of international power? This paper argues that too often these developments are thought of in an either-or scenario: in other words, either the US or China, either unipolarism or multipolarism. While to an extent it may be the case that China, or 'emerging powers' cannot challenge the international order without confronting the US, creating too strict a binary overlooks the complex relative relations of world power. To solve this problem this paper expands on and updates a perspective viewing American Empire as a total social whole in a capitalist world order riven with contradictions within and between states. In this sense, I argue that the rise of China and emerging tendencies towards a multipolar world are both in and against American Empire, in the sense that many of the states, on one hand, challenging American power are the same states that, on the other hand, reproduce it.

FRANCIS PEDDLE

THIS ABSTRACT IS UNAVAILABLE BECAUSE THE CONTRIBUTION IS A PART OF A PANEL.

MEGAN PICKUP (CARLETON UNIVERSITY)

FOREIGN POLICY OF THE NEW LEFT: EXPLAINING BRAZIL'S SOUTHERN PARTNERSHIPS IN A CHANGING WORLD ORDER

Abstract: The purpose of this paper is to consider current economic and political changes to the world order by relating them to changing domestic contexts over the past decade and a half, specifically the so-called rise of the New Left in Latin America. Previous work on the New Left has focused on themes such as how policies compare both with previous Left and neo-liberal governments in Latin America, but there has been less attention to whether, and if so how, these changes also have global implications. After summarizing the broad changes that have taken place across Latin America, the paper focuses on the relationship between domestic change and the foreign policy behaviour of Brazil, a country in competition for a place as Latin America's regional hegemon and one seeking a higher global status. The focus is on Brazil's partnerships with other countries in the Global South through increased trade and investment, political attention, and development cooperation. I consider how Brazil's particular politico-economic approach is reflected in its foreign policy behaviour, and what the respective politico-economic determinants are of domestic and foreign policies. Through a case study of Brazil's strengthened Southern partnerships in a multi-polar world, we can begin to understand some of the changing implications for world order, and why these changes take the form that they do.

MARY RAWSON

This abstract is unavailable because the contribution is a part of a panel.

RUTH REMPEL (MENNO SIMONS COLLEGE, CANADIAN MENNONITE UNIVERSITY)

STATES, TRADE, PROGRESS AND STABILITY: THE “THIRTY YEARS’ CRISIS” AND EMERGING THEORIES OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Abstract: The development era, it is widely assumed, started with U.S. President Truman’s 1949 inauguration speech. However, African countries’ experience of national and international development calls this assumption into question. The years between 1914 and 1949 were crucial ones for the establishment of development theories and techniques in Africa and elsewhere, as well as the international ‘architecture’ of development. Decisions by the French and British governments about imperial economic security entrenched soon-to-be independent African countries in a new form of ‘triangular trade’ by the end of the 1940s. This narrow, state-directed commodity trade caused hardship in many African producer households, as well as economic disadvantage for the colonies they lived in. It also left a mixed legacy of institutions, like marketing boards and international commodity agreements, plus a mood of pessimism about the role that trade and private investment could play in economic growth and modernization. Added to this were the demonstration effects of inter-war industrialization in the Soviet Union and socio-technical engineering projects like the Tennessee Valley Authority. They all helped generate a nation-state centered model of economic development. African regional organizations set up by the imperial powers and the ‘philanthropic capitalism’ of multinational business leaders like Harvey Firestone were additional influences on development practice and thinking during this era. So were the ideas about progress of African intellectuals, whether embodied in policy in independent countries like Ethiopia, or in nationalist reaction to imperial development programs in countries like Nigeria. The Africa-focused argument of this paper will be situated in the growing body of research that explores the global emergence of development in the period from the beginning of World War I to the end of World War II.

ELLA ROCKAR

THIS ABSTRACT IS UNAVAILABLE BECAUSE THE CONTRIBUTION IS A PART OF A PANEL.

