The UBC Vancouver campus is located on the traditional, ancestral, and unceded territory of the Musqueam people. The land it is situated on has always been a place of learning for the Musqueam people, who for millennia have passed on their culture, history, and traditions from one generation to the next on this site.
Circuits of Capital, Circles of Solidarity

The circuits of financialised capitalism birthed by neoliberal capitalism have brought us to today’s historical moment of radical domestic and international inequality and with the existential threat of global warming. Much of the world is experiencing war and ongoing conflict, including genocide and apartheid, as new powers challenge the historic dominance of the West. Unnatural disasters threaten human and other life on planet Earth. A very small proportion of humanity holds most of the wealth and the world’s resources while others live in misery. There are new, bold expressions of old hatreds.

Socialisms in all their variety matter today because they seek justice and peace for humanity, which is only possible through sustainable relationships with the natural world of which we are all a part. These struggles demand critical analyses of the unequal and ecologically destructive world we have inherited, as well as practices that prefigure a more just world to come in new circles of solidarity.

For more than 50 years, the Society for Socialist Studies has endeavoured to open and maintain spaces for socialist and allied critical analyses and reflection, among both scholars and activists. In so doing, the Society draws on the strengths, however constrained and challenged, of both historical and contemporary struggles against capitalism and injustice around the globe.

Despite often violent, sometimes murderous repression, socialist and allied movements mobilize in sometimes extraordinary, sometimes everyday struggles. Together, working people, Indigenous peoples, racialized persons, those with disabilities, the poor, sexual and gender minorities struggle for sustainable relations with the natural world, for social(ist) justice, and for peace, for each and all.

Given the magnitude of the challenges, socialism is strongest as a richly diverse tradition of critique and struggle, open to critical engagement with a wide range of liberatory theorizing and praxis, both historical and contemporary. These include but are not limited to:

- socialist feminisms
- critical race feminisms
- ecological socialisms
- gay, lesbian and queer socialisms
- socialisms from the global South
- “crip” or disability socialisms
- anarchist socialisms
- critical Indigenous theorizing and resurgence.

We gather to share ideas, theoretical, empirical and praxis-oriented, with a special emphasis this year on two critical struggles, ecological and Indigenous movements. Together, we critically analyze the world-as-it-is and seek to act in ways that prefigure a more just, equitable and sustainable world-that-may-be.
Welcome to All Participants!

We look forward to three days of stimulating exchanges concerning Indigenous liberation, fossil capital, climate crisis (and beyond), populisms, socialist feminisms, finance and rentier capitalisms, intersectional inequalities, critical pedagogy, queer socialisms, 100 years of Rosa Luxemburg, Palestine resistance, reflections on the momentous year 1919 and much more, including a conversation with eminent Marxist feminist scholar Dorothy Smith.

Our keynote panel, Circles of Conservations: Indigenous Knowledges and the Academy is on June 6th from 13h30-15h00 in SWNG 222, and features nine Indigenous scholars, including Kim Anderson, Margaret Kovach and Sharon McIvor.

Please note the evening activities across all three days of the conference:

- a dinner on June 4th from 18h30-21h30 (for those who have already reserved through the online system or through the rosa1919@uvic.ca email address);
- a short film Raven People Rising, with a welcome by Umeek/E. Richard Atleo and discussion with Heiltsuk activist Jaimie Harris, on June 5th from 17h30-19h00;
- the University of British Columbia’s President’s Reception for the Society for Socialist Studies on June 6th from 17h00-19h00, to which all registered members are invited.

Programmes and travel grants will be distributed at our registration desk, located at tables outside of room ANGU 254. The registration desk will be open throughout the conference from 8h00 in the morning.

Thank-you to all those participating and especially to panel organizers for your work in bringing this programme together.

Elaine Coburn, Chair of the Organizing Committee. Inquiries: rosa1919@uvic.ca

Below, please find the short form schedule with titles of sessions and rooms. The long form schedule with the full abstracts is available only through the Congress website and online at: http://socialiststudies.ca/ Go to the site, click on ‘Socialist Studies -2019, Circuits of Capital, Circles of Solidarity and scroll to the bottom.
JUNE 4

8h00-8h30 – registration outside ANGU 254 (coffee and tea)

Concurrent Sessions A: 8:30 – 10:00 am

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Speakers</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8h30</td>
<td>A1</td>
<td>ANGU 345</td>
<td>Corporate Power, Fossil Capital, Climate Crisis– 1 of 4</td>
<td>W. Carroll and S. Daub: N. Graham, W. Carroll and D.Chen; J. McLean; J.Lawson; M. Hudson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8h30</td>
<td>A2</td>
<td>ANGU 432</td>
<td>Citizen Trump: USA Populisms and the Democratic Socialist Challenge</td>
<td>M. Fridell: K. Pollock; M. Fridell; and A.Hilton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8h30</td>
<td>A4</td>
<td>ANGU 243</td>
<td>Reflections on the Struggle against the Free Trade Agreement (FTA), 30 years later</td>
<td>B. Christensen and C. Hurl: P. Kellogg; B. Redlin, M. Cohen; W. Carroll.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Break: 10:00 – 10:30 (coffee and tea)

Concurrent Sessions B: 10:30 – 12:00

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Speakers</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>B2</td>
<td>ANGU 432</td>
<td>Socialist Feminisms: Theories, Struggles and Prefigurative Praxis-1 of 2</td>
<td>E. Coburn and A.Bakan: M. Luxton; E. Coburn; M. Fridell; A. Murray; S. Arat-Koç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>B3</td>
<td>ANGU 254</td>
<td>Critical Pedagogies</td>
<td>J. Magnusson: A. Contreras; B. Brandson and J. Magnusson; B. Weber</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12:00 – 1:30 Lunch Break and Discussion

The Great Transition: Mobilizing for the Climate Emergency
Room: ANGU 345.
Seth Klein (formerly Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives), Gavin McGarrigle (Unifor) and Kendra Strauss (Simon Fraser University). Roundtable and participatory discussion on mobilizing for the climate emergency.
### Concurrent Sessions C: 1:30 – 3:00

| C1   | ANGU 345 | From Corporate Power to Climate Justice -3 of 4  
| C2   | ANGU 432 | Socialist Politics: Collectivism, Fabianism and Sustainable Peace  
|      |         | (R. Latham: R. Latham; J. Hexham; A-O. Shamsuddin Bolatito; J. Olsen) |
| C3   | ANGU 254 | Populisms, Extremisms: Italy, Indian, the USA and the UK  
|      |         | (P. Kurecic: J. Galbo; P. Singh; P. Kurecic and B. Kampmark) |
| C4   | ANGU 243 | Challenging Rentier and Finance Capitalism  
|      |         | (C. Hurl and P. Finch: N. McDonnell; O. Hreiche; C. Hurl; P. Finch; S. McMahon) |

**Break:** 3:00 – 3:30 (coffee and tea)

### Concurrent Sessions D: 3:30 – 5:00

| D1   | ANGU345 | Climate Justice, A Decolonial Future -4 of 4  
|      |         | (A. Alook, S. Daub and W. Carroll: Z. Yunker; T. Dafnos; M. Chen and L. Chen) |
| D2   | ANGU432 | Queernifesto  
|      |         | (I.L. Tian, T. Silver, K. Wallingford and S. Rezaei: A. Sears; J.Magnusson; I.Tian, M. Azimzadeh, S. Rezaei and V. Gopaal; C. McKenzie) |
| D3   | ANGU254 | The New Finance Capital  
|      |         | (S. Aquanno and S. Maher: S. Aquanno, S. Maher and colleagues) |
| D4   | ANGU243 | Interdisciplinary Feminist Session (2 of 2): Circles of Feminist Conversations—Voices from the Margins, Intersectional and Relational Perspectives  
|      |         | (A. Denis, L. Christiansen-Ruffman, A. Cattapan, E. Coburn et al: M. Kahn; L. Savoie; L. Fraser) |

June 4: **Dinner**  
18h30-21h30 at the Storm Crow Alehouse, 1619 West Broadway, Vancouver.  
[www.stormcrow.com](http://www.stormcrow.com). Reservations are now closed.
### Concurrent Sessions E: 8:30 – 10:00 am

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Authors</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E1</td>
<td>ANGU 345</td>
<td>Hard-right and ‘Insurgent’ Left Politics in the Austerity Era: Comparing Ontario, Québec, the UK and the US</td>
<td>X. Lafrance; C. Pépin; A. Sears; X. Lafrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E2</td>
<td>ANGU 339</td>
<td>Intersectional Social Inequities and the Role of the University</td>
<td>E. Chou; P. Teed; G. de Montigny; G.K. Çakmak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E3</td>
<td>ANGU 254</td>
<td>Re-thinking Class</td>
<td>P. Kellogg; R. Abdelbaki; A. King; P. Kellogg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E4</td>
<td>ANGU 243</td>
<td>Ecosocialism and Social Ecology</td>
<td>P. Prontzos, C. Cullen and B. Taylor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Break: 10:00 – 10:30 (coffee and tea)

### Concurrent Sessions F: 10:30 – 12:00

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Authors</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F1</td>
<td>ANGU 345</td>
<td>Ecosocialisms and Environmental Politics in the Anthropocene</td>
<td>H. Diaz; K. Sebastian; D. Dergousoff and A. Arzieva; M. Hurlbert; S. Turbay and P. Musseta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F3</td>
<td>ANGU 254</td>
<td>Pedagogy as Social Change</td>
<td>S. Rein; D. Sims; J. Wiebe; J. Wesselius; K. Mündel; S. Rein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F4</td>
<td>ANGU 243</td>
<td>Communisms, Socialisms: Theory and Practice</td>
<td>R. Desai; D’Arcy; R. Desai; J. Miller; E. Sidorova</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lunch: 12:00 – 1:30
Concurrent Sessions G: 1:30 – 3:00

G1 ANGU 345  
**Rosa Luxemburg’s Theoretical and Political Legacy: One Hundred Years After Her Assassination** – 1 of 2  
(I. Schmidt: S. Datta Gupta; S. Dogan; A. Guenther)

G2 ANGU 339  
**Book Launch: The Political Thought of CB Macpherson by Frank Cunningham** with Frank Cunningham

G3 ANGU 254  
**Canadian Political Economy**  
(H. Whiteside: C. Fanelli; P. Graefe; C-A. Hudson; C. Smith; H. Whiteside)

G4 ANGU 243  
**Socialist Feminisms: Theories, Struggles and Prefigurative Praxis-2 of 2**  
(E. Coburn and A. Bakan: O. Lyubchenko and R. Raus; A. Bakan; M. Karunanathan; A. Massie and Y. C.J. Ho)

Break: 3:00– 3:30 (coffee and tea)

Concurrent Sessions H: 3:30 – 5:00

H1 ANGU 345  
**Rosa Luxemburg’s Theoretical and Political Legacy: One Hundred Years After Her Assassination** – 2 of 2  
(I. Schmidt: J. Killet; I. Schmidt; J. Wavrant)

H2 ANGU 339  
**Popular Media Socialisms**  
(M. Nicholson: Rabble; R. Hackett; and others)

H3 ANGU 254  
**Capitalism, Imperialism, Racism: How Shall We Overcome?**  
(J. Parisot: J. Parisot; A. Tomac; M. Ma and K. Langlois)

H4 ANGU 243  
**Neoliberal Authoritarianism and Subsidized Speech**  
(E. Coburn: H. Brabazon; H. Pimlott)

17h30-19h00
SWNG 222
**Raven People Rising: Film Showing and Discussion** with Jaimie Harris from the Heiltsuk cancel.
Co-chairs: Deborah Dergousoff and Ana Simeon

Welcome by Umeek/E. Richard Atleo.

The Heiltsuk Nation upholds an unbroken lineage of ancestral teachings that powerfully connect people to place. When the Nathan E. Stewart ran aground in their Great Bear Rainforest home, the Heiltsuk took to the courts. In the wake of the devastating spill, the Heiltsuk are working to enshrine Indigenous governance of their homelands and waters into law.
**JUNE 6**

8h00-8h30 – registration outside ANGU 254 (coffee and tea)

**Concurrent Sessions I: 8:30 – 10:00 am**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Title</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I1</td>
<td>ANGU 345</td>
<td>Publishing By and For the Left</td>
<td>T. Andrusieczko and A. Crocker: Fernwood Publishing, Between the Lines Press and colleagues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I2</td>
<td>ANGU 432</td>
<td>Genocide Art</td>
<td>S. Aprahamian, K. Doerr and I.N. Prahst: K. Doerr; I.N. Prahst; M. Aramaki; S. Aprahamian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I3</td>
<td>ANGU 254</td>
<td>Solidarities in Crisis</td>
<td>W. Kujala: D.Semaan: W.Kujala; J. Tucker; M. Aiken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I4</td>
<td>ANGU 243</td>
<td>Imaginaries of the Future</td>
<td>S. Svenson: J.Z Garrod; B. Stewart; S. Svenson</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Break: 10:00 – 10:30 (coffee and tea)

**Concurrent Sessions J: 10:30 – 12:00**

<table>
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<th>Session</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Title</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J1</td>
<td>ANGU 345</td>
<td>A Conversation about Accountability Circuits in Institutional Ethnography</td>
<td>D. Dergousoff: D.E. Smith; A. Doll; N. Waters; D. Derguosoff; C. Ross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J2</td>
<td>ANGU 432</td>
<td>The Waffle Manifesto 50 Years Later</td>
<td>R. Hackett: R. Hackett; P. Resnick; Angus; M. Watkins; L. Davies and others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J3</td>
<td>ANGU 254</td>
<td>Illustrating Solidarity</td>
<td>J. Smith: S. Carleton; R. Folvik; D. Lester; J. Smith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J4</td>
<td>ANGU 243</td>
<td>Venezuela: A Case Study in Faulty Canadian Foreign Policy</td>
<td>A. Freeman and R. Desai: H. Heller; A. Freeman; R.Desai; N.Pagliccia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lunch: 12:00 – 1:30

**1919: Reflections and Telling the Story of a Red Year**
Room: ANGU 345.

Roundtable and discussion on a momentous year for labour struggles, from the Winnipeg Strike to mobilizations in Europe, with Sean Carleton, James Naylor, Ingo Schmidt and Julia Smith.
**Plenary Session: 1:30 – 3:00**  
**SWG 222**  
**Circles of Conversation: Indigenous Knowledges and the Academy**  
Co-chairs: Angele Alook, Bigstone Cree Nation, York University and Elaine Coburn, Euro-Canadian, York University

In this session, Indigenous scholars, intellectuals and activists consider the relationship between Indigenous knowledges and the academy, including their own contributions to making space for Indigenous ways of being, knowing and doing.

Featuring:

Yann Allard-Tremblay, Huron-Wendat, Glendon Campus, York University

Kim Anderson, Métis, University of Guelph

Cliff Atleo Jr., Kitselas/Ahousaht, Simon Fraser University

Ruth Koleszar-Green, Mohawk, York University

Margaret Kovach, Cree and Saulteaux, University of Saskatchewan

Lorraine Mayer, Métis, Brandon University

Sharon McIvor, Lower Nicola Indian Band

Charles Menzies, Gitxaala, University of British Columbia

Daniel Sims, Tsay Keh Dene First Nation, University of Alberta

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Break: 3:00 – 3:30 (coffee and tea, fruit, vegetables, crudités)

**Annual General Meeting: 3:30 – 5:00**  
**SWG 222.**  
Both old and new energies are welcome! Please come to the AGM and find out how you can become (more) involved with the Society for Socialist Studies: the executive, the annual Congress meeting, the journal, the Book Prize, and more.
University of British Columbia’s President’s Reception 17h00-19h00
Robert H. Lee Alumni Centre
Society for Socialist Studies members are invited to the Robert H. Lee Alumni Centre, 6163 University Blvd, Point Gray Campus from 17:00 – 19:00. This is your chance to meet and informally exchange with colleagues from the Society for Socialist Studies from the last three days, with the UBC President hosting. Please note that members of the general public are not allowed to this event.

Thank-you to all!
We look forward to seeing everyone next year at Congress, Western University, London Ontario.

PLEASE CONTINUE FOR THE LONG-FORM OF THE PROGRAMME, INCLUDING ABSTRACTS AND AN INDEX OF PARTICIPANTS. THIS LONG FORM IS AVAILABLE ELECTRONICALLY ONLY. CORRECTIONS: ROSA1919@UVIC.CA
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https://susanpoint.com
A1, ANGU 345

**Session: Corporate Power, Fossil Capital, Climate Crisis - 1 of 4 panels**

Organizers: Willam K. Carroll (University of Victoria) and Shannon Daub (Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives)

Chair: Shannon Daub (Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives)

**Carbon Capital’s Policy Reach: A Network Analysis of Federal Lobbying by the Fossil Fuel Industry from Harper to Trudeau**

Presenters: Nicolas Graham (University of Victoria), William K. Carroll (University of Victoria) and David Chen (University of Victoria)

This paper provides a network analysis of federal lobbying in Canada by the fossil fuel industry over a seven-year period from January 4, 2011 to January 30, 2018, enabling a comparative examination of lobbying under the Harper Conservatives and the Trudeau Liberals. The network we uncover amounts to ‘small world’ of intense interaction among relative few lobbyists/firms and the designated public office holders in select centres of state power, who are their targets. In comparing lobbying across the Harper and Trudeau administrations, we find a pattern of continuity-in-change: under Trudeau, the bulk of lobbying has been carried out by the same large firms as under Harper, while the lobbying network has become more focused on fewer state agencies. This points to a ‘deep state.’ We also connect the timing and intensity of lobbying across the sector and among select firms to the formation of important policy frameworks, and in relation to specific projects such as pipeline proposals and decision. We argue that the strategic, organized, and sustained lobbying efforts of the fossil fuel sector help to explain the past and continuing close coupling of federal policy to the needs of extractive corporations.

**'Clean Capitalism’?: The Soft Denialism of the Corporate Knights**

Presenter: Jacob McLean (York University)

While many green leftists argue that capitalism is incapable of making the transition to renewable energy (e.g., Klein; Magdoff and Foster), others on the Left maintain that capitalism might be capable of solving its ecological contradictions (McCarthy; Harvey). I posit that we must foster skepticism concerning capitalism’s ability to solve the climate crisis, but we should nonetheless be intimately acquainted with what eco-capitalists envision for Canada’s energy future. If their project is doomed to fail, the Left must be ready to convincingly argue why; but if it has a chance of success, we must be able to clearly articulate the superiority of an ecosocialist...
energy transition. Therefore, for this presentation I will conduct a discourse analysis of the energy and climate change policy positions articulated in recent issues of a leading Canadian eco-capitalist magazine, Corporate Knights, “the magazine for clean capitalism.” I will use these findings to argue for specific strategies the Left should employ to combat the adoption of an eco-capitalist solution to our global climate crisis.

