

The Université du Québec à Montréal is located
on the territories of the Kanien'kehá:ka Nation.

The island that is presently known as Montréal has been known as
Tiohtià:ke in Kanien'kéha and Mooniyang in Anishinaabemowin.

These territories have never been ceded;
It is impossible to imagine the work of “Sustaining Socialist Futures”
if we do not work towards overturning the structures of settler colonialism
that define our present.

Sustaining Socialist Futures

2024 Society for Socialist Studies Conference
June 17-19, UQAM

Tiohtià:ke / Montréal

Location information:

Please see the Programme Timetable and Reference Key for a quick point of reference regarding session room allocation.

An interactive map of UQAM campus is available [here](#).

2024 Society for Socialist Studies Programme Committee:

Phil Henderson (Program Chair); Veldon Coburn (Local Arrangements Coordinator McGill); Jennie Hornosty; Bill Carroll; Terry Maley

Additional thanks to the Society for Socialist Studies Executive for further guidance.

Special thanks to Éric Pineault for his assistance moving to UQAM.

Note:

The programme committee has sought to ensure the correct spelling of names, affiliations, and other information. In the event of any inaccuracies on personal details, we extend our sincere apologies for the unintended error. Additionally, in an effort to flatten the academic hierarchy and promote equity among the ideas presented, this conference programme does not include ranks or academic titles for presenters beyond university affiliations. No slight regarding the work entailed to rising to particular posts or ranks is intended.

Collaborative Events:

The following are events that the Society for Socialist Studies has helped to coordinate in partnerships with other organizations. All participants in “Sustaining Socialist Futures” are welcomed and encouraged to attend.

Counter-Congress by Black Rose Books

Times and location vary, see [website](#) for details

Black Rose Books, Montreal’s radical English-language publisher since 1969, would like to welcome locals and visiting scholars alike to a series of alternative events (and parties!) aiming to look at this year’s Congress theme, ‘sustaining shared futures’, from a more radical perspective. Learn about the work of local Montreal organizations fighting for a democratic future, hear from important thinkers in the field of social ecology and the history of social struggle, and of course, join for live music, drinks and socializing.

The Society for Socialist Studies Publishing Social and Mixer

6:00pm - Onward, June 18th

Socialist Studies invites you to a casual and informal social and mixer event at [Le Cheval Blanc](#). Located at 809 Ontario Est., Le Cheval is a quick 10 minute ride on the #24 or #125 buses, or a similarly timed walk down Ontario St. All conference attendees are welcomed, as are any family, friends, colleagues, or comrades.

Development and Growing Insecurity in an Era of Overlapping Crises

10:00am - 12:00pm, June 12; Pavillon J-A De-Sève, DS-R520, UQAM

Keynote, hosted by the Canadian Association for the Study of International Development. The world is facing unprecedented crises including environmental disasters on every continent, global food insecurity, wars and conflicts, and a series of escalations in armed conflict and elsewhere, all happening in tandem with human rights violations and social injustices. The session with the keynote speaker will anchor this year's CASID conference entitled “Development and Insecurity in an Era of Overlapping Crises” with a discussion on the concept of poly-crises, their origins and underlying causes, and strategies for tackling injustices in a divided world. In conversation with the keynote speaker, Dr Hamza Hamouchene, we seek to take the discussion across disciplines, and address the challenges faced today that have affected both people and planet, and discuss a sustainable way to address them. The session will critically assess both the past and ways to move forward into what is an uncertain future, emphasizing praxis.

Programme Timetable and Reference Key

June 17	SH 3420 (Zoom Room A)	SH 3140 (Zoom Room B)	SH 2560 (Zoom Room C)	SH 3560 (Zoom Room D)	SH 3720 (Zoom Room E)
9:00-10:30	1-1a	1-1b	1-1c	1-1d	Check-in and refreshments (Opens for 8:30am)
10:45:-12:15	1-2a	1-2b	1-2c	1-2d	
12:15-1:15	Lunch				
1:15-2:45	1-3a	1-3b	1-3c	1-3d	1-3e
3:00-4:30	1-4a	1-4b	1-4c	1-4d	1-4e