JACQUELINE ROMANOW, HUGH GRANT AND PHILIPPE CYRENNE, (UNIVERSITY OF WINNIPEG)

WHITE BUFFALO, CASH COW OR WHITE ELEPHANT? FIRST NATIONS CASINOS AS AN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY IN CANADA

Abstract: First Nation casinos account for a significant proportion of the expansion in gambling facilities in Canada over the past decade such that there are now 17 located in the five most western provinces. Despite the enthusiasm for this expansion, there is no clear evidence that they create positive net benefits, either for the province generally or, more particularly, for First Nation communities. In this paper we outline the framework for a robust analysis of the net social benefits of First Nation casinos from the perspective of both provincial governments and First Nation communities. We then examine the experience of First Nation casinos in Saskatchewan in order to determine the economic benefits accruing to First Nation communities. We find that while there casinos have generated significant profits and direct employment, the indirect impacts have been limited. We attribute this to their relatively small-scale and remote locations. We conclude by suggested methods for expanding the benefits accruing to local communities.

RUBENS ROGÉRIO SAWAYA, (CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF SÃO PAULO)

STATE, NATION AND TRANSNATIONAL CAPITAL

Abstract: The process of internationalization of capital that settles after the institutional arrangement II^a war materializes itself in crossed Foreign Direct investments (FDI) of the corporations expanding between the core countries of the triad (US, Europe, Japan) as well as toward peripheral countries. It is the result of accumulation, concentration and centralization of capital that goes beyond the local space in a trans-nationalization process of large groups ("financial capital") that spread in the relevant areas of the world. In this context it arises in the 1970s in central countries the discussion on the relationship between nation-state and transnational capital. What was changing the relationship between nation-state and transnational capital from the entry of large foreign groups in the economies of the center itself? The contradiction arises today, on one hand, because the capital has never respected borders, and on the other, because the national state was, in appearance, the nation's defender, protective of its social interests. It was thought that with the capital transnationalization the state would have lost power, imagining the "end of the Nation State" in a capitalism of large corporations without borders. Apparently, in fact there is a weakening of the social role of the State but not its organizing role of the capital accumulation process. The State retains its central functions to ensure the accumulation, but does not seem to discriminate the origin of the capital and preserve their role in each local space. Each State acts both to attract transnational capital to its territory and to create internal conditions for its accumulation without discriminating nationality. On the other hand, the State is also engaged in the internationalization of capital, be it national or international origin. Nationalism has nothing to do with capital. The State remains national. The capital becomes transnational and co-opts each State to its interest of accumulation. The capital connects to several States. It seems to be important to discuss multipolarity from the transnational capital and its relation to the national state. Different States represent the interests of transnational capital. Transnational capital, coming from different origin centers, settled in various places, but accommodates itself to the place and to the State that hosts it. Each State in each place becomes a partner of the capital in its accumulation process.

TODD SCARTH (UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA)

INDIGENISM IN CONTEXT: THE RISE OF INDIGENISM AS A RESPONSE TO THE THIRTY YEARS CRISIS

Abstract: Colonial dispossession and indigenous resistance obviously pre-date the Thirty Years Crisis (TYC) by hundreds of years. Yet the ideology of indigenism – defined here as a pan-indigenous resistance in the New World to settler colonialism – emerged in the wake of the TYC.

This paper explores the historical emergence of indigenism, contextualizing it as an underappreciated legacy of the TYC. The TYC produced a new order with the nation state as the global norm and benchmark for legitimate sovereignty; it (perhaps paradoxically) also generated a new international sense of shared identity among indigenous peoples, who are by definition non-state actors. Thus they have a complex and contradictory relationship with international human-rights campaigns, since the institutions expected to protect human rights are typically either states or made up of state representatives, such as the UN. And even to speak of "international indigenism" is problematic.

Many scholars have described indigenous "nationhood" as constituted by a complex of ideas centred on a particular concept of the people. Similarly, indigenous land "ownership" entails a spiritual as well as a political conception – better understood as a symbolic manifestation of kinship than as the form of exclusive ownership enforced by modern state. Struggles over land rights call our attention to the specific, the local, and the

exceptional. Yet in the postwar period more and more indigenous activists identify as part of a trans-national indigenist resistance movement.

The paper uses oral histories and archival research to explore the experiences of Aboriginal activists in Manitoba in the 1970s as a case study to explore these larger issues. How and to what extent did these activists see themselves as part of an indigenist movement, and it is accurate to refer to an indigenist moment?

OLIVER SCHMIDTKE

This abstract is unavailable because the contribution is a part of a panel.