**Strategic comparative analysis of a fossil-fuel extractive production network: fracked and liquefied natural gas in British Columbia, Canada**
Presenter: Jamie Lawson (University of Victoria)

Earlier literature reviews on trans-boundary, multi-firm production processes yielded a synthetic approach to studying raw-material extraction, refinement, and transportation under neoliberalism (Lawson 2009, 2011). Existing approaches to “commodity chains” or “production networks” had broadly stressed the power of management, labour, and dominant firms along a chain or network, resting on the governance of work-processes and of their material and communication flows, and emphasizing their spatio-temporal context. Other literatures drew out the importance of these sociological insights for the conduct of power and of policy/politics in and along chains or networks. In particular, contestation along chains or networks can be assessed strategically via a careful study of material flows and work processes. This study applies this framework comparatively to a concrete, much-contested production network: the extraction, refinement, and transportation of natural gas in Western Canada through hydraulic fracturation (“fracking”) and liquefaction for transport overseas.

**Fossil and Finance Capital in Canada: Connections, Fractures, and Openings for Climate Activism**
Presenter: Mark Hudson (University of Manitoba)

Do financial capital and fossil fuel capital share interests and preferences with regard to climate policy? While fossil fuel companies have a clear interest in thwarting aggressive climate policy, and act on that interest, finance capital has been widely heralded as a potential “climate champion” given the financial and systemic risks of increased extreme weather and destabilized climate. Elaborating on the problems of capitalist-class “interest aggregation,” this research critically evaluates this construction, looking at the network structures that might enable fossil and finance capital to construct a unified, hegemonic approach to climate policy, and drawing insights for climate activism.
Trump dominates discourse; we become mesmerized by appearances. Delving behind Trump however, we discern the class and electoral dynamics animating US society. Following the 2018 midterms and government shutdown, an ideological crisis still sharply divides the bourgeoisie; the power bloc remains fragmented, a restive petty bourgeoisie free of its unhappy alliance with upper-class Republicans. A divided working class remains marginalized and exposed to Trump’s rhetoric. Although Trump’s petty-bourgeois base remains remarkably faithful and aggressive, Republicans’ midterm losses and the progress of investigative processes make unlikely progress toward fascism or an “exceptional capitalist state”. Instead, Trump is increasingly ensnared by the hegemonic processes that support class rule; still toxic and threatening, he might well nonetheless face removal or defeat. From a Marxist perspective, this raises further questions: would a triumph of ruling-class hegemony over Trump benefit working and poor people? Will the crisis of authority be resolved? After Trump, what of a still-virulent petty-bourgeois popular movement? Can a leaderless, fragmented, virtually deunionized working class overcome decades of defeats inflicted by neoliberalism, technological change and offshoring? What about the struggles within the Democratic Party? Whither US capitalism and imperialism?

Citizen Trump
Presenter: Mara Fridell (University of Manitoba)

This paper critically reconstructs the "right populism" concern from a socialist-feminist social reproduction and citizenship perspective, focusing on core spatial functional differentiation, imperial disruption, and migration dynamics. Observers and interests from J. J. Rousseau to Adam Smith (1776) to Thomas Dewey (1915) to the socialist feminists starting with Alexandra Kollontai (1915) and WEB DuBois (1903) to policymakers to commercial advertisers have noticed that newcomers, whether youth, emancipated slaves, or immigrants, remake a society. As Dewey pointed out, how we incorporate newcomers determines whether we can even sustain or build upon democratic institutions. Social reproduction theory can explain the often highly-coercive and imperial push-and-pull impetus to migration in capitalism, and its limits requiring symbolic domination supplement, with implications for the class, regional, and political distribution of newcomer politics and policy often attributed to "right populism."
The US Left in the Era of Trump: Prospects for Democratic Socialism in the Democratic Party
Presenter: Adam Hilton (Mount Holyoke College)

American politics has been transformed since the election of Donald Trump. While the Republican Party has embraced the xenophobic, upwardly redistributionist policies of the Trump administration, the Democratic Party has struggled to redefine itself in the wake of the fall of Clintonism. At this moment of potential transition in American politics, the left finds itself at a critical crossroads. Catalyzed by the insurgency of Senator Bernie Sanders, left activists have advanced an ambitious agenda of Medicare for All, taxing the rich, and a Green New Deal that has gained a surprising amount of mainstream attention, if not political traction. As the list of potential Democratic presidential aspirants grows, it is time to take a step back and take stock of the dramatic transformations in American politics over the last two years and pose several questions about its possible futures. What are the prospects for democratic socialism in the Democratic Party? What obstacles must the left counter if it is to exert political power through the electoral process? And what are the likely contradictions of left success at the polls?

A3, ANGU 254

Session: Interdisciplinary Feminist Session – 1 of 2 / Circles of Feminist Conversations—Theorizing and Resisting Violence

Organizers: Ann B. Denis (University of Ottawa), Linda Christiansen-Ruffman (St. Mary's University), Alana Cattapan (University of Saskatchewan), Elaine Coburn (York University) et al.

Chair: Elaine Coburn

Co-sponsoring Associations: Canadian Association for Social Work Education / Association canadienne pour la formation en travail social (CASWE/ACFTS) Canadian Committee on Women’s History / Comité canadien de l’histoire des femmes (CCWH/CCHF) Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women / Institut canadien de recherche sur les femmes (CRIAW/ICREF) Canadian Political Science Association (CPSA-ACSP) Canadian Sociology Association / Société Canadienne de sociologie (CSA/SCS) Society for Socialist Studies – Société pour études socialistes (SSS-SES)

Why do mothers murder their daughters; mother daughter relationship in a cultural paradox
Presenter: Nayyar Javed (Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women)
In this presentation I will try to explore how patriarchy constructs a cultural paradox which consists of two opposing pulls for a mother - being an object of love, as conceptualized in psychoanalysis, and also responsible for protecting family honour, based on her daughter’s conformity to her cultural code of behaviour. She gets blamed if she fails to both love her daughter and chastize her if her daughter transgresses. Perception of sexual transgression as dishonouring family, however, can lead to being ostracized, which is perceived as a disaster in a context created by kinship in the country of one’s origin and the same cultural community in the diaspora. We will examine the case study of Jessy (Juswander Sidhu). This 25 years old Canadian woman of South Asian origin was murdered in India by a male relative in 2000. Her mother and uncle, who live in Canada, told a male relative in India to kill her because she fell in love with a rickshaw driver and married him. According to her family, she caused disgrace by marrying a lower status man and therefore needed to be killed. It took nineteen years for the Canadian government to extradite Jessy’s mother and uncle to India. This news raised many questions, including the one my husband asked: “how can a mother kill her own daughter?” I could not find an answer which could reasonably capture the complexity of the double bind entrapping mothers which can lead to their vulnerability of sacrificing for their family’s honour. I found myself reflecting on my own life: this included childhood memories of growing up in a small village in Pakistan and the terror of the consequences of dishonouring my family, and disfigured women whose noses were chopped off by their male relatives started to run like horror movies in my head. I started to reflect on my work as a psychologist in helping women deal with abuse through their life cycle. This made me realize that the women living in the First World are as vulnerable to male violence as those of us who have lived in the Third World. The UN discourses, however, do not include the cultural endorsement of violence in the lives of women living in the First World. In this presentation I will reflect on my experiences of living and working both in the Third World and First World to argue that the prevalence of patriarchy exists all across the globe, but its existence is denied in the First World in the UN-CSW’s discourses. I will briefly refer to my experiences of twenty-four years of attending the CSW sessions to argue that the CSW’s discourse perpetuates the division of First and Third World women and ignores the power of the intersectionality of patriarchy and neo-colonialism embedded in neoliberal ideology. My reflections on life experiences may help in finding an answer to “Why mother murder their daughters?”

Conversations at the intersection of Feminism, Disability Studies and Decolonization: Untangling the care-violence binary in parenting and disability

Presenters: Patty Douglas (Brandon University) and Margaret Gibson (University of Waterloo)

In the context of patriarchal, ableist governance and colonizing logics, parents’ experiences of violence from their disabled children are routinely reworked into rationales for institutional interventions that perpetuate further bodily control and state violence. How can conversations at the intersection of feminism and disability studies challenge a care-violence binary as we respond to such accounts? This paper

Winnipeg: ARP

From the (Dispossessed) Land of Central India: State response to Indigenous women’s solidarity
Presenter: Asmita Bhutani Vij (University of Toronto)

This paper is a part of a larger thesis that explores the gendered impact of land dispossession in Central India. In this paper, I pay particular attention to the social movements organized by the Adivasi (indigenous) inhabitants and activist allies in multiple districts of the Central Indian region of Chhattisgarh and the efforts of the ruling state to repress this resistance. A Marxist feminist analysis of this dynamics between contestation and hegemony reveals that in order to fulfil its capitalist-neoliberal motives of land acquisition, the state continuously produces and reproduces the socio-historical relations of patriarchy. The paper illustrates a trajectory of amendment/non-compliance of laws by the state-corporate-police nexus in the region in order to ensure that the Adivasi population is displaced and social movements against such dispossession are met with a ‘justified’ and ‘normalized’ violence against the Adivasi women and allies. While highlighting the case studies of repression of three prominent female indigenous activists in the region, the paper highlights the findings of the thesis in the following themes: 1) The daily ‘normal’ violence against women in India 2) The dispossession of land through bodies – Sexual violence as a tool of state repression 3) ‘Development for all’ – The statecraft of oppression of the indigenous. The paper concludes with a reflection on the solidarity efforts in the region by legal aid groups and journalist community groups that are working relentlessly in the area with the Adivasi women. Overall,
the paper is a call for resistance against the neoliberal-capitalist expansion processes that create and perpetuate class and gender inequalities.

La violence sexuelle intrusive et invasive vécue au quotidien par des étudiantes : les effets d'un monde patriarchal
Marie-Andrée Pelland (Université de Moncton) and Lise Savoie (Université de Moncton)

Cette présentation exposera des résultats d'une recherche explorant les rapports de consentement à caractère sexuel d'étudiantes en milieu universitaire. Dans cette étude, une forme de violence qui émerge du discours des étudiantes est celle de la violence dite ordinaire. Le concept de « violence ordinaire » exprime une forme de violence banalisée que beaucoup de femmes subissent dans leur vie quotidienne. Réfléchir à la violence sexuelle à partir d’une perspective féministe place les rapports de pouvoir dans une société patriarcale au centre de son analyse. Cet exercice de pouvoir fonctionne comme une forme de contrôle social qui nie la liberté et l’autonomie des femmes. Dans un tel rapport d’inégalité, l’homme considère posséder la légitimité d’accès continue au corps de la femme et à sa sexualité (sexual access), et ce, peu importe les moyens utilisés, pour y accéder, que ce soit la force, la coercion ou l’agression (Kelly 1988 : 56). Pour comprendre le discours d’étudiantes sur la violence sexuelle vécue au quotidien, une recherche qualitative a été effectuée. Des entretiens semi-dirigés ont été réalisés auprès de 27 femmes âgées de 19 à 31 ans. L’analyse de leurs discours a permis de rendre visibles ces formes de violence ordinaire vécue : regards déplacés, commentaires inappropriés, interpellations verbales dérangeantes et autres. Elle met également en lumière les processus de banalisation et de normalisation qui, bien que permettant de donner sens à leurs expériences, rendent aussi cette violence invisible. Cette violence intrusive et invasive fait en sorte que les femmes n’habitent pas la société de la même façon et ne possèdent pas la liberté d’être dans le monde de la même manière que les hommes (Davis 1994). Ainsi, la violence ordinaire n’a d’ordinaire que le nom.

A4, ANGU 243
Session: Reflections on the Struggle against the Free Trade Agreement (FTA), 30 years later

Organizers: Benjamin Christensen and Carl Hurl (Concordia University)

Chair: Chris Hurl

The implementation of the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) in January 1989 marked a decisive moment in the rise of neoliberalism as a political project in Canada. While the left, and Marxist and socialist political economists in particular, played a central role in galvanizing the majority of the population to oppose the agreement and contributed in no small part to the demise of the Mulroney government in 1993, the free trade agenda continued to move forward through the 1990s. This Roundtable
Session revisits the history of struggles against free trade in Canada with two aims in mind: first to remember the coalitions through which opposition was organized, the mobilization of socialist critiques by activists and intellectuals, and the key events leading up to the adoption of the agreement. Second, drawing from this history to make sense of how things have changed over the past 30 years, as right-wing nationalists have increasingly taken the lead in opposing free trade, while neoliberals have sought to rebrand their project as ‘progressive’. How can socialists effectively confront the project of free trade today while at the same time challenging both far-right nationalism and neoliberal globalism?

Roundtable discussion featuring:
- Paul Kellogg (Athabasca University)
- Alice de Wolff
- Blair Redlin (Canadian Union of Public Employees)
- Marjorie Cohen (Simon Fraser University)
- William K. Carroll (University of Victoria)

B1, ANGU 345
**Session: Corporate Power, Fossil Capital, Climate Crisis – 2 of 4 panels**

Organizers: William K. Carroll (University of Victoria) and Shannon Daub (Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives)

Chairs: William K. Carroll and Shannon Daub

"In Vale we trust": social strategy and corporate power in Global Production Networks
Presenters: Rodrigo Santos (Federal University of Rio), Bruno Milanez and Raquel Giffoni Pinto

This presentation explores the intersections between the political economy of extractive capital, the practices of global mining corporations, and climate-change-driven corporate discourse. Inspired by PoEMAS research group collaboration to social movements, we adapt the Global Production Network framework to discuss the social strategy of Vale SA, one of the world's biggest mining corporations, with iron, nickel and coal operations in countries as Brazil, Canada and Mozambique. We make a case for integrating a three-dimensional (see Steven Lukes) approach to corporate power to our understanding of corporate strategy, defined as a repertoire of coordinated actions performed within networks. This qualitative company case study used mainly secondary data and document analysis, complemented by direct observation and interviews with corporate personnel. Results indicate that social strategy as a power technique is effective in building trust and restraining social contestation related to the company. Accordingly, a climate-change-driven discourse has become one of Vale's social strategy key devices, with impacts along its whole value chain. Moreover, social strategy relates to other dimensions of
corporate strategy, which allows Vale to improve value-related processes and change embeddedness settings, such as influencing commercial relations and product valuation (market strategy), external funding (financial strategy), and political backing (institutional strategy).

**Mapping Corporate Power for Social Movement Action**
Presenter: Judith Marshall (CERLAC, York University)

Since the mid-1970s, neoliberalism has swept the globe transforming societies in the North and South, in “developed” and “developing” countries, in regimes espousing capitalism, socialism or any variant thereof. Government and corporate roles have been reversed, making private corporations the main social actors and terminating the active government social engineering roles of the post-WWII era. Regulatory capture has occurred, with considerably down-sized governments now focussed on servicing corporate interests. The discursive victories of neoliberalism are legion, normalizing corporate entitlement and persuading citizens that the well-being of the corporation is tantamount to the public good. Government regulatory bodies are denigrated as, by definition, mindless bureaucracies inventing needless red tape, causing unnecessary delays and scaring away corporate investors.

**Behind BC’s “spectacular day”: fracked land, fractured communities**
Presenter: Fiona MacPhail (University of Northern British Columbia) and Paul Bowles (University of Northern British Columbia)

In October 2018, BC NDP Premier John Horgan heralded LNG Canada’s final investment decision to build a $40 billion LNG export terminal in Kitimat as a “spectacular day for all British Columbians”. Less than two months later, however, the RCMP were arresting members of the Wet’suwet’en First Nation for blocking work on the pipeline going through their traditional territory. While this protest led to wide national and international coverage, there are other, less well-known divisions that have arisen in local communities as a result of the LNG project. In this paper, we report on interviews conducted in the northwest of BC, the region in which the terminal will be placed. We find new political dynamics are at play, particularly when compared to the case of the Northern Gateway Enbridge oil pipeline project. Firstly, many local governments have become organized in support of LNG. Secondly, a populist pro-LNG group has emerged. Thirdly, environmental groups have been targeted as receiving ‘foreign funding’. Fourthly, opponents have been fearful of speaking out. Fifthly, the alliances which were formed in opposition to Northern Gateway have largely broken down when it comes to LNG. In short, solidarities have been weakened and in some cases disappeared. BC’s spectacular day was, in fact, a sad day for community solidarity.

**Petro-Pedagogy: Fossil Fuel Interests and the Obstruction of Climate Justice in Public Education**
Presenter: Emily Eaton (University of Regina)
The corporate control of energy production and the reach of fossil capital into civil and political society can be understood as a regime of obstruction that is preventing necessary action on climate change and blocking a just energy transition (Carroll, forthcoming). In addition to overt forms of economic power and influence, hegemonic power is central to the fossil fuel industry’s regime of obstruction. This paper is based on 29 interviews with teachers, out-of-classroom educational workers, and organizations engaged on the topic of energy in public education in Saskatchewan, Canada’s second largest oil-producing province. The paper shows how teaching practices and resources work to centre, legitimize, and entrench a set of beliefs relating to climate change, energy, and environmentalism that align with the interests and discourses of fossil fuel industry actors. I argue that these pedagogical practices promote student subjectivities consistent with neoliberal environmentalism centred on individual actions that insulate fossil fuel industries from criticism and dissuade young people from questioning or understanding the role of corporate power in the climate crisis. Furthermore, this school-based and broader public pedagogy restricts the imagination of possible climate solutions to individual acts of conservation that fail to challenge the structural growth of fossil fuel consumption. This paper names such teaching practices “neoliberal petro-pedagogy” and examines how they play out in classrooms and through resources and teacher professional development produced by fossil fuel interests. The paper advances the notion of a “pedagogical arm” of the regime of obstruction identified by Carroll.