June 18	SH 3420 (Zoom Room A)	SH 3140 (Zoom Room B)	SH 2580 (Zoom Room C)	SH 3560 (Zoom Room D)	SH 3720 (Zoom Room E)
9:00-10:30	2-1a	2-1b	2-1c	2-1d	Check-in and refreshments (Opens for 8:30am)
10:45:-12:15	2-2a	2-2b	2-2c	2-2d	
12:15-1:00	Lunch				
1:00-2:45	P. Kellogg (2-3a)				
3:00-5:00	AGM (2-4a)				

June 19	SH 3420 (Zoom Room A)	SH 3140 (Zoom Room B)	PK R220 (Zoom Room C)	SH 3220 (Zoom Room D)	SH 3720 (Zoom Room E)
9:00-10:30	3-1a	3-1b	3-1c	3-1d	Check-in and refreshments (Opens for 8:30am)
10:45:-12:15	3-2a	3-2b	3-2c	3-2d	
12:15-1:15	Lunch				
1:15-2:45	3-3a	3-3b	3-3c	3-3d	
3:00-4:30	3-4a	3-4b	3-4c		

Building Codes (linked to Google Maps):

SH - Pavillon Sherbrooke

PK - Pavillon Président-Kennedy

Zoom Links (linked):

Room A; **Room B**; **Room C**; **Room D** (passcode: “sss”); **Room E**;

Paul Kellogg’s keynote and AGM

(Zoom Rooms correspond to the final letter of each session’s code in the table above; all Zoom Rooms are also hyperlinked, both in the table above and alongside each session room below.)

Day 1: June 17

8:30 - 9:00

Check-in and refreshments are available in SH 3720, running throughout the day.

9:00 - 10:30

1-1a) Critical Political Science: Critical Theory, Critical Futures?

SH 3420 (Zoom Room A)

Papers:

- “Critical Political Science: Cutting Through the Endangerments of the Present to the Betterment of the World from the Age of Nixon to the Epoch of Trump” — Timothy W. Luke, Virginia Tech
- “Critical Political Science and the Environment: Transdisciplinarity Beyond Ecosocialism” — C.L. Welker, Chair, Caucus for a Critical Political Science, University of Northern Colorado
- “Fortress Futures: Spatializing Domsday Politics” — Robert E. Kirsch, Arizona State University
- “Critical Education and Critical Political Science: Formal and Non-Formal Approaches for a Socialist Future” — Sarah M. Surak, Salisbury University

Organizer: Sarah Surak

1-1b) Extraction, the State, and Anti-Extractivist Worldmaking - Session #1

SH 3140 (Zoom Room B)

Papers:

- “Counter-Revolution of the Courts: On Indigenous nations, imperial state formation, and the demobilization of forest defenders at the Fairy Creek Blockades” — Brydon Kramer, UofA
- “A Shaky Class Compromise? Left-Wing Populism and Dispossession in Kerala, India” — Sudheesh RC, National Law School of India University
- “Just Transition for All: Reconciliation and Economic Justice for the Working Class of Chemical Valley” — Brady Taylor
- “Permaculture as Socialist Practice” — Michael Arfken, UPEI Faculty Association

Organizers: Rosemary Collard; Jess Dempsey; Chris Hurl; Bengi Akbulut

1-1c) The Political Economy of the Far Right

SH 2560 (Zoom Room C)

Papers:

- “Capitalist crisis through the prism of Hungarian illiberalism: On the dynamics of surplus populations and social reproduction” — Sara Swerdlyk, McMaster
- “Neo-Fascism and Class Power in the United States” — Stephen Maher, SUNY; Scott M Aquanno, Ontario Tech University
- “What’s Wrong with Texas? A Morphological Analysis of Christo-Fascism” — Clyde W Barrow, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

Organizer: Jordan House

1-1d) Health for All: The Promise of Socialism in Achieving Health Equity (Roundtable)

SH 3560 (Zoom Room D - Passcode: “sss”)

Panelists:

- Lanyan Chen, Nipissing;
- Erin Flanagan, YorkU
- Will MacGregor, York

Organizers: Stella Medvedyuk; Zsofia Mendly-Zambo

10:45 - 12:15

1-2a) Poor People’s Movements, Research & Responsibility (Roundtable)

SH 3420 (Zoom Room A)

Panelists:

- Andy Crosby, Carleton University
- Anna Kramer, McGill/Street Solidarity Circle
- Tyson Singh Kelsall, Simon Fraser
- Nmesoma Nweze, McGill University
- AJ Withers, Simon Fraser

Organizer: AJ Withers

1-2b) Extraction, the State, and Anti-Extractivist Worldmaking - Session #2 (Roundtable)

SH 3140 (Zoom Room B)

Panelists:

- Bengi Akbulut
- Stephanie Eccles
- Becca Wilgosh
- Rosemary Collard

Organizers: Rosemary Collard; Jessica Dempsey; Chris Hurl; Bengi Akbulut

1-2c) ‘Socialism not Barbarism’: Creating and Sustaining Social Counter Hegemony - Session #1

SH 2560 (Zoom Room C)

Papers:

- “From Revolution to Critical Junctures and Vice Versa: An Analysis through the New Prefigurative Practices of the Socialist Movement (MS) in Spain” — Nerea Montejo López, Scuola Normale Superiore
- “NGO Workers: ‘Whistleblowing’ and the Role of Unions” — Chelsey Rhodes, UofT
- “Political Organisation and Cultural Apparatus: Rebuilding a ‘Socialist Political Formation’” — Hillary Pimlott, Wilfrid Laurier

Organizer: Hillary Pimlott

1-2d) Research Trajectories in Critical Political Science

SH 3560 (Zoom Room D - Passcode: “sss”)

Papers:

- “Critical Political Science in Canada” — Greg Albo, York
- “CB Macpherson and Democracy Today” — Phillip Hansen, University of Regina
- “The Violence of US Border Externalization: Critical Insights on the Realities of Border Regimes” — Carla Angulo-Pasel, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley
- “Ideology as the Critique of False Consciousness” — William Clare Roberts, McGill

Discussants: Willow Verkerk, UBC; Joel Garrod, St. FX

Organizer: Clyde Barrow

1:15 - 2:45

1-3a) Making Sense of the War in Ukraine (Roundtable)

SH 3420 (Zoom Room A)

Panelists:

- Radhika Desai, University of Manitoba
- Dimitri Lascaris
- Kevin Mackay, Mohawk College
- Glenn Michalchuk, President, Association of United Ukrainian Canadians

Organizer: Jennie Hornosty

1-3b) Challenging the Canadian Nuclear Establishment

SH 3140 (Zoom Room B)

Papers:

- “Small Modular Reactors: Nuclear Fantasies for the Interregnum” — MV Ramana, UBC
- “No Depth in Shallow Promises: Unfolding the Green Narrative of Nuclear into the Burden of Wastes” - Laura Tanguay, York
- “Is Nuclear Electricity ‘Clean,’ ‘Non-Emitting’ and Sustainable? A Life Cycle Perspective” — Mark Winfield, York
- “Challenging Hegemonic Corporate Media Discourse on Nuclear Power: The NB Media Co-op” — Susan O’Donnell, St. Thomas University

Organizer: Susan O’Donnell; MV Ramana

1-3c) ‘Socialism not Barbarism’: Creating and Sustaining Social Counter Hegemony - Session #2

SH 2560 (Zoom Room C)

Papers:

- “Unlikely Comrades: Wrestlers and Farmers in Hindu Nationalist India” — Priyansh, UofT
- “The Brazilian Left and the June Days of 2013” — Sean Purdy, UofT
- “The Internal Foes of the Anti-Capitalist Left in Brazil” — Aruã Silva de Lima, Universidade Federal de Alagoas

- “Making Canada and Israel: Dynamics of Settler Colonialism and Racial Capitalism” — John Price, UVic

Organizer: Hillary Pimlott

1-3d) China, the Global South and International Political Economy

SH 3560 (Zoom Room D - Passcode: “sss”)

Papers:

- “China’s Eco-Civilization, Climate Leviathan, and Hobbesian Energy Transition” - David Chen, UofT
- “China and Industrial Development in the Global South” - Erdem Kaya, York
- “Old Lessons, New Horizons: Dependency Theory in the 21st Century” - Adam Alimi, York
- “Is China an Imperialist Power?” - Jerry Harris, Global Studies Association of North America

Organizer: David Chen

1-3e) Author Meets Critics: Hurl, C. and Werner, L.B. (Forthcoming). *The Consulting Trap: How Professional Service Firms Hook Governments and Undermine Democracy*

SH 3720 (Zoom Room E)

Participants:

- Chris Hurl;
- Leah B. Werner;
- William Carroll;
- Heather Whiteside.