INTAN SUWANDI (UNIVERSITY OF OREGON)

BACK TO PRODUCTION: AN ANALYSIS OF THE IMPERIALIST GLOBAL ECONOMY

Abstract: The globalized production that marks our current global economy cannot be understood without examining the production processes that occur in the global South. Analyses proposed by perspectives such as global commodity chain (GCC) theory and global value chain (GVC) theory have enhanced our understanding of various social linkages within commodity or value chains. However, they have been less successful in uncovering the imperialistic characteristics of the power relations that govern globalized production, especially in relation to the exploitation of global South labor by global and local capital. These “mainstream” theories necessarily fall short of the reality that Marxist analyses try to uncover, namely the extraction of surplus from the global South associated with: (1) the development of monopoly capitalism and the oligopolistic power of multinational corporations, (2) a process of what financial analysts refer to as “global labor arbitrage,” and (3) the value of labor-power.

More specifically, the examination of the characteristics and structures of multinational corporations can help us analyze their role and position in the globalized monopoly-finance capital. Multinationals engage in global labor arbitrage – the pursuit of higher profits through the substitution of higher-paid labor with low-paid labor – to benefit from the international labor price differences. Global labor arbitrage is a quest of valorization that constitutes unequal exchange, indicating a form of hidden transfer of value or “imperial rent” on a global level. This is rooted in the unequal power relations among nations, and fueled by the oligopolistic power of multinationals and their ability to control prices. In the end, if we focus on offshoring/outsourcing practices, we can see that global labor arbitrage reveals more complex imperialist relationships between global capital and labor in the global South. Several Marxist scholars have shown that mainstream national economic performance measurements (that only account for marketplace transactions) have ignored global South’s contribution to global wealth. Hence, there is a pressing need to develop a critique of such measurements by revealing the labor exploitation that occurs in the “hidden abode of production” in the global South. To do this, we need to analyze the “special” commodity – i.e., labor power – and incorporate the examination of the labor theory of value in our approach.

ERIK THOMSON (UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA)

THE THIRTY YEARS’ WAR AND THIRTY YEARS’ CRISIS

Abstract: Arno Mayer uses the phrases “Thirty Years Crisis” and the “Second Thirty Years War” interchangeably, suggesting deep structural parallels between the historical changes of the Thirty Years War of the Seventeenth Century and the first decades of the Twentieth Century. This metaphor was not original to Mayer, for even before

the outbreak of the First World War a range of thinkers and politicians had attempted to draw upon the history and theoretical works of the early modern period in order to explain the diplomacy of their own time.

This paper examines the manner in which historians, international lawyers and international relations specialists drew upon the early modern history and particularly the Thirty Years War to attempt to explain and order twentieth century geopolitics. The dialogue among historians, theorists and practitioners was complex and multidirectional, and divided by national, disciplinary and ideological schools. Two particular strands in these debates occupied particularly prominent theoretical and historiographical roles, which throw the contradictions of the era into particularly sharp distinction. Some thinkers saw the two eras' problems as chiefly rooted in the failure of the relations of sovereignties functioned in an international system, and attempted both to explain and overcome the shortcomings twentieth century international relations by examining the theory and practice of early modern statecraft. However, others viewed the wars of the period as evidence of a crisis more general than diplomacy, and thought the two eras' wars rooted in more profound socio-economic and cultural change.

Given that recent research has questioned both the notion of a "Westphalian System" and a "General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century," the early history of the early seventeenth century may no longer seem to be a key metaphor for thinking about contemporary geopolitics. Yet closer scrutiny of current approaches to the history of the Thirty Years War and early modern political economies suggests that this history continues to furnish matter for reflection in an age of burgeoning multi-polarity. I'll suggest that particularly the relations between information, global finance, and theories of sovereignty in both eras contain parallels which may suggest new ways to explain and overcome twenty-first century international problems.

RYAN TOEWS, PH.D CANDIDATE (YORK UNIVERSITY)

PACIFICATION, COLONIAL LINEAGES AND THE NEW COUNTERINSURGENCY

Abstract: The American military's experience of occupation in Afghanistan and Iraq led to a renewed emphasis on counterinsurgency warfare. Key to this were a coterie of military and civilian academics who sought to rethink US military doctrine for the 'Long War,' a war which extends both temporally and geographically well beyond Iraq and Afghanistan to include the largely asymmetric conflicts with other (and future) 'rogue' states and insurgent forces. For the most part, contemporary Marxist academic writing on imperialism has paid little attention to the 'new' counterinsurgency doctrine. While this doctrine is in crisis given its apparent failure in Afghanistan, and the emergence of ISIL in Iraq, it nonetheless, continues to shape American military doctrine, and should be an important subject for Marxist analyses of imperialism.