B2, ANGU 432
Session: Socialist Feminisms: Theories, Struggles and Prefigurative Praxis-1 of 2 sessions

Organizers: Elaine Coburn (York University) and Abigail Bakan (Queen’s University)

Co-chairs: Elaine Coburn and Abigail Bakan

Resisting Amnesia, Disrupting Silencing: Feminism, History and Contemporary Politics
Presenters: Meg Luxton (York University)

Raewyn Connell argues that most important project for scholars in current period is to understand the neoliberal politics dominating the world. I argue that a feminist appreciation of women’s history is essential to that project in two ways. Social amnesia about the history of feminist activism and theories restricts our capacity to imagine alternatives in the current period but I argue such imaginings are essential to move beyond protest to effective mobilisations. In related moves, the silencing or obscuring of knowledge, especially of subordinated people’s struggles, visions and victories serves to undermine potential solidarities. Drawing on the history of socialist feminist activism offers valuable insights and analyses to inform contemporary political organising.
“The Interstitial Space”: Capitalism, Colonialism and Contemporary Indigenous Women’s Resilience
Presenter: Elaine Coburn (Glendon Campus, York University)

"Capitalism must therefore always and everywhere fight a battle of annihilation against every historical form of natural economy that it encounters" Luxemburg ([1913]; 2019).
"The dominant global economic system is based on continuous growth and thus requires an insatiable supply of natural resources and the world's remaining and diminished resources are often located on indigenous territories." Kuokkanen (2008: 217).
"If humans can find an interstitial space from which to make agency possible, they will." LaRocque (2011: 156).

This paper brings together insights from the 19th century work of Rosa Luxemburg with the scholarship of contemporary Saami feminist political economist Rauna Kuokkanen and Cree speaking Métis feminist Emma LaRocque. With these intellectuals, the aim is to think through the complex and changing dynamics of a centuries old world colonial, capitalist system, one profoundly destructive of life and of land. Importantly, the two Indigenous feminists' insights are not "folded into" an historical materialist political economy. If Kuokkanen's scholarship is explicitly engaged, if only briefly, with Luxemburg's work, this is not true of LaRocque's writings. Instead, LaRoque critiques the perverse material interests and twisted ideologies of the colonizers without ever naming capitalism, her own weltanschauung shaped by different concerns and vocabularies. Yet, both individually and together, these three women intellectuals offer critical insights into the racialized, gendered and ecological violence of colonial-capitalist relationships, and colonized and Indigenous women's resilience and resistance to this violence.

From Kollontai to Kondo and onward: Feminist materialist praxis
Presenter: Mara Fridell (University of Manitoba)

Because it is concerned with both recognition and distribution through time and across space, philosophical materialism is not only a foundation of scientific knowledge, it is the basis of the Marxist critique of alienation (estrangement). In this tradition, normatively, the social construction of society would permit us to recognize Earthly life and mortality, and distribute the flow of pleasures across life. But constructing society upon the capitalist foundation of private property might-right systematically causes mis-recognition– dehumanizes smallholders and workers as well as radically-unfree, expropriated people, and stunts their human capacities; it aggrandizes whoever owns lots of property–and perpetuates the maldistribution of credit, cooperation, resources, and pleasures.
**Affecting critique: social reproduction, organizing, and praxis**
Presenter: Adrian Murray (University of Ottawa)

The systematic undermining of social reproduction inherent in capitalism and yet essential to its perpetuation is a key constitutive element of contemporary crises. This contradiction is perhaps nowhere so stark as it is in South Africa which remains the most unequal society in the world despite the end of formal apartheid some 25 years ago. This paper explores the everyday work of social movement organizers in Cape Town as they struggle around access to housing and public services in their communities, work that includes outreach, research, writing, popular education, the collective amelioration of living conditions, and direct action. I focus in particular on the knowledge produced by organizers in and through this praxis as they perform the affective and material labour of social reproduction and simultaneously draw on this sensuous experience to critique its capitalist organization. In doing so they seek to both imagine and enact alternatives to capitalist social relations and build the organizational vehicle(s) necessary to push forward their struggles.

**Socialist Feminism and Postcolonial Feminism: Confusions, Slippages and Dilemmas in Anti-racist and Anti-imperialist Analysis and Politics**
Presenter: Sedef Arat-Koç (Ryerson University)

This paper focuses on the confusion slippages and dilemmas faced by socialist feminism as it has tried to develop analytical tools and a politics to respond to the specific forms of racism and imperialism in the past few decades, especially as they affect Muslim women in diaspora and in home countries. As socialist feminism has borrowed from specific (anti-secular) versions of postcolonial theory, it has tended to move in a culturalist direction characterizing issues of racism and imperialism as "Islamophobia". I suggest that framing of issues and debates as anti- or pro-Islam, restrains and distorts analysis and politics on the issues, making it very difficult to think and to talk about the actual experiences of Muslims, and Muslim women specifically, in their concrete historical material context and complexity. The paper demonstrates what might be lost analytically with this culturalist slippage and what might be problematic in terms of feminist politics. It argues for a 'socializing [of] "race"' (Bannerji 2005) and secularizing of analysis, including "secularization of the secular" (Said, 1983, 2004).

B3, ANGU 254
**Session: Critical Pedagogies**

Chair: Jamie Magnusson

**(W)riting the wrong: Connecting critical pedagogy and criminology to the study of public legal education programming for people with precarious migration status.**
Presenter: Angela Contreras (University of British Columbia)
Social justice advocates, community support service workers, and staff at community legal clinics each have unique perspectives, challenges, and opportunities to getting to know and meet the legal needs of immigrants (Omitvar and Richmond, 2003; Guo, 2006). Frontline community workers also understand that temporary foreign workers (TFWs) and other people with precarious migration status (Goldring et al., 2007) have complex legal and social needs and rights. In Canada people with precarious migration status are entitled to legal and human rights such as the right to information about their rights (CBA, 2002). Nonetheless the so-called “low-skilled”, “low-waged” people with precarious migration status -- women in particular-- are among the most vulnerable to having their rights violated (Depatie-Pelletier and Khan, 2011; Mardsen, 2012; Hennebry & McLaughling, 2012; Goldring & Landolt, 2013).

**Education and the Militainment Complex**
Presenter: Brandur Brandson (Independent Scholar) and Jamie Magnusson (Adult Education and Community Development, OISE, UofT)

Combining gaming with education is a potentially powerful tool for engaging creative learning. However, intertwining gaming with entertainment can also be inherently manipulative, as evidenced by partnerships among National Defence, social media, online retail giants, and the entertainment industry. These partnerships have often been termed the “militainment complex”. Case examples that will be unpacked in this paper include America’s Army (developed by U.S. National Defence), EVOKE (Developed by the World Bank Institute), and Sesame Credit (developed by the Chinese Government). Our analysis is specifically focused on the ways that the militainment complex has inserted itself into public education, thereby aligning public education curricula with the interests of militarized capitalism. We will explore how education as militainment intersects with themes such as ‘smart cities’ and ‘e-governments’ as manifestations of a global financialized imaginary. Finally, we will present strategies to ‘take back’ education, using examples such as BLM Freedom Schools, Indigenous owned schools, Anarchist Free Schools, and so on.

**Towards a Critical Pedagogy of Online Learning**
Presenter: Barret Weber (Athabasca University)

This paper will develop a brief overview of approaches to providing feedback to undergraduate students that includes three “views” of feedback: the micro view, the snapshot view, and the long view. I will then use this basic overview to discuss the importance of supporting students to self-regulate and self-assess as they grow to become more effective learners. On this basis, I will then develop some ideas of what a political economy of feedback might look like as we engage in conversations and praxis about basic problems in building dialogues with learners in an online format and otherwise. I will draw on
some interesting research on how students learn – or do not learn – from tutor feedback, as well as some of the main issues in online coursework. The basic argument will be that engaging with online learners involves acknowledging the entire context of learning as per theories of social learning.

B4, ANGU 243
Session: The Role of Art in Driving Social(ist) Change

Organizers: Jonah Durrant Olsen (University of Toronto), Gregg M. Olsen (University of Manitoba) and Scott Forsyth (York University)

Chair: Gregg Olsen

“As artists I feel our destination is one with all other workers”: Visual Artists’ (Re)engagement with Socialism
Presenter: Kelly Flinn (York University)

This presentation will explore the historic and political economic context in which contemporary visual artists’ labour-based organizations and unions have grown in recent years. Visual artists, who are variously conceptualized by researchers as ideal neoliberal subjects, as victims of precarity, or as doomed in their efforts towards resistance to capitalist encroachment on art and culture, have been reexamined by researchers Nicole S. Cohen and Greig de Peuter to highlight the development of an emerging form of labour politics in the creative industries. Cases such as Working Artists in the Greater Economy in New York, and the Artists Union England in the UK, demonstrate a (re)engagement among artists with the politics of labour and socialism. This presentation will challenge common conceptualizations of artists as working subjects within capitalism, as well as engage with the Marxist theoretical debate around art’s subsumption into the capitalist system of production. It will offer a more complex picture of the possibilities for visual artists’ resistance and engagements with anti-oppression and economic justice through the union and labour-based organizing.

Praxis in Folk Music Historically and Currently
Presenter: Rick Hesch (Independent Scholar)

Both musical performance and political resistance are commonplace in the feudal and capitalist West at least. A long legacy of rebellious music making in the folk genre has continued to the present day. Politically conscious and socially committed folk performers nevertheless negotiate a generally marginal survival as cultural workers through necessary compromises within a marketplace and institutional framework not always friendly to their ambitions. This paper will utilize a theoretical framework significantly indebted to Michael Denning to introduce cases of folk rebels both supported and confronted by the sonic marketplace and the state cultural apparatus. The paper is drawn from a larger
research project looking at the work of selected politically conscious and socially committed folk musicians since 1968.

Presenter: J.D. Olsen

12:00 – 1:30 Lunch Break and Discussion

The Great Transition: Mobilizing for the Climate Emergency
Room: ANGU 345.

As William K. Carroll and his colleagues observe, corporate control of energy and the powerful reach of fossil fuel capital into politics and civil society create entrenched relationships and ideologies that challenge all those who would seek to mobilize for the climate emergency. This roundtable recognizes the challenges while emphasizing discussion about what kinds of mobilization are required for the Great Transition. What will it take to move beyond the contemporary devastation? Those attending the session are invited to contribute their own ideas to the discussion.

Round table discussion featuring:
- Seth Klein (formerly British Columbia director of the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives)
- Gavin McGarrigle (Unifor)
- Kendra Strauss (Simon Fraser University)

C1, ANGU 345

Session: From Corporate Power to Climate Justice - 3 of 4 sessions

Organizers: Willam K. Carroll (University of Victoria) and Shannon Daub (Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives)

Co-chairs: William K. Carroll and Shannon Daub

Perceived Influence in Climate Change Policy Networks: Networking amongst Canadian Policy Actors

Presenters: David Tindall (University of British Columbia) and Mark C.J. Stoddart (Memorial University)

We examine the relationship between multiple social network relations amongst climate change policy actors, and the perceived influence of actors. We undertake multiple regression results controlling for sector, individual versus organization, and geographic scope (federal or not). In this analysis, degree centrality in the communication social network is the key independent variable. Results reveal that degree is strongly positive and significantly correlated with perceived influence on climate change policy.
Fossil Knowledge Networks: Science, Ecology and Canadian Fossil Capitalism

Presenter: Nicolas Graham (University of Victoria)

This paper examines the importance of scientific knowledge to fossil capitalism, with a focus on Canada. It begins with an overview of the nexus of science, fossil power and large-scale industry since the 18th century, followed by a discussion of techno-scientific research and development (R&D) in unconventional oil and gas development more recently. In this development, I highlight the important enabling role played by the state and universities. Next, in the development of what I term ‘progressive extractivism,’ I mark the recent incorporation of ecological and earth science knowledge into the carbon extractive process, in an effort to cope with the crisis of fossil capitalism. Through a social network analysis, I trace the social and institutional architecture behind this “green tech” knowledge, highlighting its production in a cluster of networked industry-university-state research institutes and centres. The colonization and tethering of ecological science and ecologically-oriented R&D to the needs and accumulation strategies of carbon capital speaks to the drastic under-utilization (or fettering) of this knowledge in the context of the climate crisis and itself poses significant obstacles for green transformation.

Advancing ‘Keep It in the Ground’ Policy: A Theoretical Framework & Initial Comparative Analysis

Presenter: Angela Carter (University of Waterloo), Janetta McKenzie (University of Waterloo) and Justine Salam (University of Waterloo)

The deep decarbonization required to avert worst-case climate crises necessitates aggressive policy to restrain fossil fuel extraction. Taking a supply-side perspective on the global carbon problem, this paper develops a theoretical framework for identifying and comparing pathways toward successful “keep it in the ground” (KIIG) policies in developed-world oil producing states. Communities and non-governmental organizations have taken a supply-side approach for decades and it has been extended globally in recent years, as seen in widespread social mobilization against fracking and bitumen pipelines. The shift is also evident in new government bans on exploration. This paper traces the development of KIIG initiatives and research. It then synthesizes central propositions in the literature across ideational, institutional, and interest-based analyses to isolate central explanatory factors for KIIG policy implementation. Next the paper presents very early findings from fieldwork in Québec and Ireland, identifying fundamental barriers to, and key opportunities for, the implementation of policies aiming to prevent oil production at the point of extraction. It closes by reflecting on the possibility for broader fossil fuel extraction phase-out in the Canadian petro-state.
**The Federal Handle: Pipeline Construction and Environmental Justice**  
Presenter: Stephanie Webb (Independent Scholar) and Jamie DeAngelo (Independent Scholar)

Across the United States, the oil and gas industry continues to expand its operations, from offshore drilling to fracking to pipeline construction. Due to the highly organized and centralized nature of this industry and its close relationship to federal leadership, individual municipalities are often unable to pass or enforce laws to protect their communities from the environmental and economic degradation this industry brings to their door. This is particularly true of small, low-income communities of color and indigenous communities, which often lack support at the state level and are treated as opportunities for incoming development. Our paper examines the recent controversy around and resistance to the DAPL pipeline near Fort Yates, South Dakota, as well as several other pipeline cases in our native Texas. We make the argument that there are, in fact, several tools in the federal toolkit that could be used to better protect small communities from corporate extraction, including a reconsideration of the interstate commerce clause, anti-trust legislation, and (most importantly) the National Environmental Preservation Act legislation (NEPA) and the environmental impact statement.

C2, ANGU 432  
**Session: Socialist Politics: Collectivism, Fabianism and Sustainable Peace**

Chair: Robert Latham (York University)

**Rethinking Collectivism for the 21st Century**  
Presenters: Robert Latham (York University)

This paper starts from two claims. First, that it is important to put collectivity squarely back into an explicitly central place within socialist thought and political action. It has tended to be either taken for granted or passed over as a worthwhile concept as others like commons and commoning or multitudes ebb and flow across the left. Tying collective to socialism and anti-capitalism is best done by taking it in a recursive sense as re-collectivity understood in a liberatory way, with the “re-“ aspect referring to the forming of collectives anew. Second, I see it as useful for theory and practice to treat the task of organizing collective life – and given the first claim that means living on collective terms – as a perennial or rather permanent struggle where the abidance of struggle well beyond the end of capitalism can be viewed as one key for establishing and maintaining democratic possibilities for the masses as societies move from out of capitalism and into socialism.

**Reconsidering the success of Fabian Socialism: The Importance of common ground for launching socialist programs**  
Presenter: Jeremy Hexham (University of Calgary)
Contemporary politics are characterized by sharp divisions and polarization. Yet out of a remarkably similar political environment, marked by talk of class war and revolution, the British socialist Fabian Society, founded in 1884, emerged. Their ideas and example transformed the political landscape of Britain and indirectly America, Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand, and South Africa. At the core of Fabian success was a belief in the value of finding common ground to promote socialist goals. They recognized that usually even the most adamant opponents of socialism can be convinced that specific socialist policies are in their interest and that of society as a whole. This paper explores all but forgotten Fabian principles and strategies upon which the Fabians built their remarkably successful political program.

**A Sustainable Peace and Social Justice; The Socialist Disposition**
Presenter: Aina-Obe Shamsuddin Bolatito (Sudan University of Science and Technology)

According to Aristotle, Hegel, Kant and other moral philosophers, including the liberal philosopher Rawls, “the principle subject of justice is the basic structure of society and the way in which the major social institutions distribute fundamental rights and duties and determine the division of advantages from social cooperation” (Rawls, 1999, pp. 3 ff). Everyone should enjoy social justice, liberty and opportunity, decent income and wealth to sustain societal peace. However, political actors dictate public values that lead to social injustice, marginalization, devastation of lives around the globe and regimes of murderous repression. The paper uses a theoretical literature review to consider socialist arguments towards sustainable relations with the natural world and for the peace and harmony that the world deserves.

**Toward a Revolutionary Cooperativism:**
*A Critical Analysis of Marxism, Cooperatives, and the Capitalist State*

Presenter: Jonah Olsen

In this paper, I explore the system-transformative potential of worker cooperatives in the struggle for economic democracy. I examine the relationship between cooperatives and the broader capitalist system within which they operate to assess their potential to survive, resist, and, above all, transform capitalism from within. I demonstrate that the structural role of cooperatives within capitalism can be transformative, but that this potential is highly variable depending on the context within which a given cooperative is operating. What is largely absent from the literature on cooperatives as a means of confronting and transforming capitalism is the role of the state, particularly in terms of its position as capitalism’s most powerful supporter and enforcer. Taking as my point of departure the bias of the state in favour of capitalism, I consider how the state impacts the structural role of cooperatives. I suggest that a comparative perspective is invaluable here, and thus
contrast cooperatives which have been introduced by the state, those which have
been organized at the grassroots level, and those in-between, where state policies
promote cooperatives but do not directly establish or control them. I conclude that
cooperaives introduced and administered by and for the capitalist state, while
better than traditional capitalist firms, may lose their transformative potential.

C3, ANGU 254
Session: Populisms, Extremisms: Italy, Indian, the USA and the UK

Chair: Petar Kurecic (University North, Croatia)

The Rise of New Populist Moments in Italy
Presenters: Joseph Galbo (University of New Brunswick)

Notably with Brexit and the election of Donald Trump in the U.S.A., and more
recently with the Italian election of 2018, a toxic fusion of economic insecurity and
cultural scapegoating has exacerbated voters’ sense of abandonment and brought
global neoliberalism to a turning point. It is this latter moment, the recent Italian
election, that is my subject here. The failures of Italian national elites to speak
directly either to the arrested economic mobility of Italians, their suspicions of the
EU, or their fear of refugees and immigration, have unleashed new populist
nationalisms. This paper examines the current roles that populism is playing in
Italian political life. With the collapse of Matteo Renzi and his centre-left coalition
there was the rise of the populist cyberpolitics of the Five Star Movement and the
“fear of the other” populism of Matteo Salvini’s Lega party, and Italy is now in the
hands of a populist government. This paper assesses those developments and
cautions not to see populism solely as a flood of inchoate resentments but as a
pushback that may, perversely, be essential to the vitality of modern politics: in
other words, a return of the political after many years of “post-political” governance.