3:00 - 4:30

1-4a) Solidarity and Self-Activity in Comparative Context

SH 3420 (Zoom Room A)

Papers:

- “Self-activity: A Contested concept in the history of Democratic Socialism” – Abigail Bakan, University of Toronto
- “Solidarity Across Nations: A Strategic Concept” – Marcel Nelson, Sheridan College
- “Solidarity, Praxis, and the Socialist Society” – Gökbörü Sarp Tanyildiz, Brock University
- “Learning solidarity: socialist activism in the Pale of Settlement, 1901-1905” – Paul Kellogg, Athabasca University

Organized by: Paul Kellogg

1-4b) Resources and Social Reproduction in Theoretical and Comparative Contrast

SH 3140 (Zoom Room B)

Papers:

- “Impact of Economic Practices and Environmental Exploitation on Global Sustainability” — Jihad Algharam, Canadian Institute for Middle Eastern and Gulf Studies

- “Staples before Staples Theory: A Critical Political Economy of an Actually Existing Institution and its History”— Jamie Lawson, UVic

Discussant: Brydon Kramer

Chair: Faisal Alakoozi

1-4c) Theorizing Capitalism and Democracy (Roundtable)

SH 2560 (Zoom Room C)

Papers:

- “Radical Republicanism as a Model of Socialist Democracy” — Michael Thompson, William Paterson University
- “Democracy like an Apple Rots from the Core: Capitalism, Crises, and Character” — Lauren Langman, Loyola U
- Title TBD — Arnold Farr, U of Kentucky (Visiting Scholar, York University 2023-24)
- Title TBD — Peter Hudis, Oakton College
- “Is Capitalism Facing a Philosophical Crisis?” - Manindra Thankur, Jawaharlal Nehru University
- “Capitalism and Democracy: Incongruence” - Chandrabhanu Pattanayak, Director, Institute for Knowledge Studies

Organizer: Terry Maley

1-4d) The contribution of social ecology to the critical analysis of capitalism

SH 3560 (Zoom Room D - Passcode: “sss”)

Papers:

- “The ghost of systems past: exploring the positive value of negativity in a post-growth society” — Krystof Beaucaire, UQAM;
- “From fossil to energy capital ? Abstract energy regime as a socio-material condition of capitalism” — Arnaud Theurillat-Cloutier, UQAM;
- “Rereading Marx to better cultivate our autonomy: socioecological perspectives on agriculture” — Gaelle Jaudard, UQAM;
- “Ecologizing Erik Olin Wright: the socioecological contradictions of the erosion of capitalism” — Eric Pineault, UQAM;

Organizer: Eric Pineault

1-4e) Race, Empire, and Canadian Foreign Policy (Roundtable)

SH 3720 (Zoom Room E)

Participants:

- Bianca Mugenyi, Canadian Foreign Policy Institute
- Xiaobei Chen, Carleton University
- Radhika Desai, University of Manitoba
- Jamila Ewais, Canadian for Justice and Peace in the Middle East

Organizer: John Price

Day 2: June 18

8:30 - 9:00

Check-in and refreshments are available in SH 3720, running throughout the day.

9:00 - 10:30

2-1a) The Social Reproduction of Desire - Session #1

SH 3720 (Zoom Room A)

Papers:

- “Written on the Child’s Body: Alienation, Play and Social Reproduction” — Susan Ferguson, Wilfred Laurier University;
- “Is Social Reproduction the Subtraction of Desire from Demand?” - Gökbörü Sarp Tanyildiz, Brock University;
- “Autonomous Reproduction as a Terrain of Struggle” - Brian Whitener, University of Buffalo;

Organizer: Alan Sears

2-1b) Climate Obstruction: From Climate Denial to Climate Capitalism

SH 3140 (Zoom Room B)

Papers:

- “From Fossil Capitalism to Green Growth? Mapping Canada’s Climate Policy-Planning Network” — Nicholas Graham, UBC
- “Climate Obstruction: From climate denial to climate capitalism—the case of gas expansion on Murujuga, Western Australia” — Lisa Mills, Carleton University
- “Marketing Climate Obstructionism: Mapping Online Ad Buys in Canadian Facebook’s Conservative Media Ecosystem” — Bob Neubauer, UWinnipeg; Shane Gunster, SFU
- “The Healing Power of Martial Masculinity: Eco-fascism and climate change in White Nationalist social media” — Helena Krobath, Columbia College; Freya Zinovieff, SFU

Organizer: Bob Neubauer; Nicholas Graham

2-1c) Gramsci for Our Time - Session #1

SH 2580 (Zoom Room C)

Papers:

- “Recovering a Gramsci for our time” - Bill Carroll, UVic
- “Gramsci and the People: An Intersectional Feminist View” - Sonita Sarker, Macalester College
- “Between Sympathy and Leadership: On Gramsci’s Political Intuition” - Christopher Hurl, Concordia
- “The Common Sense of Social Media” - Marco Briziarelli, University of New Mexico; Rob Carley, Texas A&M University; Joseph P Zompetti, Illinois State University

Organizer: Bill Carroll

2-1d) Publishing, Boycotting, and Organizing for a Free Palestine

SH 3560 (Zoom Room D - Passcode: “sss”)

Participants:

- Irene Bindi, ARP Books;
- Jazz Cook, Fernwood Publishing;
- Amanda Crocker, Between the Lines

Organizer: Tanya Andrusieczko

10:45 - 12:15

2-2a) Data Justice Hub: Mobilizing Data for Justice (Roundtable)

SH 3420 (Zoom Room A)

Papers:

- “Care and Data Activism” — Chris Hurl, Concordia University;
- “Data Activism and Archiving” — Elena Rowan, Concordia University;
- “Visualization and Data Activism” — Hannah Grover, Concordia University;
- “Data Activism and Freedom of Information” — Kevin Walby, University of Winnipeg

Organizer: Christopher Hurl

2-2b) Transforming/Transformative Education: Navigating Progressive Pedagogies in Interdisciplinary Higher Education Participants (Roundtable)

SH 3140 (Zoom Room B)

Participants:

- Emily Douglas;
- Jayne Asekhauno;
- Will Kujala;
- Ali Jones

Organizer: Miranda Leibel

2-2c) Gramsci for Our Time - Session #2

SH 2580 (Zoom Room C)

Papers:

- “Gramsci and the Northern Ontario Question” - Joseph Fantauzzi, YorkU;
- “Gramsci, Ambedkar, and Bourdieu: Navigating Hegemony, Constitutional Morality, and Habitus in Social Reform” - Surabhi Baijal, Ambedkar University Delhi;
- “From Transformism to Caesarism: Emmanuel Macron and the Passive Revolution of French Neoliberalism” - Thibault Biscarie, Université de Montréal;
- “‘Delicate and Dangerous’: Gramsci, the Crisis of Authority and US Politics” - Kim Pollock, Independent Scholar;

Organizer: Bill Carroll

2-2d) Thinking the Digital

SH 3560 (Zoom Room D - Passcode: “sss”)

Papers:

- “Studying, Producing, and Collecting Data: The Transgender Media Portal and the Pursuit of Digital Ethics” — Jada Gannon-Day, Carleton;
- “The Libertarian Socialist Potential of Advanced Digital Technologies” — Alan N Shapiro, University of Applied Sciences and Arts

Chair/Discussant: Megan Aiken

1:00 - 2:45

2-3a) 2023 Errol Sharpe Award Keynote: “Truth Behind Bars”: Reflections on the Fate of the Russian Revolution

SH 3420 (Zoom Room A)

No event has done more to shape the contemporary Left than the Russian Revolution of 1917. For generations, it was the reference point for those who saw collective action by the working class and the oppressed as the driving force of history. This book re-examines our understanding of that revolution through a close study of working-class history and a re-examination of core assumptions of political theory. Historically, it uses the arctic city of Vorkuta as a case study, surveying three moments of struggle – hunger strikes during the Great Terror from 1936 to 1938, revolts against forced labour from 1947 to 1953, and mass miners’ strikes from 1989 to 1991. Theoretically, the book suggests that this long history of workers’ resistance to repression reveals the submergence of traditions of *self-emancipation* under the dead weight of *substitutionism*. Based on this historical and theoretical survey, the book revisits key texts associated with the revolution, arguing for a radical revision of our understanding of the dynamics within the Russian Left of the 1917 era. In 1843, the then 25-year-old Karl Marx, in a letter to a friend, advocated the “ruthless criticism of all that exists, ruthless both in the sense of not being afraid of the results it arrives at and in the sense of being just as little afraid of conflict with the powers that be”. To properly assimilate the lessons of 1917, exactly this kind of approach is required.