In outlining an American approach appropriate to the 'Long War', the new counterinsurgency doctrine borrowed heavily from European (and in particular British and French) colonial and counterrevolutionary warfare traditions, forms of warfare that explicitly go beyond 'military' dimensions to fight on a broadly defined political terrain for the 'hearts and minds' of an occupied population. In particular, the postwar counterinsurgent thinkers David Galula (of France) and Richard Thompson (of Britain) were crucial in linking contemporary American counterinsurgency doctrine to the legacies of European colonial and counterrevolutionary warfare.

In this essay I examine the uses made of the French and British colonial warfare traditions, and especially the work of Galula and Thompson, by the new American counterinsurgency doctrine. Drawing upon the critical literature on pacification, and in particular that of Mark Neocleous, I argue that counterinsurgency is about more than the pacification of resistance and has a 'productive' side too in the construction of a global social order conducive to capital accumulation. Furthermore, I argue that this 'productive' side builds from its European colonial and counterrevolutionary lineages.

VICTOR UKAOGO (FEDERAL UNIVERSITY WUKARI)

OIL EXTRACTION, ENVIRONMENTAL CONFLICT AND IMPERIAL DESIGNS IN THE GULF OF GUINEA:
INTERROGATING THE ECONOMY-SECURITY NEXUS FOR AFRICAN RECOVERY IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Abstract: Developments in the Gulf of Guinea (GoG) are raising considerable concern across the globe especially within the context of renewed economic interests of imperial powers in the region. And much of the concern is about the seeming physical and economic insecurity for constituent communities within this zone as occasioned by the creeping rivalry of these external actors. What appears as a new scramble for Africa is unfolding with disturbing rapidity. At the centre of it all is the oil hidden under the sub-soil and the river banks of the countries in this region. This study explores the critical Siamese link between the environment, conflict, foreign interests and West Africa's sub-regional and Nigeria's national security in a new perspective. It goes beyond the regurgitative assertions of national security and boldly identifies resource-based contestations between imperial powers in the Gulf of Guinea (GoG) as a serious threat to sub-regional peace and African economic recovery. Indeed the rivalries confrontations over oil in GoG remain complex and operate at several interrelated levels that revolve around its centrality to the region's political economy. At the center of these struggles are the United States and China and the separate opposing national contradictions and social forces. All of this promotes poverty that feeds into the security dilemma of the region. The main argument therefore is that poverty-security nexus in oil rich, multiethnic developing economy like Nigeria and the GoG could threaten national and regional security and at the long run jeopardize the economic fortunes of the continent in general. Perhaps in resolving the crises spawned by these challenges, Xu Yi-Chung's interrogation 'China and the United States in Africa: Coming conflicts or commercial co-existence' needs to be revisited.

RICHARD WESTRA (GRADUATE SCHOOL OF LAW, NAGOYA UNIVERSITY)

CHINA: A PARALLAX VIEW

Abstract: From its proposal of a new infrastructure investment bank which challenges power of the postwar "twins", through its increased geopolitical assertiveness in the East Asian region, to its rise in terms of PPP to become the worlds' largest economy, China appears to be carving out for itself a significant piece of a multilateral international polity. Yet, for all the rhetoric swirling around China as the last BRIC standing, its economy continues to be beholden to a global production and financial order that dis-empowers it as much as that order empowers the United States as the latter struggles to maintain global hegemony. This paper argues that for China to truly make its mark in a multilateral world order it must engage in far-reaching transformation of its domestic economy. Nebulous property rights have perpetuated subsistence agriculture as the basis of livelihood for much of its working population. This fallback option for labor has spawned a bloated floating population of workers ready to receive wages below the costs of their reproduction as a class. The combining of the property rights situation with political and economic suzerainty of the communist party has seen land commandeered by regional and local governments only to be sold at below market prices for vast industrial parks from which high tax incomes can be garnered. The cheap land supported the building of megaprojects and large scale heavy capital intensive domestic industries. This trend exacerbates existing labor market distortions for a middle-income country such as China which should concentrate more labor intensive growth around small and medium sized enterprises. Commandeering of land has also led to a property bubble as land sold to residential developers has been at above market prices. Juxtaposed with this is China's nest egg which is its export economy tied to foreign capital and operated in the form of special economic zones of various types carved out of much of China's coastal area and adjacent to its major commercial cities. While this economy has exponentially enlarged China's stock of billionaires it has also imbibes a full-suite of pathologies foreign capital saddles global production processes with. Finally, the

massive foreign exchange booty China pulls in from its role in global production chains remains largely dollar denominated. And its FX and T-bill holdings continue to support a United States based global financial order headquartered on Wall Street.