Capitalism, Right-Wing Extremism and Collective Failure in India
Presenter: Paramjit Singh (Panjap University)

This paper will make an attempt to critically evaluate the neoliberal phase of
polito-economic transition in India with special reference to the Modi-Led BJP
government. The rise of right-wing populism in India is a product of the long shift
from state driven economic regime to the system of market and corporate regime
that began in 1991. The policies of neoliberalism that the Congress-led minority
government had introduced in 1991 in order to manage the economic crisis have
failed to fulfill the promise of inclusive growth. This failure has been used as an
opportunity by the right-wing BJP in 2014 elections where they secured an almost
absolute single party majority. The rise of BJP is not a product of dissent of BJP with
neoliberal capitalism rather a product of relative strong collusion of neoliberal
forces and authoritarian statist forces. The new experiment that neoliberal
capitalism has made through BJP’s extreme populist politics has taken the India
economic and political values to a collective failure. The present paper is an attempt to unfold the contradictions of neoliberal capitalism and right-wing collusion that has given way to the collective failure of economic and democratic values. The paper seeks to explore certain questions that India is faced with today. How ideologically conscious right-wing extremism has created false consciousness through sponsored media to capture the political power? How they have identified their political ideology with developmental agenda during the election campaign? How this agenda, born out of neoliberal ideology and right-wing populism has disrupted the economic and social life in the country?

**Brexit and Trump: Genuine Anti-Globalisation Revolution or Hindrance of Social Revolutions?**
Presenter: Petar Kurecic and Binoy Kampmark (University North, Croatia)

The year 2016 saw several tumultuous political developments. Brexit, the de facto end of the Trans-Pacific Partnership and the concurrent signing of the CETA, and Donald Trump, with his “America First” counter globalization, counter immigration agenda may well have shaken the well-established mechanisms of the transnational capitalist class. The referendum on Brexit was followed by tumultuous internal struggles within the Conservative Party and still uncertain perspective of the UK’s exit from the EU. Trump’s reign in the U.S.A. was marked by continuous conflicts with the Democratic Party and even a slight split in the Republican Party, culminating with the loss of majority in the House and the longest so far government shutdown, caused by the persistence of the President to ensure funding for the border wall.

The paradox of all these developments lies in the fact that the so-called “globalization losers” in the U.S.A. and the U.K. voted for reviled “one percent”, usually blamed for the transnational financial capitalism that continuously produces severe inequality. We consider the counter globalization and nationalist processes from states deemed the chief proponents of “globalization” (internationalisation) and challenges represented by “Bannonism” and the Brexit movement. While superficially radical, supplying a critique and contest of the global order, it is questionable whether the inequalities and atomisation produced by global capitalism will be redressed by the managers of Brexit or the stewards of the Trump revolution. The "post-truth era" has made actual changes even more formidable, suggesting change even as the order ossifies. In doing so, genuine socio-economic revolutions could be stifled, the voices of resistance absorbed in ways similar to previous revolts.

C4, ANGU 243
**Session: Challenging Rentier and Finance Capitalism**

Organizers: Chris Hurl (Concordia University) and Paul Finch (Treasurer, BCGEU)

Co-chairs, Chris Hurl and Paul Finch
Beyond extracting surplus value through the exploitation of labour, recent studies have highlighted a shift in accumulation strategies under neoliberalism to the appropriation of value through ‘non-productive’ forms of dispossession and rent extraction. This panel investigates the dynamics of struggle under rentier capitalism with a focus on housing. The inflation of housing prices has provided a central strategy through which economic elites have been able to appropriate value in recent years, while also generating record levels of debt for working- and middle-class households. However, until recently, very little research has been done from a socialist perspective on the dynamics of value appropriation in the housing sector. This panel critically examines the current ‘housing crisis,’ investigating the role of economic elites in deepening rent extraction and their impacts on working class and marginalized communities. Moreover, it explores potential strategies through which these processes can be resisted.

**Community Control of Land and Housing in Milton Parc**

Presenters: Nathan McDonnell (Milton Parc Citizens’ Committee // Black Rose Books)

As gentrification threatens to uproot neighbourhoods across the world, the flame of co-operative housing has been reignited. Meanwhile, the concept of community landownership has the potential to turn the tide and put the destiny of our cities into the hands of residents.

After a David versus Goliath struggle against a development project of high-rise towers in Milton Parc, the community struggle both saved the heritage architecture and defended the neighbourhood in perpetuity from gentrification through the creation of a massive non-profit co-operative housing project on an urban land trust: the Communauté Milton Parc. This is a post-capitalist land trust containing cooperative housing with 1500 tenants, and 10 commercial properties — now worth a total of $200 million in community controlled assets.

In the Milton Parc neighbourhood, we are expanding our ambitions and vision for advancing housing justice and the solidarity economy. In particular, we envision the possibilities for the massive site of the decommissioned Hôtel-Dieu Hospital, three provincially owned parking lots on Rue St Urbain, and the commercial properties that we already own. To catalyse renewed momentum, we have an active popular education programme about the community control of land, housing, and the economy, including two major conferences in November 2018 and April 2019, titled "From the Ground Up // À Nous Les Quartiers".

At Black Rose Books, we have also published the book, "Villages in Cities: Community Land Ownership, Cooperative Housing, and the Milton Parc Story", which explores the community control of land and housing in Montreal, Boston, Vermont, and Mississippi.

This presentation will present the history and present situation of community activism in Milton Parc around the community control of land and housing and the solidarity economy.
Interrogating Renovictions: Rental Housing Insecurity and State-Sanctioned Displacement

Presenter: Oula Hreiche (Queen’s University)

While the question of housing is central to political economy debates, the privatized rental housing market, specifically in the Canadian context, remains largely undertheorized in the academic literature. The policy environment in Ontario regulates rental housing in favour of private actors (e.g. REITs, Equity Funds) which underscores state-sanctioned exploitative power relations between financialized landlords and low-income tenants. My discussion aims to situate rental housing in financial capitalism through the study of renovictions in Toronto, a rent-maximizing behaviour whereby a landlord evicts a tenant on the premise of conducting major renovations to the unit. This is motivated by vacancy decontrol as once the unit is vacated the landlord can increase rent beyond the legal limit. The contradiction between the use-value of housing as a survival strategy and its exchange-value as an accumulation mechanism warrants a discussion on the monetized powers driving rental insecurity. I examine displacement through renovictions as a “non-productive” form of wealth accumulation and how financialized geographies reproduce inequality and exploitation in urban spaces.

How the Big Four Firms Financialize Infrastructure Development

Presenter: Carl Hurl (Concordia University)

This paper investigates the role of the Big Four professional service firms (KPMG, EY, PwC, Deloitte) in financializing Canadian infrastructure. Over the past two decades, these firms have come to position themselves as central intermediaries in assessing existing infrastructures, advising governments on best practices, and brokering and evaluating new projects. Drawing from a case study of Ontario, it is argued that these firms have repackaged infrastructure in a manner that facilitates rent extraction in two ways. First, through their government-mandated role in assessing the relative value of prospective projects, these firms have reframed the rent extracted through outsourcing aspects of infrastructure development as ‘cost-savings’. Investigating the financial models that are taken up in the assessment process, I explore how this is accomplished through the discourses of ‘risk transfer’ and ‘innovation’. Second, it is argued that the Big Four firms themselves extract rent as ‘ancillary fees’ in advising on infrastructure development. Looking at how the costs of ancillary fees have grown over the past two decades, I explore how these firms contribute to the financialization of the state itself, as advisory services that were previously provided by public officials are increasingly outsourced to private consultancies. Beyond contributing to the ‘hollowing out’ of the state, I argue that it has contributed to the reconfiguration of state power through new forms of professional partnership.
Challenging Rentier Capitalism through Land Value Capture
Presenter: Paul Finch (BCGEU)
Land Value Capture is a method of taxation that has gained some limited traction in high density urban environments. This presentation will explore the importance of taxing capital at the point of accumulation, the methods to do so, and examine the arbitrage for major land owners and developers in urban design situations. The presentation is designed to be engaging and practical, graphically illustrating the massive windfall profits associated with density bonusing and rezoning, and highlighting the differences between what the author (Paul Finch) consider speculative and productive (exchange and use) value.

The Future is Now: Capital Weaponizing Money *Ex Nihilo* towards Intensified Exploitation
Presenter: Sean McMahon (University of Lethbridge)

In a December 2008 speech, the then Chairman of the United States Federal Reserve Bank, Ben Bernanke, declared that the immediate task of the central bank’s expansionary monetary policy (the negation of the austerity imposed on the working class) was to “support financial markets” and dismissed concerns about inflation as an “issue for the future.” In July 2018, US Secretary of the Treasury, Steve Mnuchin, suggested the Trump administration would index capital gains taxes to inflation.

My paper asks: how is global capital seeking to transform the money created *ex nihilo* over the last ten years by its central banks into effective command over the working class now? Bernanke’s future is our present, and Mnuchin’s suggestion indicates how capital is deploying money to attack the working class. Building on the form and value theory analysis of Open Marxism, my paper argues that capital is seeking to transform money *ex nihilo* into effective command over labor through the process of inflation. Capital is aiming to make money command—into surplus-value producing capital—by devaluing the working class’ labor-power commodity through real wage erosion. Rising stock market indexes and global housing price and wage goods price inflation are appearances of capital’s contemporary attack on the terrain of money. Concomitantly, capital’s increasingly extensive and intensive reliance on violent coercion of labor is a necessary expression of the contradiction between the law of value and the insubordinate power of the working class.

D1, ANGU 345
Session: Corporate Power, Fossil Capital, Climate Crisis– 4 of 4

Organizers: Angele Alook, Willam K. Carroll (University of Victoria) and Shannon Daub (Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives)

Chair: Angele Alook
Dispossession politics: Mapping the contours of reconciliatory colonialism through industry-funded think tanks
Presenters: Zoe Yunker (University of Victoria)

Amidst recent mobilizations of Indigenous land-based resistance and the hypocrisy inherent in the state’s implementation of UNDRIP they render visible, resource-extractive corporate capital is uniquely invested in the state’s continued ability to dispossess land from Indigenous peoples. This paper suggests that a growing emphasis on Indigenous-state relations within industry-funded think tanks provides corporate capital with an unprecedented avenue to participate in the evolution of federal policy discourse on state-Indigenous reconciliation. It draws on a content analysis of policy materials from four of these institutions ranging from far-right groups such as the Fraser Institute to the more politically moderate Institute on Governance, contextualizing findings in the recent and substantive shifts in federal policy development in this area. Findings suggest that the groups’ relative diversity is underscored by common discursive themes that draw on neoliberal governing rationalities to invoke a diffuse, flexible and agile policy landscape that erases the question of land—and Indigenous jurisdiction over land—that many Indigenous peoples have identified as critical to meaningful reconciliation.

Pacification by Pipeline
Presenter: Tea Dafnos (University of New Brunswick)

Drawing on an analysis of records obtained through Access to Information requests and open source materials, this paper examines how proposed oil and gas pipelines are made real as objects of national security concern through the discourses and practices of Canada’s critical infrastructure resilience paradigm. In a period of reconciliation talk, the construction of these anticipatory settler-colonial projects as ‘critical infrastructures’ enables a legal rationalization or justification for surveillance and criminalization of those who are ‘in the way’ through a deepening entrenchment of state-industry collaborations. This paper traces continuities and discontinuities of contemporary critical infrastructure resilience with 19th century nation-building “public works” of the settler-colonial state.

Decolonizing Water Management in Canada Through the Empowerment of Indigenous Women
Presenter: Miao Chen and Lanyan Chen (Nipissing University)

Abstract: Indigenous women have been traditionally recognized as “Water Carriers” in their communities. Since the Indian Act, however, they have been facing a “double discrimination,” for being Indigenous and being women. This paper examines Attawapiskat First Nation community’s water crisis to highlight colonialism and the government’s failure to respond, in a coordinated manner, to Indigenous peoples’ calls for managing water resources as the root cause of water issues that have caused many sufferings, especially among Indigenous women and children. Drawing
on recent Anishinabek First Nations’ decolonizing efforts, the paper underscores the significance of Indigenous women’s participation in water management.

D2, ANGU 432
Session: Queernifesto

Organizers: Ian Liujiang Tian (University of Toronto), Tara Silver (University of Toronto), Ken Wallingford (University of Toronto) and Sabra Rezaei

Chair: Tara Silver (University of Toronto)

**Dispossession and desire**
Presenters: Alan Sears (Ryerson University)

Important social mobilizations over the past 50 years around feminism and lesbian/gay/bisexual/trans/queer (LGBTQ) rights have won significant reforms in much of the Global North that have shifted but not overturned the hegemonic role of normative sexualities (heteronormativity and homonormativity). Over the same time span, a variety of struggles around gender and sexuality have developed in the Global South, taking specific forms in the context of particular histories. This paper argues that the resilience of normative sexualities in the face of sustained mobilizations is based on the ways sexual experience is framed by the dominant relations of production and social reproduction.

Normative sexualities are grounded in restrictive gendered and racialized divisions of labour, privatized household responsibilities for sustaining the current generation and raising the next, subordination and dehumanization in processes of class formation, and brutal histories of imperialism and colonialism. Sexual freedom will necessarily be partial and unequal when most human life energy is poured into boring and exhausting labour, whether paid in the workplace or unpaid in the home. Not only are people worn down by labour, but their humanity is eroded by what feels like the competitive struggle to survive.

Conditions of dehumanization shape normative sexualities. The legacy of imperialist conquest, colonialism and racism has routinely featured sexual assault and the violent destruction of existing ways of life, including patterns of gender and sexuality. Contemporary movements for sexual freedom have too often continued these patterns of dispossession by imposing models of sexual politics emerging from the experience of specific layers (disproportionately white and male) in the Global North. Struggles for sexual freedom will be constrained by the resilience of normative sexualities until the fundamental social relations that underpin them are overturned.

**Queer/Trans Fugitivity**
Presenter: Jamie Magnusson (University of Toronto)
Queer/trans sex workers remain criminalized within Canada, and undocumented sex workers are subject to state surveillance. In light of ongoing state and home-owner violence against QT BIPOC sex workers, I make a case for fugitivity as radical anti-capitalist, anti-colonial, and anti-imperialist practice. Fugitive practice goes hand in hand with community defence, harm reduction, and production of a QTBIPOC undercommons. Inspired by Harney and Moten (2013), QTBIPOC undercommons consist of communities against whom capitalist states have staged a war. Undercommons produce fugitive economies providing access to health care, food and housing. Undercommons and fugitive practice sustain vibrant social life and engage hopeful pre-figurative politics and solidarity building. Informed by my experience working with sex worker communities in Toronto, I argue that Q/T fugitive practice offers radical directions forward toward post-capitalism.

**Living Peripheral, Thinking South: decolonizing queer Marxism, or, why does queer Marxism need Asia**

Presenter: Ian Liujia Tian (University of Toronto), Mani Azimzadeh, Sabra Rezaei and Vinaya Gopaal

Our project is an intervention of, by and for queers in Asia specifically and the Global South more generally. We argue that a decolonial queer Marxist critique has to be grounded and contextualized. To countenance this argument, we critique two publications on queer Marxism; Warped and The Politics of Everybody. We argue that some streams of queer Marxism do not consider the coloniality of power; thus continue to disregard violence deployed on the bodies living in the South through the global cheapening and exploitation of the peripheral population. Further, it seems to set the tone for what is a ‘proper’ queer Marxist critique so the rest of the world can follow. Our relative work in China, Iran and India bring lived experiences of activists and demonstrate that queer liberation in these localities inevitably addresses issues of state-form (nation-state), capitalism, post-coloniality and post-sociality. We believe that globalization is not being established only by imperialism in its direct form but also by Westernized emancipation that reproduces the materialities and discourses to reinforce imperialism. Queer Marxism that only centres white urban workers in the North does not liberate but further disadvantage queers in the South. Anti-capitalist sexuality in the ‘peripheral’ does not need to follow the teleology of queer theory or Marxism towards emancipations; rather, it needs to innovate and decolonize resistance to navigate multiple layers of power.

**Hitting the Reset Button on Queer Socialism**

Presenter: Cameron McKenzie (Wilfred Laurier)

In 2016, I wrote about the impact of the AIDS epidemic on the early gay liberation movement. I was struck with how different gay/queer politics of that period were compared with my experience today. It was clear to me that the earlier movement was very much part of a broader left-wing social movement, with the all the debate that this entails. It seems to me that the movement has lost its radicalism and structural analysis and appears to be focused on a human rights approach. In the
process of examining these issues, Queer Liberation Theory has emerged as a possible theory for returning to a structural analysis of queer experience and oppression. Queer Liberation Theory shares Queer Theory's insights regarding the fluidity of sexuality, but moves the focus beyond identities, accepting even essentialist identities, including gay, trans, lesbian, and straight. Indeed, the use of the word “queer” in addition to terms like “gay” or “LGBTQ+” is a deliberate move to expand notions and experience of gender and sexuality. In the terminology of Queer Liberation Theory, simply put, the use of the word queer signals a progressive, critical, sex-positive, anti-assimilationist, liberationist perspective. The term LGBTQ+ is used to describe an assimilationist perspective that strives for respectability and acceptance. There are three aspects of Queer Liberation Theory, all at various stages of development: anti-assimilationism, notions of solidarity across social movements, and the political economy of queerness.

D3, ANGU 254
**Session: The New Financial Capital**

Organizers: Scott Aquanno (University of Ontario) and Stephan Maher (York University) and colleagues.