Speaker: Paul Kellogg, Athabasca University

3:00 - 5:00

2-4a) 2024 Society for Socialist Studies AGM

SH 3420 (Zoom Room A)

Please visit our website, [here](#), to review agenda items prior to meeting. Attendees must be in good standing with the society, including an up-to-date membership, in order to vote.

6:00 - Onward

The Society for Socialist Studies Social and Mixer

Socialist Studies invites you to a casual and informal social and mixer event, hosted at [Le Cheval Blanc](#). Located at 809 Ontario Est., Le Cheval is a quick 10 minute ride on the #24 or

#125 buses, or a similarly timed walk down Ontario St. All conference attendees are welcomed, as are any family, friends, colleagues, or comrades.

Day 3: June 19

8:30 - 9:00

Check-in and refreshments are available in SH 3720, running throughout the day.

9:00 - 10:30

3-1a) The Social Reproduction of Desire - Session #2

SH 3420 (Zoom Room A)

Papers:

- “Logic of gender of logic of cisness? Gender normativity and the commodity fetish” — Charlie Bond, Concordia
- “Daring to be bad: Consciousness-Raising and the Problem of Value” — Amy De’Ath, King’s College London
- “Making Love with Alienated Labour” — Alan Sears, TMU

Organizer: Alan Sears

3-1b) Contesting New Frontiers in Water Financialization and Privatization

SH 3140 (Zoom Room B)

Papers:

- “Access to water for whom? Interrogating finance-sector engagement in implementation of SDG 6” — Meera Karunanathan, Carleton
- “Water Boundaries: Financialized Expropriation, Trans-local Solidarity and Water Justice” — Adrian Murray, University of Johannesburg
- “Democratizing Credit: The Banco Popular and Community-Based Water Management in Costa Rica” — Susan Spronk, UOttawa
- “Behind the Blue Curtain: Decoding the UN Water Conference, Financial Influences and Covert Agendas” — Rachel Woods, Carleton

Organizer: Meera Karunanathan; Adrian Murray

3-1c) Theorizing Fascism

PK R220 (Zoom Room C)

Papers:

- “Right-wing populism and conformity” — Anasuya Agarwala, Gargi College, University of Delhi, India
- “The Myth of ‘Left-Wing’ Fascism in Britain in the 1930s” — Daniel Ritschel, University of Maryland
- “Atomization and Neo-fascism: A Critical Socialist Perspective” — Thom Workman, UNB

Chair/Discussant: Steve D’Arcy

3-1d) Histories of Labour Imperialism

SH 3220 (Zoom Room D - Passcode: “sss”)

Participants:

- Subho Basu, McGill;
- Proshanto Dhar, University of Toronto;
- Katherine Nastovski, YorkU

Organizer: Katherine Nastovski

10:45 - 12:15

3-2a) The Politics of Energy Transition and Fossil Fuel Resistance Across the World

SH 3420 (Zoom Room A)

Papers:

- “De-risking and the infrastructural entanglements of decarbonization: the case of Saudi Arabia” — Nicolas Viens, UBC; Alexis Montambault-Trudelle, University of Edinburgh
- “How does the German capitalist class shape energy transition? A social ecology of renewable energies and hydrogen” — Arnaud Theurillat-Cloutier, UQAM
- “Imagining Peace and Friendship in 2030 in Mi’kma’ki” — Sadie Beaton, Treaty Truck House Resistance Movement; Emily Eaton, University of Regina; Michelle Paul, Treaty Truck House; Robin Tress, Treaty Truck House

Chair: Audrey Laurin-Lamothe

Organizer: JP Sapinski

3-2b) The Multi-Dimensional Relevance of Marcuse’s Critique for Today’s Shared Global Struggles

SH 3140 (Zoom Room B)

Papers:

- “From the Concealed Front to Post-Materialist Humanism” — Lauren Langman, Loyola U;
- “The Next Fascism: Foresight, Hindsight, and Political/Social Blindness” — Arnold Farr, U of Kentucky (Visiting Scholar, York University 2023-24);
- “Marcuse and Critical Ecology: Reconstructing Labor and Carework for Socialist Futures” — Sarah Surak, Salisbury University;
- “Marcuse’s Political Economy: Lessons from the Early Marx” — Robert Kirsch, Arizona State University;
- “The Implications of Marcuse’s writings on feminism and Nature for the Global South: Theorizing De-colonialism” — Savita Singh, Indira Gandhi National University;

Organizer: Terry Maley

3-2c) Fascist Turns in the Contemporary World

PK R220 (Zoom Room C)

Papers:

- “Right Wing Populism and its Opponents in India” — Idris Hasan Bhat, SRM University;
- “Multi-Track Fascism and the Contemporary Far Right” — Steve D’Arcy, Philosophy, Huron University College;
- “Hindutva Pop and Contagious Mimesis: A Study of a Population Exposed to Psychedelic Songs of Fascist Forces” — Asijit Datta, SRM University;

Chair/Discussant: Priyansh

3-2d) International Labour Solidarity: Taking Stock of the Current Moment (Roundtable)

SH 3220 (Zoom Room D - Passcode: “sss”)

Participants:

- Mostafa Henaway, Concordia
- Kevin Skerrett, Carleton University

Organizer: Katherine Nastovski

1:15 - 2:45

3-3a) Author meets critics: *A Social Ecology of Capital*, by Éric Pineault

SH 3420 (Zoom Room A)

Participants:

- Éric Pineault, UQAM;
- Angele Alook, YorkU;
- Bill Carroll, UVic;
- JP Sapinski, Université de Moncton;

Organizer: JP Sapinski

3-3b) Reconciliation and Anti-Colonial Theories

SH 3140 (Zoom Room B)

Papers:

- “Reconciliation and the Proletarianization of Indigenous Peoples in Canada” — Yaroslava A Montenegro, York University;
- “Reconciliation as Tactic of the Capitalist System” — Steven Bates;
- “Marx on the River: Transforming Marx(ism) in Conversation with Indigenous Resurgence Theory” — Seb Bonet, UVic/Camosun College

Chair/Discussant: Phil Henderson

3-3c) Refusing Reductions, Establishing the Terms of Liberation

PK R220 (Zoom Room C)

Papers:

- “Towards collective liberation: Building solidarity among Black, Indigenous, and racialized scholars, activists, and artists through decolonial and anti-racist praxis” — Jennifer Ma, McMaster; Maimuna Khan, McMaster Soma Chatterjee, York; Yahya El-Lahib, University of Calgary; Nellie Alcaraz, McGill; Carolyn Tran, University of Regina; Ayat Salih, McMaster
- “Feminist Dialectical Materialism: Movements Toward Transformation” — Nuzhat Khurshid, York; Joseph Fantauzzi, York;
- “Envisioning Real Transformation: Three Pathways Towards Black Liberation, Anti-Colonial Emancipation, and Indigenous Resurgence” — Kelsey Brady, UBC
- “Antisemitism as Anti-Jewish Racism: Reflections on Relations of Solidarity” — Abigail Bakan, UofT; Yasmeen Abu-Laban, UofA

Chair/Discussant: Abigail Bakan

3-3d) The Substances of Contemporary Capitalism

SH 3220 (Zoom Room D - Passcode: “sss”)

Papers:

- “Examining The Political Economy of Today’s Psychedelic Renaissance” — Jamie Brownlee, Carleton; Kevin Walby, University of Winnipeg;
- “Staples in the Grass: Reflections on Canada’s Cannabis Industry and Global Capitalism” — Joel Z Garrod, St. FX
- “Neoliberalization and the Enduring Logic of Canada’s Drug Prohibition Policy Regime” — Megan Aiken, University of Alberta

Chair/Discussant: Megan Aiken

3:00 - 4:30

3-4a) Socialist and Feminist Reflections on Contemporary Cases of Wars, Hate Crimes, Atrocities, Genocide

SH 3420 (Zoom Room A)

Participants:

- Dolores Chew, Marianopolis College;
- Indira-Natasha Prahst, Langara College;
- Karin Doerr;
- Sima Aprahamian, Concordia