RICHARD WESTRA, (GRADUATE SCHOOL OF LAW, NAGOYA UNIVERSITY)

IDLE MONEY AND THE MERCHANT OF VENICE ECONOMY IT BEGAT

Abstract: In pre-capitalist economies where social wealth was rooted squarely in land and agriculture, the activities of money lending and merchant trade were highly corrosive to that stable order, as bemoaned ubiquitously in historical accounts. In intervening between producers and consumers, merchant activity monetized social relations, fostering indebtedness and expropriation of land as long distance luxury trade corrupted the ruling classes. In pre-capitalist society money lending had even less redeeming economic value given its virtually complete disconnection from substantive economic life: Money lenders are *indifferent* to the use of funds as they are to how loan plus interest is repaid and loan repayment may be arbitrarily set to exact such an exorbitant cost that the debtor is destroyed (or must strive for the ruin of others to meet debt obligations). With the dawn of the modern era capital secures its own fount of regeneration and augmentation as it subsumes the labor and production processes of society. Second, it conscripts the activities of money lending and merchant buying and selling under conditions where it calls the shots. That is, both the business of lending and that of buying and selling commodities are operated to ensure the perpetual “motion” of capital in assuming and shedding forms of money capital, productive capital and commodities to consummate its goal of mercantile wealth augmentation. The argument of this paper is that commencing in the neoliberal era “money capital” begins to pool “idly” with no possibility of being converted into “real” capitalist production centered activities. Such idle funds soon metastasize into a destructive force as they begin to operate across a gamut of speculative endeavors on their own account. Today, supported by decades of neoliberal rule changes, and fuelled by debt and overt idle money creation by major state central banks, what has been dubbed “casino capital” constitutes a modern reincarnation of ancient loan capital or usury bent only on grabbing its “pound of flesh” as in Shakespeare’s iconic tragedy. However now that “pound of flesh” is literally being scraped off bones of humanity from the austerity suffered by Greeks to non-developed country children perishing from preventable and/or treatable diseases because loan “conditionalities” divert government spending from dealing with these.

ROBERT WILLIAMS

This abstract is unavailable because the contribution is a part of a panel.

DWAYNE WINSECK

RETURN OF THE STATE @ THE HEART OF “NEW INTERNET-CENTRIC MEDIA ORDER”: TOWARDS A CRITICAL GEOPOLITICAL ECONOMY OF WORLD COMMUNICATION

Abstract: In the *Geopolitical Economy: After US Hegemony, Globalization and Empire*, Radhika Desai argues that claims that neoliberal globalization have created a world economy where state intervention has been minimized, US hegemony reinforced, and a more stable order maintained are misleading. Instead, the role of the state is as important as ever, US hegemony has always been on shaky ground and is increasingly so in an ever more multipolar world, and that crisis and instability rather than stability and hegemony are the order of the day, she argues. This paper will argue that this account comports remarkably well with political economy of telecoms, media and internet over the past quarter-of-a-century.

First, I will argue that the role of the state in media and internet matters has always been strong, but taken on different forms across time and space. The states-versus-markets frame has always been a red herring (Lindblom, 1977; Mosco, 1988; Polanyi, 1944/1957). In fact, the shift to a marketized telecoms, media and internet order from the 1980s has been enabled by a vast enlargement of state regulation. For example, while commonly seen as the institutional spearhead of the neoliberal model, the WTO's newfound role in the telecoms, media and cultural industries from the mid-1990s on included a regulatory reference paper -- a detailed blueprint for creating national regulators worldwide. The number of telecoms and media regulators exploded from fourteen in 1990, to ninety by 2000, to one hundred and sixty-six today as a result (ITU, 2015).