Co-chairs: Scott Aquanno and Stephan Maher

This panel explores the applicability of Hilferding’s analysis of finance capital to the present moment of neoliberal financialization. While Hilferding’s work has been criticized for its close association to the German and Austrian cases and for identifying the structural power of money capital through a narrow theoretical and empirical assessment of industrial accumulation and expansion, his work has remained important for its focus on the centralizing tendencies of mature capitalism and its emphasis on promoters profit. However, this reading of the value of Hilferding’s contribution may be too narrow, given the specific patterns of institutional power now characteristic of neoliberal control and domination. Comparing Hilferding’s treatment of the state as well as his understanding of the relationship between money and productive capital to the post-WWII development of global capitalism, including the contradictory evolution of neoliberalism following the 2008 financial crisis, this panel explores the case that the present moment of financialization actually represents a new type of finance capitalism.

D4, ANGU 243
**Session: Interdisciplinary Feminist Session (2 of 2): Circles of Feminist Conversations—Voices from the Margins, Intersectional and Relational Perspectives**

Organizers: Ann B. Denis (University of Ottawa), Linda Christiansen-Ruffman (St. Mary’s University), Alana Cattapan (University of Saskatchewan), Elaine Coburn (York University) et al.
Conducting Insider Research with Queer Muslim Women: Addressing Relationality, Solidarity, Power and Critical Reflexivity

Presenters: Maryam Khan (Wilfrid Laurier University)

An important consideration in qualitative intersectional, transnational feminist, critical race feminist and overall critical feminist approaches to research is the attention paid to relationality, power dynamics, ethics and critical reflexivity among some aspects. My presentation will explore the complexities of engaging in insider/outsider qualitative (life story method) research with queer Muslim women in Toronto, ON. I will discuss negotiating relationships with the community I belong to as an activist, academic and as a fellow community member. I wish to share and discuss the following: How did I negotiate the research process with the women who partook in the research? What did member checking look like? What type of relationality and ethics is called for when working with communities of belonging? How can researching and working in the communities of belonging call for a non-traditional approach to solidarity, social justice, and ethics? What can critical reflexivity look like in this approach? I will identify my critical intersectional feminist approach to working with the LBTQ Muslim women, which is grounded in critical, progressive and liberatory approaches to the Islamicate tradition. Normative sexualities are grounded in restrictive gendered and racialized divisions of labour, privatized household responsibilities for sustaining the current generation and raising the next, subordination and dehumanization in processes of class formation, and brutal histories of imperialism and colonialism. Sexual freedom will necessarily be partial and unequal when most human life energy is poured into boring and exhausting labour, whether paid in the workplace or unpaid in the home. Not only are people worn down by labour, but their humanity is eroded by what feels like the competitive struggle to survive.
Cette présentation met en lumière la souffrance des femmes en situation de pauvreté à partir de leur expérience de vie selon une perspective féministe intersectionnelle. Leurs discours sont tirés de trois recherches qualitatives portant sur 1) la santé et la pauvreté des femmes en milieu rural, 2) la pauvreté extrême de femmes et leur rapport aux politiques sociales de l’État et 3) la pauvreté des travailleuses de soin à domicile en milieu rural. La situation de pauvreté de ces femmes prend divers visages dans le sens où certaines d’entre elles travaillent au salaire minimum, d’autres sont en congé d’invalidité à long terme, d’autres reçoivent des prestations d’assurance emploi et, enfin, certaines sont prestataires d’assistance sociale. Malgré cette diversité, les rencontres avec ces femmes en situation de pauvreté ont mis en lumière une dimension subjective trop souvent occultée soit la souffrance qu’entraîne la pauvreté au-delà de la privation matérielle. Ainsi, cette souffrance se manifeste de quatre différentes manières dans leur vécu, à savoir le fait d’être aux prises avec des systèmes qui promeuvent des idéologies dominantes valorisant, entre autres, le succès et la réussite matérielle (Jo, 2012), qui produisent de la honte (Chamberlen, 2017), 3), qui offrent peu d’espoir (Reid et Tom, 2006) et qui minent le pouvoir des femmes (Novak, 1995). Ces manifestations de la souffrance sont essentielles à la compréhension du vécu de pauvreté de ces femmes. Leur voix, qui exprime la souffrance, permet de comprendre la pauvreté au-delà d’une perspective individualisante conviant plutôt à lutter contre la pauvreté dans une visée de dignité humaine et de justice sociale. Il s’agit ainsi de mettre l’accent sur l’histoire de femmes rencontrées, dans une intention d’accéder à leur voix, pour dépasser le fait de parler d’elles à la troisième personne de manière à les entendre parler d’elles au « JE ».

Intersectionality, Hegemony and Personal Domain in Youth Culture and Private Space (2012)
Presenter: Ley Dorian Fraser (University of Manitoba)

The first space a young person has to themselves is typically a private (or semi-private) room bestowed on them by their parent or guardian, who may retain the right to access the space or revoke the youth’s right to privacy and preferred use of the space (Fournier 2018a). Despite membership in social movements and significant social accomplishments, youth are largely considered deserving of their subordinate status in society (relative to adults, the dominant hegemonic group) often even by youth themselves (e.g., Durham 2004). Private spaces provide a glimpse into how youth combat their subordinate status with ingenuity, carving out unique expressions of their identities and ways to inhabit their space (Lincoln, 2012). In this paper, I use an intersectional feminist lens to examine the youths’ creative construction of their private domain and identity within the confines of adult hegemonic domination in Siân Lincoln’s 2012 ethnography of young people’s bedrooms (Youth Culture and Private Spaces). I also use the ingenuity of youth in their own space as an illustrative example of the elements of youth culture which can be overlooked in feminist research and offer recommendations for the construction and inclusion of youth as a group in feminist sociological research.
E1, ANGU 345
Session: Hard-right ‘Insurgent’ Left Politics in the Austerity Era: Comparing Ontario, Québec, the UK and the US

Organizers: Xavier Lafrance (University of Montreal)

Chair: Xavier Lafrance

The political period that began with the Great Recession has seen a renewal of ‘left of the left’ and of hard-right political parties. The dead end of technocratic and austerity politics of neoliberal center-right parties is leading to rapid transformations of partisan systems in several countries and regions. Growing layers of the electorate are disenchanted with mainstream politicians and some are opting for what has been dubbed ‘populist’ right and left parties by media pundits. On the left, parties and political figures have opened up new spaces of political hope where ‘insurgent’ electoral politics has the potential to spill over onto the social movement field. On the other side of the political spectrum, hard-right and far-right political parties are mixing up neoliberal platforms with uninhibited racist, sexist, homophobic and transphobic politics. This is the emerging political terrain that the socialist left must navigate. This panel will assess its pitfalls and the opportunities that it might offer by focusing on Ontario under the Conservative government of Rob Ford, on the recent election of the CAQ and the Québec Solidaire breakthrough in Québec, and by offering a comparative analysis of political movements that have emerged around Jeremy Corbyn in the UK and Bernie Sanders in the US.

Roundtable featuring:

- **The Successes and Pitfalls of Québec solidaire’s Left Populist Strategy**
  Presenter: Christian Pépin (PhD candidate, Political science, York University)

- **Resistance in Right Populist Times**
  Presenter: Alan Sears (Professor, Sociology, Ryerson University)

- **Corbyn, Sanders and the Emergence of New Political Spaces on the Left**
  Presenter: Xavier Lafrance (University of Montreal)

E2, ANGU 339
Session: Intersectional Social Inequities and the Role of the University

Organizers: Elena Chou (York University)

Chair: Elena Chou
Universities are often touted as the foundation for improving the lives of its surrounding communities: as an avenue for social mobility; as an economic engine; as a base for knowledge production and mobilization; and as a community and cultural hub. At the same time, however, universities as neoliberal capitalist institutions remain elitist and exclusionary, responsible for a variety of social ills. In light of the increasing neoliberalization of the university, what role can universities and academics play in fostering constructive conversations and accountable actions with the broader non-academic communities and audiences within which they are situated? What are the possibilities for the university in working to improve the lives of not only its students as graduates, but also surrounding community members whether local, provincial, national and/or global?

**Against Critical University Studies: Beyond the Epistemic Economy of the Ivory Tower**

Presenters: Patrick Teed (York University)

In 2012, Jeffrey J. Williams published the paper “Deconstructing Academe...”, a now seminal text within the (then) unfolding terrain of the field. Williams’s intervention is significant because it united a field of otherwise disparate critiques, cohering them around a newly offered formal (and ostensibly radical) name: Critical University Studies (CUS). However, rather than extending inquiry along the lines of CUS, this project radically departs from those same vocabularies of critique. More specifically, whereas CUS figures the University as an institution corrupted and corroded by neoliberal logics of governmentality (implying that it is Neoliberalism and not the University that is in need of dismantling), I will position the University as the fundamental object of critique. Thus, rather than theorizing the University as a solution to epistemic economies of ignorance and violence, I propose that it is precisely the University apparatus that is the problem – the site where epistemic violence is most acutely generated, circulated, and (differentially) distributed. This paper will argue then that the problem is not that the University needs to be retrieved from the insidious regimes of neoliberal rationality, but rather that the University is always-already a capital figure in epistemic cartographies of settler-colonial domination.

**Valorizing Inequalities in the University**

Presenter: Gerald de Montigny (Carleton University)

In this paper I argue that understanding and challenging intersecting social inequalities requires explicating and critiquing the systematic organization and division of labour of work within universities. It is in taken-for-granted forms of day-to-day work that universities continue to reproduce and reinforce social inequalities, albeit most often expressed through individualistic valorizations of excellence and merit. To understand the intersection of inequalities we need to examine universities as work sites. Foundational to education is the reproduction and legitimization of systematic inequalities, whether expressed as status, income, power, authority, and control. Such inequalities extend from ‘house-keeping’ (often
contracted out to poorly paid racialized staff), ancillary services – residences, athletics, food services, parking, etc., differentiations of contract (sessional) instructors, tenured faculty, salary and faculty ranks, ‘research chairs’, and of course senior administrators – Presidents, Vice-presidents, and Deans. The organization and the division of labour in universities model and reproduce social inequalities and hierarchies.

_In and Against the Neoliberal University - Reflections on Labour Activism at York University_
Presenter: Gizem K. Çakmak (York University)

While serving as institutions of social mobility, higher learning and potential sites for social transformation, universities are becoming hubs of neoliberal ideology with market-driven learning, increased managerial corporatization, and the casualization of academic labour. They are increasingly operating like businesses, while engaging in top-down governance practices in order to shut down opposition.

E3, ANGU 254
_Section: Re-thinking Class_

Organizers: Paul Kellogg (Athabasca University)

Chair: Kellogg

This panel features scholars who critically re-examine the concept of “class”. Arguably, in the writings of the young Karl Marx, classes were not perceived as structures, but rather as collections of human beings, with hopes, dreams, ideas and passions. The young Marx expressed an interest not with an inert mass of workers created and recreated by capitalism, but with the dynamic and alive mass of workers who, in struggle – in political struggle – created themselves as a class. We have just passed the 50th anniversary of E.P. Thompson’s Making of the English Working Class. Thompson is in the company of C.L.R. James, and Rosa Luxemburg and others who reminded us, in their writings, of this human, class-for-itself dimension in serious historical materialist analysis. The emergence of this class “for itself” is not automatically determined. It is a product of struggle. Thompson's great work used the verb “[m]aking because it is a study in an active process, which owes as much to agency as to conditioning. The working class did not rise like the sun at an appointed time. It was present at its own making ... I do not see class as a ‘structure’, nor even as a ‘category’, but as something which in fact happens (and can be shown to have happened) in human relationships.” In ways both theoretical and empirical, the papers here think through the making of class as relationship.

_Geographies of Dissonance: Rethinking the ‘Making’ of Classes in Transnational Spaces_
Presenters: Rawan Abdelbaki (York University)
A perennial problematic of conventional class formation theories has been the ways in which a class-in-itself becomes, through struggle, a class-for-itself. Though these formulations have gained much sophistication and nuance as they’ve move away from teleological conceptions of social transformation, this paper seeks to introduce another problematic that has yet to penetrate class theory. E.P. Thompson averred that class “happens” through social intercourse: classes are formed through communal bonds, through ways of navigating the social world collectively, and through the sharing of ideas and experiences. Taking this cultural formulation of class as a starting point, I seek to advance a theoretical problematic by taking into account the spatiality of class identities. How might transnational migration studies unsettle our understanding of cultural class formation? Against and opposed to whom is this alterity of class interests posed in the transnational field? In other words, if class is indeed a cultural formation, what is the location of this culture? What are the implications of these transnational dynamics on possibilities for social transformation both ‘here’ and ‘there’? I argue that migrants’ lives and their temporal reversals and projections of class positions across time and their contradictory class locations across space pose a serious challenge to how to understand class identity, and possibilities for cultures of solidarity.

**Class at the Point of Production: The Making and Un-Making of Miners’ Occupational Identity**
Presenter: Adam King (York University)

Through the concept of “militant particularism,” Harvey (1995) highlights a central contradiction in the making of working classes: experience, place, and occupation shape workers’ immediate class interests, yet can simultaneously impede the extension of solidarity and the formation of workers across sectors and regions into a class. This paper takes up this issue through a case study of nickel miners in Sudbury, Ontario, and is based on a larger project encompassing 26 oral history interviews with workers. This research traces the formation and restructuring of the mining industry and the working class from the late 1950s to the present. In this paper, I analyze how a resilient occupational identity emerged among miners and the processes through which it is maintained and transmitted. I then register the ways that technological innovation and job loss, and the globalization of ownership, have impacted workers’ understanding of their class positions. I argue that workers made a particular form of class consciousness at the point of production in the conditions of the postwar capitalist order. But, as corporate globalization and industrial restructuring transformed the class structure, this rather circumscribed class identity was insufficient to articulate a response or build an alternative. This paper aims to raise questions about the nature of class and class consciousness in an era of global capitalism and industrial fragmentation.

**Class, revolution and the “Lost Voice” of Iulii Martov**
Presenter: Paul Kellog (Athabasca University)
It is 100 years since Iulii Martov composed the monograph World Bolshevism, yet its core analysis has had very limited circulation. Martov argued that the traditional categories of class analysis – bourgeoisie, petit-bourgeoisie, proletariat, lumpen-proletariat, etc. – were inadequate and misleading when applied schematically to the revolutionary wave which swept Russia and much of Europe after the terrible slaughter of the First World War. He argued that a “temporary new class” of soldiers in uniform – and in Russia that overwhelmingly meant peasant soldiers in uniform – was the central actor in this revolutionary wave. This temporary new class was revolutionary – determined to sweep all before it in its angry determination to leave the killing fields and return home – but in a very particular way. The war had imbued this temporary new class with a habit of solving political disputes through force of arms. In addition, they had lost faith in their “democratic socialist” leaders who had urged them into the hell of the trenches. This paper will bring to light this lost analysis of Iulii Martov, and assess its relevance both for our understanding of the Russian Revolution, and of the contours of the politics of emancipation today.

E4, ANGU 243
Session: Ecosocialism and Social Ecology

Organizers: Peter Prontzos (Langara College), Clare Cullen (Maynooth University) and Blair Taylor

Chair: Peter Prontzos

The presenters will discuss some of the fundamental issues raised by the late American political philosopher, Murray Bookchin. Beginning in the 1960s, Bookchin was a pioneer in linking the growing threats to nature with the demands of the capitalist system. He showed how the nature of capitalism, like patriarchy, racism, and other evils, are all forms of unjustified domination. Bookchin went much further, proposing solutions based on local democracy, respect for nature, the end of alienated labour, and the potential for a "post-scarcity" society.

Roundtable featuring:
  • Peter Prontzos (Langara College)
  • Clare Cullen (Maynooth University)
  • Blair Taylor (Sarah Lawrence College)

F1, ANGU 345
Session: Ecosocialisms and Environmental Politics in the Anthropocene

Organizers: Harry Diaz (University of Regina)

Chair: Harry Diaz
Global environmental change (GEC) it is a central feature of the modern world that shapes our future paths of development. It involves a myriad of interrelated and interdependent changes that include, among others, transformations of biodiversity, climatological trends, and hydrological conditions. All these changes are the results of significant alterations to natural conditions produced by the social and economic systems of modernity. Human activity is reshaping the earth on unprecedented scales, even leaving its imprint in geological record. Present-day governments walk a thin line between acknowledging anthropogenic threats and risks, while also actively encouraging further environmental destruction. This session seeks to explore some of the challenges facing eco-socialist organizing in the face of unprecedented social, ecological, and political crises. Papers contribute to our understanding of the impacts that GEC may have for our goals to improve social conditions, better democracy and develop a sustainable and fair economy.

**Professed vulnerabilities in the Quill Lakes: An examination of prolonged and intensified flooding impacts**

Presenters: Kaila Sebastian (University of Regina)

Previously assumed high-precipitation and drainage were blamed for the spilling of the Quill Lakes into agricultural crop and pasture lands. The latter, at the feet of both farmers and organizations, has been highly contentious due to assumed illegal activities and government (in)action. Furthermore, this flooding has persisted in the Quill Lakes watershed amidst drought-like atmospheric conditions, public protest and calls-for-action for almost a decade. This multi-year extreme flooding event has not only impacted local communities, their ways-of-life, and relationships with both downstream communities and government entities, but it has also begun to drain ecological, economic and social resources within the province as a whole. To date, it is presumed that approximately $250 million has been lost due to a lack of communication, cooperation and strategic action planning by multiple agencies (both government and community organized). This paper discusses the knowledge and experiences from local key stakeholders, the (mis)steps by decision-makers, and the professed vulnerabilities and exposure units created or exacerbated by the prolonged flood.

**Organic “Aimak” Villages: An Alternative to “Development”?**

Presenter: Deborah Dergousoff (Simon Fraser University) and Aikokul Arzieva (Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva)

Our paper reflects our observations of a project we organized while teaching at the American University of Central Asia in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan in 2014-2015. Our project’s aim was to introduce students to an Indigenous research framework for analyzing Organic Villages. As part of the project, we secured a grant to bring Dr. Richard Atleo, a Nuu-chah-nulth elder and published scholar, to accompany our students to a village visit and a series of meetings at the Aigine Cultural Research Center. Organic ‘aimak’ Villages is a pilot project developed and implemented by the Federation for Organic Movement (FOM) in Kyrgyzstan. Within the framework of
this project, the FOM is working to create a local sustainable model of integrated
development of rural communities based on principles of organic movement and
the potential of traditional cultures and ways of life. Organic Villages are premised
on the belief that humanity is part of nature and that sustainable development must
take into account the laws of nature. In this paper we consider the potential of
Organic Villages in the context of cultural, political, ecological and economic
transformations going on in Kyrgyzstan.