Second, while telecoms, media and internet markets expanded greatly from \$1,450 billion in 1998 to \$3,120 billion in 2012, the world's media economy has become more multipolar as its centre of gravity tilted ever more toward fast growing economies in the Global South: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, China, India, Russia, South Africa and Turkey. The US market is the largest in the world, by far, and while Google, Facebook, Apple, Amazon and Netflix dominate some segments of the internet, in general, US and European media and telecoms companies are much less global than commonly thought.

Third, US internet giants are coming under growing scrutiny from anti-trust and privacy regulators in Europe as well as parts of Asia and Latin America. Some countries are also building semi-autonomous national Web 3.0 spaces based on: (1) the systematic use of filtering and blocking methods to deny access to restricted websites; (2) the creation of national champions (Baidu and Tencent in China, and Yandex and Vkontakte in Russia) and (3) internet-media-communication campaigns (propaganda) designed to shape the total national information environment (See Deibert & Rohozinski, ch. 2). Russia and China are also trying to add international norms steeped in 19th century views of state security that would further entrench the semi-autonomous, national web 3.0 model. Finally, while Edward Snowden's disclosures shows that the US still exerts enormous control over the world's information infrastructure, Russia, China, South Africa and Brazil have pledged to jointly build a worldwide submarine cable network – the BRICs Cable – with the aim of bypass the US dominated internet – an illustration of how these countries' rising influence is underpinning a struggle for control of the worldwide information infrastructure (Pascali, 2013).

ANDREW WOOLFORD, (UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA)

ONE COLD CITY: CARE AND CONTROL IN INNER CITY WINNIPEG

Abstract: This presentation examines the ways in which federal, provincial and local governments, non-profit social service agencies, and marginalized inner city dwellers in Winnipeg, Canada interact with and relate to one another under neoliberal conditions. I argue that in neoliberal times the conditions under which we get to know and care about marginalized inner city residents (who are frequently Aboriginal) have shifted in such a manner as to create distance, or freeze out, those whose needs are the greatest. Through this process the marginalized are transformed into legible problems, calculable inputs, measureable outcomes, and manageable clients. At risk of over-burdening the metaphor of the "cold city," I liken this to an inner city cooling of relations with grave implications in terms of efforts to care for and control individuals who live in difficult conditions.

PAUL ZAREMBKA (STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK AT BUFFALO)

SEPTEMBER 11TH AND CONSPIRACY THEORY

Abstract: The *9/11 Commission Report* was published in 2004, nearly three years after the terrorist event. Mostly the academic world, including the Marxist left, has had no appetite to consider it one way or another (see *9/11 in*

the Academic Community – <http://911inacademia.com>). In other words, it is left to stand as the defining document. Yet, within the *Report*, there is no attempt whatsoever to provide any evidence that the alleged nineteen hijackers were even on the planes and correctly identified. The Commission had plenty of time. That's an insult to criminal processes, an insult to Arabs, an insult to Muslims. It is an insult to all of us.

The problem is deeper, much deeper. We are supposed to have had three Towers in New York City fall, in the single day of 9-11-2001, due to fire, but none anywhere before. Two collapses have been widely shown, but one is rarely shown – for World Trade Center 7 (WTC 7). The last was not even hit by a plane, was separated from WTC 1 by WTC 6, and had only small fires.

If skyscrapers do fall, why would these three go virtually straight down symmetrically in close to the physics of free fall? Why would testimonies of more than one hundred fire-fighters as to explosions being heard not warrant being considered a major lead? Why would not dust samples be tested by governmental authorities for explosive materials?

How can it be explained away that the Pentagon is left undefended fifty minutes after the first plane hits the WTC? Is it at all credible that the alleged pilot Hani Hanjour is capable of maneuvering a Boeing 757 in a fancy manner into the Pentagon? How do we reconcile the independent research finding that many eyewitnesses of the flight path going toward the Pentagon say that the plane approached in a manner that could not have been consistent with the official story of AA 77? Why were security videos and images confiscated so quickly after the incident and are still not released?

This paper will review evidence about the cause of the U.S.'s September 11th (Chile also had a September 11th). We then turn to the aftermath of the Kennedy assassination to show how the CIA was instrumental in converting a rational phrase for objective discussion, namely, *conspiracy theory*, into a virulently negative connotation. We have ideology at work.