**Sensibility Factors Advancing Climate Justice**

Presenter: Margot Hulbert (Johnson-Shoyama Graduate School of Public Policy),
Sandra Turbay and Paula Musseta

This paper recounts findings of ethnographic climate vulnerability assessments in
Canada and South America of agricultural producers in relation to extreme events of
drought and flood. In several studies in the past decade, agricultural producers
vulnerable to climate change and extreme events were predominantly family units
subject to agronomic, environmental, economic, social and political drivers. One
emergent characteristic of vulnerability was agricultural producers of a
monoculture crop highly subject to these drivers. Size of unit was less of a
determinant of vulnerability than was size of ‘debt.’ Other determinants included
characteristics of the farm including soil, insects, biodiversity. Lack of access to
regional, national, and international markets and economics influenced cost of
production and profitability rendering agricultural producers without access more
sensitive. Although extension services were an important component of boosting
human capital, cognitive injustice resulted from disregard of ancestral agricultural
knowledge. Technological adaptation was not always the best adaptation as often
technology deepened inequality. At the macro scale, the decreasing role played by
the state in agricultural markets and business was leaving a void that was being
filed in some contexts by trade unions and social relations. However, the reduction
of disaster response and infrastructure in relation to extreme events is increasing
vulnerability. In order to advance sensibility in relation to climate justice, resilience
is improved by improving human capital, education, public private investment in
research, and strengthening the science and policy communication.

F2, ANGU 339

**Session: Palestine, Trudeau and the Liberals**

Organizers: Abigail Bakan (Queen’s University) and Yasmeen Abu-Laban (University
of Alberta)

Co-chairs: Abigail Bakan and Yasmeen Abu-Laban

When Justin Trudeau and the Liberal Party took office in 2015, there was great
optimism that the era Stephen Harper and the Tories had come to an end. The
Harper administration was notoriously closely allied with the Israeli state, including
the famous speech at the Knesset in 2014, identifying Canada and Israel as “the most natural of allies”. Regardless of the Liberals’ distancing of their government’s policies and practices from their predecessors in Ottawa, however, Trudeau sent assurances of continuity in the relationship to Netanyahu in a personal phone call, days after the election in October, 2015. Trudeau tweeted on March 13, 2015, “The BDS movement, like Israeli Apartheid Week, has no place on Canadian campuses”, and advanced anti-BDS legislation in February, 2016. Yet, on May 16, 2018, the Prime Minister expressed outrage about the events in Gaza, calling the use of lethal force “inexcusable” and calling for an “immediate investigation”. What are the contours of the current political moment in Canada regarding the Liberal government and Palestinian rights? What are the implications in terms of Canadian foreign policy towards Israel/Palestine, freedom of speech on university campuses, and the BDS movement in particular? Speakers will address these and related questions on this important panel discussion.

Roundtable featuring:

- **Canada and Palestine: The Regional Realities and Context**
  Presenter: Ghada Ageel (University of Alberta)

- **Trudeau, Palestine and Civil Society**
  Presenter: Atif Kubursi (McMaster University)

- **The Harper Years and Palestine: Looking Back to Look Forward**
  Presenters: Abigail Bakan (University of Toronto) and Yasmeen Abu-Laban (University of Alberta)

F3, ANGU 254

**Session: Pedagogy as Social Change**

Organizers: Sandra Rein (University of Alberta)

Chair: Sandra Rein

The Left has a long history of engaging questions of education and establishing “Party” schools in times of revolutionary change. But how do we engage in critical pedagogies within the “neoliberal” university structures constructed by the demands and contradictions of modern capitalism? This roundtable invites a conversation about critical pedagogies, their relationship to social change and how we may implement them in our classrooms. While the speakers will share from their own research and experiences, we hope to engage others who are experiencing the classroom as either instructors or students or both.

Roundtable discussion featuring:
• **Pedagogy as a tool of decolonization in Canada**  
  Presenters: Dr. Daniel Sims, (University of Alberta)

• **Project-based pedagogy for addressing environmental issues**;  
  Presenters: Dr. Joseph Wiebe (University of Alberta)

• **How not to teach learners to be earners**  
  Presenters: Dr. Janet Wesselius (University of Alberta)

• **Engaging Faculty in critical pedagogies**  
  Presenters: Dr. Karsten Mündel (University of Alberta)

• **Teaching with Che and other stories from the periphery**  
  Presenters: Sandra Rein (University of Alberta)

F4, ANGU 243  
**Session: Communisms, Socialisms: Theory and Practice**

Chair: Radika Desai (University of Manitoba)

**Marxism as a Learning Process**  
Presenters: Steve D’Arcy (Huron University)

In ordinary empirical justification, noting that someone once said a, b or c about case X offers little or no help in substantiating a claim about case Y. For instance, if I want to know how many people live in Manchester today, it is of very little help to cite a comment from Engels about Manchester in the 1840s. Nevertheless, in marxism, it is common to justify claims about contemporary debates by citing remarks of Marx, Engels, or other ‘classical’ figures in the marxist tradition, like Lenin or Luxemburg, concerning debates from the 19th or early 20th centuries. These quotations are no only literary devices; they are supposed to justify important and contested claims. Critics often condemn this practice for what they call a “religious” attitude toward Marx, a kind of superstitious appeal to an ancestral authority. In doing so, they like to claim the mantle of rationality and to assume the posture of guardian and guarantor of evidence-based scientificity, determined to hold encroaching unreason at bay. But, notwithstanding its self-assured stance of secular modernity and its air of epistemological sophistication, this resistance toward the citation of classical texts in a justificatory role is fully misguided. Drawing on arguments about the role of precedential reasoning (as in common-law legal systems) in cumulative, self-correcting learning process, I want to explain why.

**Manifesting the Future: Answering the Call for a New Story with Lessons from The Communist Manifesto**  
Presenter: Jason Miller (University of Victoria)
Today, calls for a New Story ring out across the landscape of Western progressive politics from all directions—one capable of unifying a fractured Left while illuminating a pathway to addressing the myriad of crises that characterize this period of advanced capitalism. But who might contribute to the arrival of such a historically momentous story-for-our-time, and what shape might these contributions take? Seeking a provisional starting point for discussion around these important questions of macro-political narrative prefiguration, this presentation looks to revolutionary literature of the past. Through a temporally focused narrative analysis of The Communist Manifesto that applies insights gleaned from the fields of semiotics, rhetoric, mythology, and the philosophy of narrative, it gestures towards a potential model for the emplotment of possible futures in revolutionary storytelling. The resulting image of The Manifesto is that of a social-scientifically informed subversive myth, capable of aligning the intentions and actions of a diverse readership with a partially defined vision of the future. Narrative ambiguity, dynamic characterization, and a deliberately open-ended destination are suggested as crucial components of this historically influential text that also represent valuable tools for contemporary storytellers attempting to bridge the gap between a precarious present and a veiled future of flourishing.

**Karl Polanyi’s Socialism OR Revisiting The Great Transformation**

Presenters: Radhika Desai (University of Manitoba)

There are a number of misunderstandings that bedevil our understanding of Karl Polanyi’s magnum opus, The Great Transformation. They affect our understanding, inter alia, of the exact nature of the socialism it advocated, its diagnosis of the crisis of nineteenth century civilization, the centrality of the role of the state, the various national traditions and advances toward socialism and its relation to Marx. This paper seeks to unravel some of these in order to underline the centrality of Polanyi’s thought to making sense of our own critical times and the rise of the authoritarian and fascist right.


Presenters: Evgeniia Sidorova (University of Calgary)

In the 1920s the newly established Soviet Union granted the rights to autonomy and self-determination to indigenous groups whose population was more than 50 thousand people. Other indigenous groups were recognized as “small-numbered.” In regard to the former Soviet Union, and its predecessor, Russia, indigenous studies have been predominantly focused on small-numbered groups, whose populations are less than 50 thousand peoples. Only these groups are legally recognized as “indigenous” by the Russian government. That being said, those indigenous groups who were granted autonomy during the Soviet times, have been neglected as an object of studies in political science and indigenous studies for a long time. Meanwhile, the studies on indigenous self-autonomies in the USSR could greatly contribute to the understanding of self-determination by indigenous groups in
socialist economy and cover the gaps in comparative studies on self-determination and autonomies. The author analyzed the concept of self-determination from the international point of view, set up the criteria for self-determination and then applied these criteria to the case study of the Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (1920-1991). The results of analysis showed that the application of Marxist theory to indigenous self-determination could contribute to preservation of indigenous languages and culture.

G1, ANGU 345

Session: Rosa Luxemburg’s Theoretical and Political Legacy: One Hundred Years After Her Assassination – 1of 2

Organizers: Ingo Schmidt (Athabasca University and the Rosa Luxemburg Society)

Chair: Ingo Schmidt

Politically, Luxemburg defended what she saw as the revolutionary tradition of Marx and Engels against social democratic revisionism and Bolshevism vanguardism. Consequently, her political thinking focused on workers’ self-emancipation and culminated in suggesting mass strikes as key for to the building of collective capacities. Luxemburg’s economic theory opened global perspectives beyond the European horizons of the First and Second Internationals. Her assassination marks the tragic failure to pursue revolutionary working-class politics in a largely pre-capitalist and pre-industrial world. After the collapse of Soviet Communism and the long decline of social democracy, one might wonder whether capitalist globalization has created conditions to link Luxemburg’s revolutionary politics and with her global analytical outlook. Papers assess Luxemburg’s theoretical and political legacy and explore possibilities for socialist politics today.

Roundtable featuring:

- **Rosa Luxemburg and the Mass Strike Today**
  Presenters: Sobhanlal Datta Gupta (University of Calcutta & International Rosa Luxemburg Society)

- **The Concept of Ideology in Luxemburg and Gramsci**
  Presenter: Sevgi Dogan (University of Pisa, Italy)

- **Untitled**
  Presenter: Andreas Günther (Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, NY)

G2, ANGU 339

Book Launch: The Political Thought of CB Macpherson by Frank Cunningham with Frank Cunningham
Central to the thought of C.B. Macpherson (1911-1987) are his critique of the culture of ‘possessive individualism’ and his defence of liberal-democratic socialism. Resurgence of interest in his works is in reaction to the rise of neoliberalism and efforts to find an alternative to societies dominated by capitalist markets. Macpherson’s theories are explained and applied to 21st century challenges. Come join author Frank Cunningham in a discussion of his new book.

G3, ANGU 254  
**Session: Canadian Political Economy**

Organizers: Heather Whiteside (University of Waterloo)  
Chair: Heather Whiteside

This roundtable will discuss the current problems and projects, and distinct evolution, of the interdisciplinary field of Canadian Political Economy (CPE). The panel will be oriented around critical analyses of the empirical political economy of Canada and Canada’s contribution to heterodox theory and debate in the field of political economy. The panel participants ask: how and in what ways does Canada have its own story to tell in the world of political economy? Is its evolution in subject matter and focus part of a larger political economy trajectory both theoretically and empirically? Panel participants are involved in two new (in press and in progress) books that seek to advance and re-invigorate the field of CPE.

Roundtable featuring:

- Carlo Fanelli (York University)  
- Peter Graefe (McMaster University)  
- Carol-Ann Hudson (Independent Policy Analyst)  
- Charles Smith (University of Saskatchewan)  
- Heather Whiteside (University of Waterloo)

G4, ANGU 243  
**Session: Socialist Feminisms: Theories, Struggles and Prefigurative Praxis-2 of 2 sessions**

Organizers: Elaine Coburn (York University), Abigail Bakan (Queen’s University), Co-chairs: Elaine Coburn and Abigail Bakan
Intersectionality, Social Reproduction, and Multilinearity: Engaging with Late Marx
Presenters: Olena Lyubchenko (York University) and Rhaysa Ruas

Today, when intersectionality has gained popular currency as a pluralist emancipatory tool, used by political leaders for further institutionalization of neoliberal policies, critical academia and activist circles are ostensibly divided along the uncomfortable race-class-gender nexus. Under the expansion of formal rights of minorities, accumulation by dispossession works through austerity to further disadvantage people enmeshed in unequal relations of race, class, and gender. The current context serves as the point of departure to ask the following question: does intersectionality offer the tools that we need to understand the world of social totality and all of its complexities? This collaborative paper constructs an immanent critique of intersectionality by bringing together Social Reproduction Theory, newer Marxist scholarship on capitalist accumulation and colonialism and Marx’s late writings (Shanin 1983, Anderson 2010; Pradella 2015). Here we explore how processes of on-going primitive accumulation, central to the structural existence of capitalism, are simultaneously and necessarily patriarchal and racist. Our aim is to contribute to the development of a holistic understanding of oppression and expropriation/exploitation in order to come up with a useful methodology for both empirical research and political activism.

Socialist Feminism, Marx and the Politics of “Difference”
Abigail B. Bakan (University of Toronto)

Marx’s work is widely understood to focus on one form of ‘difference’ in social relations, based on his work on the concept of “exploitation”. Exploitation is in the capitalist mode of production is particularly well developed in Marx’s work, advanced in the first volume of Capital and other works of political economy. However, Marx also attended to two other forms of difference, based on alienation and oppression. While the concept of alienation, largely drawn from the German idealist philosophy, is commonly addressed through a reading of Marx’s philosophical writings, his contribution to our understanding of oppression has received scant attention. In this paper, I address this reading of Marx with the aim of highlighting Marx’s contribution to our understanding of oppression, and the particular implications this offers for socialist feminism in terms of conceptualizations of gender, race, intersectionality and social reproduction.

Another world for whom? Urban environmental alternatives emerging out of women’s struggles for water in Cape Town

Presenter: Meera Vani Karunananthan (University of Ottawa)

In the last decade, international financial institutions (IFIs) and donor agencies including the World Bank have introduced neoliberal reforms to urban water
systems in the Global South under the guise of drought management and climate adaptation plans. By treating urban water scarcity as a scientific phenomenon in need of technical solutions, these proposals obscure the power dynamics that shape asymmetrical relationships in access to and control over urban water sources.

Depicted as a city “running out of water” in international media, Cape Town is the target of IFIs promoting solutions to protect GDP growth rates from the impacts of urban water scarcity. The local government’s climate adaptation plan has been met with organized opposition and resistance, particularly from working class Black women living in impoverished urban settlements who bear the disproportionate burden of restricted access to water.

Combining critical discourse analysis of global and local policy documents with data from interviews and participant observation of women community activists in Cape Town, this paper demonstrates how women demanding access to water have disrupted neoliberal water reforms promoted by powerful global and local forces. By examining the alternatives emerging out of these struggles, it provides guidelines for a feminist urban water agenda rooted in the needs and aspirations of women living at the intersections of socio-economic, gender-based and racialized oppression. Drawing from Marxist feminist scholarship, the paper highlights the importance of women’s social reproduction labour as an arena for building alternative urban climate and water justice programs.

**Socialist feminism in praxis: Potentials and dilemmas of collective organizations**

Presenters: Alicia Massie and Yi Chien Jade Ho

Discussions of power, control, and structure have always been at the centre of academic debates. Lines of critique in feminist, anarchist, Marxist, and other radical scholarships have long questioned the nature of hierarchy and its relationship to patriarchal capitalism. Feminist scholars have often considered non-hierarchical organizations as a crucial step forward in our pursuit of fundamental social change. In the wake of the resurgence of racist, misogynist, authoritarian, and nativist political ideologies there is a need to continue to actively question how researcher-activists can build sustainable, powerful, and grounded practices of social change. Collective organizations can be complex, challenging, and unfamiliar social structures; but they also present a fundamentally liberating ways of organizing ourselves. In abandoning typical structures of hierarchy and competition, we can question the nature of our society’s materiality, and we make time to consider the day-to-day of our collective liberation. Exploring egalitarian, feminist, and non-hierarchical organizations, this paper will begin with a discussion of the Teaching Support Staff Union, a feminist, directly-democratic, and non-hierarchical teaching union at Simon Fraser University. What should collective organizations look like in the 21st century? How do power and control flow in collective organizations? How do we ensure collectives have learned from past lessons (theoretical and practical)? Are we working to create spaces of collective imagination and transformative practice?
Session: Rosa Luxemburg's Theoretical and Political Legacy: One Hundred Years After Her Assassination – 2of 2

Organizers: Ingo Schmidt (Athabasca University and the Rosa Luxemburg Society)

Chair: Ingo Schmidt

Politically, Luxemburg defended what she saw as the revolutionary tradition of Marx and Engels against social democratic revisionism and Bolshevism vanguardism. Consequently, her political thinking focused on workers’ self-emancipation and culminated in suggesting mass strikes as key for to the building of collective capacities. Luxemburg’s economic theory opened global perspectives beyond the European horizons of the First and Second Internationals. Her assassination marks the tragic failure to pursue revolutionary working-class politics in a largely pre-capitalist and pre-industrial world. After the collapse of Soviet Communism and the long decline of social democracy, one might wonder whether capitalist globalization has created conditions to link Luxemburg’s revolutionary politics and with her global analytical outlook. Papers assess Luxemburg’s theoretical and political legacy and explore possibilities for socialist politics today.

Roundtable featuring:

• **Rosa Luxemburg’s Advice to the Socialist Movement**
  Presenter: Julia Killet (Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, Munich office, Germany)

• **Rosa Luxemburg’s theoretical and political legacy one-hundred years after her assassination**
  Presenter: Ingo Schmidt (Athabasca University and the Rosa Luxemburg Society)

• **Rosa Luxemburg and the question of education: theory and praxis of a critical pedagogy**
  Presenter: Joshua Wavrant (Université Reims Champagne Ardenne)

Rosa Luxemburg is renowned for her views on economics and her revolutionary political statements. Less is known about her pedagogical skills and experience. Yet, she spent six years at the SPD Party school as a teacher in Berlin, where she taught Political Economy and Economic History. There, the future elite of the working-class movement, chosen on the basis of their skills and commitment was introduced to Marxism for half a year, in the hope that they would bring back socialdemocracy on the path of revolutionary action. However, if knowledge leads to self-consciousness, education does not replace involvement and action. Thus, both education and action are mandatory to develop a revolutionary praxis. While the pedagogy as thought by the German social-democracy condemned the working class to apathy,
with leaders of the working class acting like teachers and masses considered as ignorant children to be taken care of; Rosa Luxemburg trusted the responsibility of the individuals in their intellectual, and soon political emancipation. By promoting self-enlightenment through what appeared to be soon a critical pedagogy, Rosa Luxemburg showed once again the originality of her revolutionary mind by trying to gather in her personal conception of education theory and praxis.

H2, ANGU 339

**Session: Popular Media Socialisms**
Organizers: Mervyn Nicholson (Thompson Rivers University)

Chair: Mervyn Nicholson

Media that present news and analysis from a progressive point of view seem a lot more visible than in the past—think of Rabbletv, Democracy Now, The Real News Network, The Tyee, Truthdig, Common Dreams, Democracy at Work, and even RT, but other sources come to mind, and have inherited the function sometimes played by radio, for example in Vancouver by Coop Radio with its long-running news analysis program the RedEye show. This panel invites discussion of popular media as a source of class analysis and information drawing on a different model from the mainstream media. Are these sources increasing in number? In popularity? What is their function? Is it successful? How to improve and expand the outreach offered by these media outlets? How do they differ from the msm perspective? What threats do these media face? Have you participated? What has been your experience? suggestions for improvement or growth?

Roundtable featuring:
• Mervyn Nicholson (Thompson Rivers University)
• Rabble Media
• Robert Hackett (Simon Fraser University)

H3, ANGU 254

**Session: Capitalism, Imperialism, Racism: How Shall We Overcome?**

Chair: James Parisot

**How America Became Capitalist: Imperial Expansion and the Conquest of the West**
Presenter: James Parisot (Drexel University)

Has America always been capitalist? Today, the US sees itself as the heartland of the international capitalist system, its society and politics intertwined deeply with its economic system. This book looks at the history of North America from the founding
of the colonies to debunk the myth that America is naturally capitalist. From the first white-settler colonies, capitalist economic elements were apparent, but far from dominant, and did not drive the early colonial advance into the West. Society, too, was far from homogeneous - as the role of the state fluctuated. Racial identities took time to imprint, and slavery, whilst at the heart of American imperialism, took both capitalist and less-capitalist forms. Additionally, gender categories and relations were highly complex, as standards of ‘manhood’ and ‘womanhood’ shifted over time to accommodate capitalism, and as there were always some people challenging this binary. In this context, this presentation will discuss these ideas, drawing from a book recently published on the topic.

**How Shall We Overcome? : Identity Politics, Politics of Alliance and Solidarity Praxis**

Presenters: Ayca Tomac (Queen’s University)

In the midst of the popular uprisings from Egypt to Turkey, from Spain to Greece and youth-initiated movements like Idle No More and Black Lives Matter, debates on identity politics as well as solidarity building have been in circulation both in the academia and ‘activist’ circles. Identity politics have been largely criticized on the basis of labeling identities as distinct bodies, boxing them in highly fragmented fronts and de-radicalizing them into rights, freedoms and civil society discourses. From within these criticisms, anti-racist, anti-capitalist feminist interventions to this form of identity politics challenged it by suggesting a dissident praxis of coalitional politics. Coalitional, or alliance, politics does not reject, but in fact acknowledges the difference. Yet, it is also cautious about the boundaries identity-based politics may build up around the idea of difference. Thus, it looks for the ways to have a meaningful, radical political engagement that aims at finding grounds of forging solidarity among and across them.

**The Regulation of Substance Users in Surrey, BC**

Presenters: Michael Ma (Kwantlen Polytechnic University) and Kory Langlois

This paper presents a site specific study to show that substance users in Surrey, BC are regulated by a structure of police, health, and municipal services. This paper presents the 2018 quantitative survey results from a study conducted with 200 substance users who reside and/or are homeless in Surrey, BC. In so doing, the study examines patterns of drug use in Surrey, BC. It examines the current gaps in epidemiological knowledge regarding illicit drug use and illicit drug-related harms. In the context of Surrey, BC the main gap in knowledge is the lack of data regarding drug use and homelessness. Such harms include accidental overdose, fentanyl use, naloxone use, homelessness, and lack of safe consumption. The study measures the outcomes of illicit drug use and harm reduction strategies allowing for a comparative analysis with other urban centres (e.g. Downtown Eastside Vancouver). Our study demonstrates that illicit substance users face ongoing criminalization by police services and by-law officials who are municipally deployed to control and contain the problem of addiction and homelessness.
Session: Neoliberal Authoritarianism and Subsidized Speech

Chair: Elaine Coburn

Authoritarianism, Neoliberalism, and the Juridified Political Sphere
Presenters: Honor Brabazon (University of Toronto)

This paper explores the relationship between authoritarianism and neoliberalism. In contrast to claims that the rise of authoritarian governance marks a challenge to, or break with, neoliberalism, the paper draws on the concept of ‘neoliberal legality’ to identify important compatibilities between authoritarianism and neoliberalism. The paper builds on the analysis that neoliberal subjectivities and social relations are fundamentally shaped by, and modelled on, juridical logics in a manner that obscures power relations and constricts political debate and dissent in what can be understood as an increasingly juridified political sphere. The paper explores how recent authoritarianism-inclined political leaders have been mobilizing juridical logics in similar ways to enable and legitimize their political moves, which appears to bolster the juridification of the political sphere that has been fundamental to neoliberalism. The paper offers the beginnings of an account of the authoritarian turn that considers its relationship to neoliberal legality.

Free Speech or Subsidized Speech? Rethinking the Marketplace of Ideas
Presenters: Herbert Pimlott (Wilfrid Laurier University)

I propose a new concept, ‘subsidised speech’, to address a number of changes in the mediated public sphere, for which the metaphor of the ‘marketplace of ideas’ was and is often substituted, while recognising critical political-economic changes in the media marketplace. ‘Subsidised speech’ is a concept that makes manifest powerful economic biases in our ‘marketplace of ideas’ to better understand how our 21st century mediated public sphere is so frequently skewed in favour of business and political elites. Too often, those whose speech is bought-and-paid for are given the opportunity to determine the frame of an issue or to misrepresent or scapegoat opponents. Applying this concept of ‘subsidised speech’ offers some important lessons for re-thinking the appropriateness of the ‘marketplace of ideas’. Of course, the ways in which it has been interpreted are not the same as the ‘common-sense’ discussions of free speech when the metaphor is invoked. However, even though the real marketplace is different from its ideal, perhaps the metaphor’s usefulness will be with the introduction of the concept of ‘subsidised speech’ to highlight the asymmetrical nature of ‘free speech’ in the contemporary public sphere, thereby enabling a more nuanced understanding of actual speech in public.
17h30-19h00
SWNG 222

Raven People Rising: Film Showing and Discussion with Jaimie Harris from the Heiltsuk Council

Organizer: Deborah Derguosoff (Simon Fraser University)
Co-chairs: Deborah Dergousoff and Ana Simeon (RAVEN)

Welcome by Umeek/E. Richard Atleo.

The Heilstuk Nation upholds an unbroken lineage of ancestral teachings that powerfully connect people to place. When the Nathan E. Stewart ran aground in their Great Bear Rainforest home, the Heiltsuk took to the courts. In the wake of the devastating spill, the Heiltsuk are working to enshrine Indigenous governance of their homelands and waters into law.

This session features a thirty minute documentary followed by a discussion led by Jaimie Harris of the Heiltsuk Council.

I1, ANGU 345

Session: Publishing By and For the Left
Organizer: Tanya Andrusieczko (Fernwood Publishing)

Publishing By and For the Left

Presenter: Tanya Andrusieczko (Fernwood Publishing)

There is no question that books have an important role in building and inspiring the ideas and movements of the left: they are sites of debate and imagination, dissent and kinship. Book publishers on the left have a commitment to ideas and analysis in the service of liberation, equality, justice, and sustainability; they also have a responsibility to refuse to reproduce white supremacy, coloniality, and misogyny in the publishing practice itself. Join this roundtable of independent publishers to discuss the future of left publishing. How can we advance a practice of anti-oppressive publishing? What can we do to support and encourage the publication of marginalized voices? In the context of increasing austerity and a concentration of capital and power in the industry, how can left academics and left publishers come together to advance the politics we need.

"F*ck Penguin Random House": Why the Left needs to take action to support independent Left publishing

Presenter: Amanda Crocker (Managing Editor, Between the Lines)

The Left is generally very good at providing analysis and critique of capital, showing us where the money is and what it means for massive corporations to wield
extraordinary power. From Big Pharma to Big Energy, Big Retail, Big Agriculture, and even Big Media, both academics and activists can usually name the largest of the corporate enemies in each industry and at least two or three of their corporate crimes. But the long list of corporate enemies of the Left never seems to include multi-national book publishing corporations. There seems to be a willful ignorance amongst lefties when it comes to Big Book. Left authors continue to publish with Big Book corporations and their readers are forced to support Big Book corporations when buying their books. This is not a benign practice. How do we change it?

I2 ANGU 432

**Session: Genocide Art**
Organizers: Sima Aprahamian (Concordia University), Karin Doerr (Concordia University) and Indira Natasha Prahst (Langara College)

Chair: Sima Aprahamian

**Holocaust Art Today: Intersection of Word and Image**
Presenters: Karin Doerr (Concordia University)

The Holocaust, with its lethal locales, innumerable victims, and immense suffering, has generated much art that has often given voice to those who were silenced. I am presenting three pieces that have endured into this century. Each in a unique way, shows how pain, remembrance, national shame, and even fury, have fueled the artistic imagination in its historical and personal engagement:
A child of German-Jewish survivors takes aim at hated German words.
A survivor and poet has immortalized dying humanity at Auschwitz with a sculpture.
A postwar German artist has been grappling with the horrific legacy of his country.

**Resistance and transformation in Art reflecting genocidal violence towards Sikhs**
Presenters: Indira Natasha Prahst (Langara College)

Genocidal violence that unfolded towards Sikhs in 1984 continues to be remembered with a silent suffering. Art, inspired by genocides, has functioned as trauma release for survivors and, as resistance against perpetrator denial to preserve traces of their atrocities. This paper examines “genocide art” as a visual medium depicting a narrative of violence. The second concern is the aura of the face of survivors captured in photography. I draw on the ideas of Benjamin and Adorno to tap into the complexity of the work of the imagination, the intersubjective engagement between viewer and image and transformation.

**“Willed Capital” and Post Genocide poetry**
Presenters: Sima Aprahamian (Concordia University)
The paper examines from a feminist and socialist perspective Arpine Grenier's poetry as post Genocide art. It also addresses "The Will to Capital" as well as "Symbolic Capital" in her recent work... including “The Silent G” Genocide as an extreme form of racism.

**How to Forgive, Collectively?**

Presenters: Michiko Aramaki (Concordia University)

For many Japanese, the end of World War II symbolizes the separation of its history: Japan before and after of the Pacific War. Recently, it was revealed that the U.S. Occupation Army for seven years systematically censored what had been part of Japanese history, culture and tradition, and while implementing democratic institutions, clandestinely destroyed millions of documents that had been existed and cherished by Japanese. This is in Buyanderher's concept, forced forgetting. If the 'post-war' seemingly fades with the generation who experienced the War, does that mean that the 'postwar' memories and forgetting are going to disappear with that generation? Or, better still, if Japan's modern memories had been grossly censored and prohibited by the U.S., why did the public 'chose' (if they had one) to follow and forget what had been forced to forget, even after the U.S. Occupation Army had left Japan? In what way did this forgetting may have been productive of specific kinds of discourses nationally? For example, how were Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Emperor, and the War re-conceptualized in the collective memories? How can we resist the binaries — aggressors and victims or Justice and Evil?

13, ANGU 254

**Session: Solidarities in Crisis**

Organizers: Will Kujala (University of Alberta)

Chair: Will Kujala

Invocations of crisis--political, economic, social, philosophical--are now familiar in the contemporary conjuncture. This session’s panelists begin with two notions: the first entails a crisis of solidarities, a putting-in-crisis of solidarities, and that solidarities may be revived and reformed in crisis. The second is that crisis, in its conceptualization, is both a critical concept (gesturing to failures and breakdowns of contemporary capitalism while simultaneously blurring previously ossified boundaries and limits), as well as a concept often used by those in power to redirect critique. What and whose problems become constructed as crises? Is crisis a critical, or an ideological, concept? Can it mobilize politics by shortening our temporal horizons or does it stifle debate and analysis? The papers in this session take up the discursive construction of the opioid crisis, the neoliberal management of the refugee crisis, the reinterpretation of urban rebellion as 'urban crisis,' and the political impasses involved in crises of queer solidarities produced by police involvement at Pride. All these papers, in engaging with the concept, ideology, or reality of crisis, ask about the political effects of discourses of crisis: do they provide crucial places where oppositional solidarities can be condensed and crystallized, or
do they provide structures of power with the capacity to displace these oppositional solidarities with a manufactured sense of urgency?

Roundtable featuring:

- **Cruelty in Queer Solidarities: Intersectional Interventions in the Controversies of Pride and the Police State**  
  Presenter: David Semaan

- **Internal Colonialism,’ Policing, and the 'Urban Crisis,' 1964-1972**  
  Presenter: Will Kujala

- **De-Politicizing Displacement: Canada’s Neoliberal Solution to the Global Refugee Crisis**  
  Presenter: Jeanique Tucker

- **Something to Take the Edge Off (Late Capitalism): Race, Class, and Creating a Hegemonic Understanding of the Opioid Crisis”**  
  Presenter: Megan Aiken

14, ANGU 243  
**Session: Imaginaries of the Future**  
Organizers: Stephen Svenson (Wilfrid Laurier University)

Chair: Stephen Svenson

**The Blockchain as a Bureaucratic—not Poetic—Technology**  
Presenter: Joel Z. Garrod (Carleton University)

A growing academic literature on blockchain technology claims that because it can be used to enforce property relations that it will guide us toward a peer-to-peer sharing economy characterized by the reduction of large concentrations of power alongside a more equitable distribution of wealth. Through an analysis of how financial firms are using the blockchain to enforce private property relations, this article argues that we should understand it instead as a bureaucratic technology that will not reduce the power of corporations or nation-states, but consolidate it by speeding up accumulation, inscribing objects with automatically enforced private property rights, and by re-moving jurisdictional elites in favour of markets. The paper concludes by suggesting that the blockchain be used instead to enforce our common rights to the means of social reproduction.

**Responding to the Nationalist International**  
Presenter: Blake Stewart (York University)
In the wake of Brexit, the election of Donald Trump, and a rising tide of far-right parties across Europe in 2016, Geert Wilders, leader of the Dutch Party for Freedom proclaimed the dawn of a ‘Patriotic Spring’. For years, a transnational alliance of far-right parties has incubated in Europe, forming parliamentary groups within the EU, regarded by some to be a budding ‘nationalist international’. This political configuration has been supported by sophisticated networks of elite political entrepreneurs, online media organizations, and informal civil society groups. Europe’s far-right has mobilized these networks in support of a transnational civilizational identity, which challenges the commonly held notion that these social forces are parochial and nationalist, and suggests they propose an alternative vision for world order.

*The Cowboy Economy and the Canadian Yellow Vest Imaginary: An Analysis*

Presenter: Stephen Svenson (Wilfrid Laurier University)

In 1974, economist William Nordhaus described the transition from a “cowboy economy” to a “spaceship economy.” According to Nordhaus, in the cowboy economy “we could afford to use our resources profligately,” where “the environment could be used as a sink without becoming fouled” while in the spaceship economy, “great attention must be paid to the sources of life and to the dumps where our refuse is piled.” As the message that we are coming up against ecological limits and need to make drastic changes to our way of life on “spaceship earth” reach more and more people, the imaginary that runs counter to this message has been intensifying. The Canadian iteration of the Yellow Vest movement is one such example of a social imaginary rooted in the cowboy economy. Using Charles Taylor’s writing on modern social imaginaries as a theoretical lens I lay out the constituent elements of the social imaginary of the Canadian Yellow Vest movement through an examination of discourse in the Yellow Vest Facebook group. In unpacking the Canadian Yellow Vest Imaginary, I draw distinctions between, and point to the ethical collisions inherent in more ‘progressive’ imaginaries that embrace the ‘spaceship economy’ paradigm.

J1, ANGU 345

**Session: A Conversation about Accountability Circuits in Institutional Ethnography**

Organizers: Deborah Dergousoff (Simon Fraser University)

Chair: Debbie Dergeousoff

Institutional ethnography (IE) was developed by Dorothy Smith as a method of inquiry for investigating social processes that coordinate the work people do in local sites to meet the requirements and specifications of institutional practices and professional discourses developed elsewhere. IE does not view institutional modes of action as singular forms of social organization, but rather, as multi-dimensional accountability circuits, wherein actual work practices appear as textually authorized
procedures or representations of what is actually done. This round table engages in conversations about the challenges people encounter in meeting the complex demands of institutional priorities that organize the work done in local settings to coordinate with external processes of accountability. This session aims to inform those who seek to carve out spaces for nurturing more equitable relationships with a concrete understanding of how ‘inequality’ is put together in day-to-day work processes.

Roundtable featuring:

- Dorothy Smith (University of Victoria)
- Agnieszka Doll (McGill University)
- Nicola Waters (Thompson Rivers University)
- Deborah Dergousoff (Simon Fraser University)
- Charlotte Ross (Simon Fraser University)

Session: The Waffle Manifesto 50 Years Later
Organizers: Robert Hackett (Simon Fraser University)

Chair: Robert Hackett

This panel reflects on the legacy of the Waffle, a left-nationalist formation within the Canadian New Democratic Party. The year 2019 marks the 50th anniversary of the Waffle Manifesto, which argued for the inextricability of socialism and Canadian independence vis-a-vis the American empire; participatory and industrial democracy; public ownership of the commanding heights of the economy; formal recognition of Quebec's right to national self-determination; and a strategy of movement-building beyond electoral politics. While notably missing from the Manifesto itself, the Waffle took on the emergent issue of women's equality in its policies and structures.

Much has changed since 1969 -- neoliberal hegemony, Indigenous resurgence, environmental crisis, intensified extractivism as an economic strategy, movements for gender equality, the rise of ethno-nationalism and authoritarian regimes, including in the US, and much else. The Waffle itself faded as a political force after its expulsion from the Ontario NDP in 1972.

This panel asks: What were the Waffle's blind spots as well as its new contributions to Canadian political discourse? What aspects of its project should be priorities today? Is left-nationalism still relevant? Does today’s Canadian Left still have a space for 'Canada' as a concept – is it willing and/or able to speak a national
narrative? And what might constitute that narrative, and associated political strategies?

Roundtable featuring:

• Philip Resnick, (University of British Columbia)

The Waffle came at a high point for left-wing political consciousness in the West, symbolized by the Civil Rights and anti-war movement in the United States and May, 1968 in France. In attempting to combine socialism with nationalism, it was influenced by the new nationalism of Quebec’s Quiet Revolution and by the powerful anti-imperialist current surging through the third world, e.g. Cuba, Algeria, Vietnam. But the 1960s soon gave way to something quite different - neo-liberalism and unfettered globalization. The left, despite the emergence of significant movements grounded in identity politics - feminism, LGBT, aboriginal - has never been the same. In my intervention, I will focus on why movements like the Waffle bit the dust and where those who define themselves as socialists find themselves today.

• Ian Angus (Simon Fraser)

I will begin by periodizing the phenomenon of left-nationalism as a force in Canadian politics beginning with the Waffle Manifesto (1969) and continuing until the social mobilization of the Free Trade Agreement (1988). It began as a final chapter in the English Canadian New Left of the 1960s and ended with the beginning of economic integration into the U.S. and global capital. In part, it paralleled the upsurge of socialist/social democratic nationalism in Quebec during the same period. Next, I will propose that it attained a limited institutional success at the price of stunting its radical potential for a transformation of Canadian society. I will suggest that the two main reasons for its success was an uncertain alliance between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary socialist politics and an increasing dissatisfaction with the U.S. due to its policies in Vietnam and elsewhere. Since 1988, left-nationalism has waned and the alliance between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics has broken down. This leaves us in the contemporary period with an ineffective reformist parliamentary path and a radical politics isolated from the mainstream. I will consider briefly in conclusion the mobilization against Trans Mountain Pipeline as a possible new alliance between reformist and radical politics.

• Mel Watkins (University of Toronto)

Two features of the Waffle stand out. The first is that it was organized as a left caucus within the NDP, a social democratic party. The second was the
central importance of the national question, which was pervasive at that time. These were to prove both its doing and its undoing. Pushed aside by the flood of globalization, left nationalism is once again relevant as globalization falters and nationalism reasserts itself as the alt-right and the left is caught high and dry. Countries must restructure their global connection and the left must be part of that program. On the most important issue of our time, the nation state is the core actor, in concert with other nation states, in dealing with climate change. That challenge is inherently anti-capitalist and left nationalist.

- Libby Davies

Libby Davies has been a social activist for 40 plus years and began as a community organizer in Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside in 1972. She was elected to Vancouver City Council for 5 consecutive terms, 1982-1993. As the Member of Parliament for Vancouver East for six consecutive terms, 1997-2015, she became NDP House Leader, (2003-2011) and Deputy Leader (2007-2015). Libby has been an outspoken advocate for human rights, housing, peace, and social justice throughout her political life. She was named to the Order of Canada in 2016, and invested to the Order in May 2018, and received the City of Vancouver Civic Merit Award in November 2018. Libby was appointed to the board of governors of Vancouver Community College in 2018. She is also a board member of the Portland Hotel Society. Her first book, “Outside In”, is scheduled for publication May 2019 with Between The Lines, Toronto.

J3, ANGU 254
**Session: Illustrating Solidarity**
Organizer: Julia Smith (University of Alberta)

Chair: Julia Smith

Our session brings together academics, artists, and curators producing public labour history projects. History is an important resource for people who want to change the world. Labour and working-class history in particular is a useful organizing tool. Understanding past labour battles can help workers develop successful tactics and strategies to improve their lives and build a better world today. To demonstrate the importance and value of public labour histories, this panel will examine several recent projects that aim to increase awareness of labour history in Canada. Robin Folvik will discuss her work at the Cumberland Museum and Archives located in Cumberland, British Columbia, in particular her involvement with the 2018 Miners’ Memorial Weekend, which marked the centenary of the murder of labour activist Albert “Ginger” Goodwin by police. Julia Smith will talk about the production of Direct Action Gets the Goods: A Graphic History of the Strike in Canada, exploring how presenting labour histories in accessible and creative formats opens up opportunities for building community, reaching broad audiences,
and organizing in new and relevant ways. Sean Carleton will speak about 1919: A Graphic History of the Winnipeg General Strike, including the research process and the collaboration between the writers and the artist, and how labour history can help working people today understand not only where we have been but also where we want to go and how we can get there, together. David Lester will discuss his involvement with both graphic history projects, focusing specifically on the artistic process.

Roundtable featuring:

- **Revisiting the Workers’ Revolt: Making 1919: A Graphic History of the Winnipeg General Strike**
  Presenter: Sean Carleton (Mount Royal University)

- **People’s History and Public Commemorations: Ginger Goodwin 2018**
  Presenter: Robin Folvik (Cumberland Museum and Archives)

- **The Aesthetics of Drawing Labour History”**
  Presenter: David Lester (Independent artist)

- **Class Conflict Redrawn: Producing a Graphic History of the Strike in Canada”**
  Presenter: Julia Smith (University of Alberta)

J4 ANGU 243

Session: Venezuela: A Case Study in Faulty Canadian Foreign Policy
Organizers: Alan Freeman (University of Manitoba) and Radhika Desai (University of Manitoba)

Co-chairs Alan Freeman and Radhika Desai:

In September 2017 the Canadian government, invoking treaties with the USA and the Magnitsky Act, imposed two sets of sanctions on Venezuela, one targeting the economy and the second targeting 40 individuals for unspecified crimes. The decision was taken in secret, by the governor-general in council, was not put before parliament and the evidence for the charges remains secret despite repeated FOI requests. The government also, in August 2018, refused a visa to Carlos Ron, vice-minister for Foreign Affairs in Caracas, to meet with Canadians and initiate dialogue between the two countries.

This session will allow Canadian scholars to scrutinise the actual situation in Venezuela, and the political and legal basis for the government’s actions

Roundtable featuring:
Roundtable and discussion on the centenary of a momentous year. In the wake of the terrible slaughter of the so-called “Great War”, revolutionary upheaval in the Russian empire was joined by mass movements in Egypt, Germany, Hungary, Iraq, Italy, Malta, Peru, Poland, the United States (the Seattle General Strike), and Canada (the Winnipeg General Strike), among other nations. In addition, this year was the epicentre of the “first wave” of feminism, as women everywhere reached for liberation. The assassination of Rosa Luxemburg shed a spotlight on her unique contributions to politics. Tensions in the Russian Revolution could be felt in the competing approaches of the Communist International and people such as Iulli Martov. John Maynard Keyes penned a trenchant critique of the Versailles Treaty. Ominously, this was also a year where the storm clouds of reaction began to gather. In Germany as well as workers’ uprising, there was the spread of the ‘freikorps’ – predecessor to the Nazis. In the United States, as well as workers’ revolt in Seattle, there were multiple racist mobilizations, often extremely violent, attacking Black Americans. In India, British occupation resulted in the horrendous Amritsar massacre. On this the centenary of “The Red Year”, discussants consider the significance of 1919, historically and today.

Roundtable featuring:

- Sean Carleton (Mount Royal University)
- James Naylor (Brandon University)
- Ingo Schmidt (Athabasca University)
- Julia Smith (Alberta University)

Keynote: Circles of Conversation: Indigenous Knowledges and the Academy

Co-chairs: Angele Alook, Bigstone Cree Nation, York University and Elaine Coburn, Euro-Canadian, York University
In this session, Indigenous scholars, intellectuals and activists consider the (often fraught) relationship between Indigenous knowledges and the academy, including their own contributions to making space for Indigenous ways of being, knowing and doing. Featuring:

Yann Allard-Tremblay, Huron-Wendat, Glendon Campus, York University

Kim Anderson, Métis, University of Guelph

Cliff Atleo Jr., Kitselas/Ahousaht, Simon Fraser University

Ruth Koleszar-Green, Mohawk, York University

Margaret Kovach, Cree and Saulteaux, University of Saskatchewan

Lorraine Mayer, Métis, Brandon University

Sharon McIvor, Lower Nicola Indian Band

Charles Menzies, Gitxaala, University of British Columbia

Daniel Sims, Tsay Keh Dene First Nation, University of Alberta

CROSS-LISTED SESSIONS:

Canadian Sociological Association (host)

**Decolonizing Canada: Critically Considering Settler Solidarity During Indigenous Led Efforts**

Thursday Jun 06 8:30 am to 10:00 am
ANGU 435
Session Code: ISD2
Session Format: Regular Session
Session Language: English
Research Cluster Affiliation: **Indigenous Settler Relations and Decolonization**
Session Categories: **Regular Session**

How have settlers practiced their relational responsibilities to decolonize Canada? What are the expressions of those practices? As Indigenous peoples determine their futures by leading the way to refuse as well as undo colonial systems and policies, expressions of settlers acting in solidarity have looked different across space and time in Canada. This session calls for papers which focus on moments of settlers organizing and acting in solidarity with Indigenous peoples, supporting efforts to build anti-colonial, anti-imperial movements and coalitions, and contributing to practices which center Indigenous pathways to self-government, self-determination and decolonization. This session is additionally seeking papers which explore the
complexities that arise when settlers practice a politics of solidarity with Indigenous peoples and engage social movement work inspired by an anti-imperial and a decolonial praxis. Your paper may highlighting what solidarity work has been done, who is doing the work, who is not, and why not. Additionally, you can address what the different ways of doing the former work have been, as well as what can be learned from it. Your paper may address one or more of the former questions. Please ensure that you have described your research methodology in the abstract. This is a jointly sponsored session between Canadian Sociology Association, Canadian Political Science Association, and Society for Socialist Studies. Tags: Applied Sociology, Indigenous Studies, Politics And Social Movements

Organizer: Binish Ahmed, Ryerson University

Presentations

Yukiko Tanaka, University of Toronto
"We Are Both Struggling": Indigenous Solidarity in Immigrant Settlement Agencies
What does it mean for immigrants and refugees to "settle" in an ongoing settler-colonial project? What are the possibilities and limitations of solidarity between newcomers and Indigenous people in the process of immigrant settlement? To answer these questions, I focus on a case study of a settlement agency that brings together immigrant and Indigenous youth ages 18-30 in an employment program in Saskatoon, SK. Through participant observation and interviews, I highlight the ways this agency is working toward solidarity with Indigenous peoples. I find that immigrants very quickly internalize negative views of Indigenous people upon arrival in Canada and openly describe them as "bad people", suggesting a moral inferiority. Through the program, they learn to recognize the value of Indigenous cultures and individuals. However, solidarity is limited to intercultural understanding and mutual respect; it does not extend to political organizing or efforts toward decolonization. On an organizational level, the presence of Indigenous staff and clients in settlement agencies is important in overcoming negative stereotypes by providing immigrant clients with ready-made networks of mentorship and friendship. However, the institution is slowly and unevenly indigenizing, so disproportionate burden falls on Indigenous employees to ensure that the organization works toward solidarity with Indigenous people.

Jacqueline Quinless, University of Victoria
Decolonizing Bodies: An Indigenous Perspective on Health and Wellness in Canadian
The decolonization of research methods and Indigenous resurgence in the context of individual and community health and wellness is a growing, interdisciplinary field. In this discussion, I highlight key aspects of my forthcoming Book, Unsettling Conversations: Decolonizing Everyday Research Practices, University to explain how research design practices need to be culturally responsive, which means that researchers need to work in partnership with Indigenous peoples, communities and/or organizations in such a way to avoid misinterpretations and misrepresentations in the knowledge inquiry process. This will support the generation of research findings that are anchored in Indigenous knowledge systems and accurate cross-cultural representations of health outcomes that are better
equipped to inform recommendations for health, healing and well-being. For me, the decolonization of research within social sciences is about relational allyship, partnership, honoring Indigenous ethical protocols, holding space for resurgence, and challenging power structures. These are the types of new relationships that will facilitate initial steps in reconciliation because Indigenous peoples, communities and organizations can re-story the historical trauma on a number of levels and to recreate new ways of understanding and contesting the deeply engrained structures of inequality.

**Binish Ahmed**, Ryerson University

**Place-based Imperatives in Policy Participation: Critically Examining Racialized Settlers’ Relational Responsibilities to Decolonization in Canada**

Racialized settler activists in Canada carry a range of intersectionally diverse political commitments to anti-racist, anti-colonial and anti-imperial social movement work. The former commitments lead to an undertaking of a ‘place-based’ public policy analysis and participation, where those distinct commitments result in formation of solidarity alliances with Indigenous led decolonization and self-determination efforts. In this paper, I draw on the literature to explore the racialized settlers’ ‘relational’ responsibilities toward Indigenous peoples, non-human life, environment, land, and water while living on Turtle Island. I additionally consider the following questions: How are the racialized settlers’ locational presences, and political subjectivities different from those of white settlers in the settler-colonial Canadian state? How are they similar? Why does it matter to unpack the former? And what implications does it have on racialized settlers’ relational responsibilities in doing decolonization work. This exploratory working paper presents an analysis by working through the literature on decolonizing relations between the settler-colonial state and Indigenous peoples.

**Sholeh Sharifi**, Ryerson University

**Settler Colonialism And Decolonization: Building Alliance Between Muslim Immigrants And Indigenous People**

This paper will aim to explore and contrast the relationship between racialized immigrant groups, particularly those of Muslim minorities and Indigenous populations in the predominantly white settler-colonial society. While many of the Indigenous population and Muslim immigrants experience marginalization and exclusion in Canada, there still seems to be a lack of coalition among them. But why is this so? While tackling this question, I will also aim to highlight the inadequacies of the discourse that attains to multiculturalism in combating both colonialism and racism through literary critical reviews methodology. Furthermore, this paper will assess the existing Muslim organizations and communities that work in solidarity with indigenous people, and evaluate their current efforts, limitations, and future potentials in creating a relationship that rejects the ideologies of colonialism and white supremacy.

Canadian Political Science Association (host)

**G10(a) - Roundtable: Change and Continuity: Canadian Political Economy in the New Millennium**
Abstract: This roundtable will feature presentations from contributors to Change and Continuity: Canadian Political Economy in the New Millennium (2019, McGill-Queens University Press). In a period characterized by growing social inequality, precarious work, the legacies of settler colonialism, and the emergence of new social movements, Change and Continuity presents innovative interdisciplinary research as a guide to understanding Canada’s political economy and a contribution to progressive social change. Assessing the legacy of the Canadian political economy tradition - a broad body of social science research on power, inequality, and change in society - the essays in this volume offer insight into contemporary issues and chart new directions for future study. Chapters from both emerging and established scholars expand the boundaries of Canadian political economy research, seeking new understandings of the forces that shape society, the ensuing conflicts and contradictions, and the potential for social justice. Engaging with interconnected topics that include shifts in immigration policy, labour market restructuring, settler colonialism, the experiences of people with disabilities, and the revitalization of workers’ movements, this collection builds upon and deepens critical analysis of Canadian society and considers its application to contexts beyond Canada. The latest in a series of related volumes on Canadian political economy, Change and Continuity explores the past, present, and potential futures of the discipline in a global context, offering insight into some of the most pressing issues of our time.

Canadian Political Science Association (host)

**H15(b) - Roundtable: Democracy in Crisis? If Democracy is to Survive, What Must it Become?**

**Date:** Jun 6 | **Time:** 08:45am to 10:15am | **Location:** SWING 205

**Joint Session / Séance conjointe:** Society for Socialist Studies / La société d études socialistes

**Chair/Président/Présidente:** Igor Shoikhedbrod (Hebrew University)

**Discussant/Commentateur/Commentatrice:** Igor Shoikhedbrod (Hebrew University)

**Frank Cunningham** (Society for Socialist Studies / Simon Fraser University)

**Lillian Cicerchia** (Fordham University)

**James Ingram** (McMaster University)

**Melissa Williams** (University of Toronto)

Abstract: There is a widespread belief that contemporary democracy is under attack, in practice as well as in theory. This roundtable interrogates the present
state of democracy by focusing on what democratic theorists of different intellectual and political persuasions have to say about the nature of the present crisis, its immediate and distant implications, as well as different ways of re-imagining democracy in a world where the liberal conception of democracy finds itself in retreat.

Circles of Feminist Conversation:
Interdisciplinary Feminist Conversations Schedule

**At the Congress of the Social Sciences and Humanities 2019 (UBC)**

**MONDAY, JUNE 3, 2019**

**Confronting Colonialism**
Date: Jun 3 | Time: 8:30am to 10:00am | Location: ANGU 435
*Hosted by the Canadian Sociological Association*

**TUESDAY, JUNE 4, 2019**

**Ecofeminisms**
Date: Jun 4 | Time: 8:30am to 10:00am | Location: ANGU 347
*Hosted by the Canadian Sociological Association*

**Special Session in Honour of Ann Denis’ Memory**
Date: Jun 4 | Time: 12:15pm-1:15pm | Location: LSK 201
*Hosted by the Canadian Sociological Association*

**Navigating Activism, Solidarity and Scholarship**
Date: Jun 4 | Time: 3:15pm-5:00pm | Location: ORCH 3074
*Hosted by the Canadian Association of Social Work Education*

**WEDNESDAY, JUNE 5, 2019**

**Canadian Sociological Association Women’s Caucus**
Date: Jun 5 | Time: 12:15 to 1:15pm | Location: LSK 201
*Hosted by the Canadian Sociological Association*

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THURSDAY, JUNE 6, 2019

IGNITE Change: Feminist Conversation on Collective Action Strategies for Decolonization and Social Justice

Date: Jun 6 | Time: 12:00pm to 01:30pm | Location: SW 207

Hosted by the Canadian Political Science Association

Please NOTE: page numbers for index are not accurate. Search by session eg.

Rawan Abdelbaki is presenting in session E2.

A

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Abu-Laban, Yasmeen (F2)
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Ageel, Ghada (F2) .......................................................... 44

Aiken, Megan (I3) .......................................................... 55

Albert, Hélène (D4) ...................................................... 35

Andrusieczko, Tanya (I1) ......................................... 53

Angiya, Priya (B4)
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Angus, Ian (J2) .............................................................. 59

Aprahamian, Sima (I2)
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Aquanno, Scott (D3)
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Aramaki, Michiko (I2)
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Arzieva, Aikokul (F1) ....................................................... 42

Azimzadeh, Mani (D2) .................................................... 32

B

Bakan, Abigail (B2, F2)
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Bakan, Abigail (B2, G4)
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Bakan, Abigail (B2)
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Brabazon, Honor (H4)
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Ç

Çakmak, Gizem K. (E2)
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Carleton, Sean (J3) .......................................................... 60
Webb, Stephanie (C1)  
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