Organizer: Sima Aprahamian

3-4b) The Uneven Processes of Value Extraction and Social Control

SH 3140 (Zoom Room B)

Papers:

- “Socialist Ethics and Sustainable Relationship: The Case of the Temporary, International, Racialized, Student Workers in Canada” — Sabujkoli Bandopadhyay, University of Regina;

- “Responding to the Neoliberal Precarities: Care work, emotions, and women academics in Indian private universities” — Smitana Saikia, Azim Premji University; Sapna Mishra, SRM University;
- “Masculinity and Gig Work: A Case Study of Toronto Rideshare Workers” — Maya Campo, York;

Chair/Discussant: Seb Bonet

3-4c) Technologies of Control

PK R220 (Zoom Room C)

Papers:

- “Shaping Public Discourse: News Coverage of Nord Stream” — William Solomon, Professor Emeritus, Rutgers University;
- “Public Police as Greedy Institution” — Kevin Walby, University of Winnipeg;
- “Carceral Capitalism and Plastic Frontiers: Unpacking the Entwined Dynamics of Commodification and Control” — Surabhi Bajjal, Ambedkar University Delhi

Chair/Discussant: Phil Henderson

Day 1: June 17, 2024

9:00 - 10:30

1-1a) Critical Political Science: Critical Theory, Critical Futures?

The Caucus for a New Political Science was founded in 1967 in response to the growing popularity of methodological behavioralism and the neglect of the American Political Science Association to engage the political issues of the moment. The founding and current constitution summarize the organization's purpose to "make the study of politics relevant to the struggle for a better world." In 2021, the organization updated its name to the Caucus for a Critical Political Science (CCPS), reflecting a shift from the "newness" of the ideas of the "New Left" to incorporate the broader perspective of "critical" theories today. Grounded in a continued emphasis on support of scholar-activism to support the struggle for a better world, the organization is "an association of critical scholars committed to making the study of political science relevant to building a more democratic and egalitarian economic, social, and political order." This panel brings together CCPS members to speak to sustaining socialist futures by asking what is a critical future for a critical political science. The papers speak to a variety of topics, including the aesthetics, ecology, education, and spatialization of socialism, to bring into dialogue discussions and proposals with colleagues from the Society for Socialist Studies.

Papers:

- "Critical Political Science: Cutting Through the Endangerments of the Present to the Betterment of the World from the Age of Nixon to the Epoch of Trump" — Timothy W. Luke, Virginia Tech
- "Critical Political Science and the Environment: Transdisciplinarity Beyond Ecosocialism" — C.L. Welker, Chair, Caucus for a Critical Political Science, University of Northern Colorado
- "Fortress Futures: Spatializing Doomsday Politics" — Robert E. Kirsch, Arizona State University
- "Critical Education and Critical Political Science: Formal and Non-Formal Approaches for a Socialist Future" — Sarah M. Surak, Salisbury University

Organizer: Sarah Surak

1-1b) Extraction, the State, and Anti-Extractivist Worldmaking - Session #1

Extraction is world-making: dams, mines, industrial agriculture, forestry, and oil and gas drilling have instituted and entrenched racialized and colonial divisions of labour at multiple scales, dispossessed local and Indigenous communities, and churned out emaciated, homogenized natures and a hotter and hotter planet. Most extraction today is more accurately extractivism, a term born out of anti-colonial Latin American struggle that describes hyper-extraction: large scale, export-oriented extraction that generates wealth accumulated far from the site of extraction where violent effects are concentrated, all underpinned by logics of domination and devaluation that sanction extraction's gendered and racialized violence (Murrey and Mollett 2023).

Over the past four decades, extraction rates have tripled, seemingly unimpeded by dreams of decoupling, an explosion in conservation measures like protected areas, and increasing global consensus (most recent COP president aside) about the need to transition energy systems away from fossil fuel extraction. The most prominent contenders among alternative energy systems even involve doubling down on other forms of extraction, e.g. critical minerals for use in solar and battery technology, large-scale dams, and wider and wider webs of transmission lines.

The state is a crucial institution fueling extractive world-making, not only mediating the relationship between capitalism and nature but also engaging in its own extractive environment-making (Parenti 2015; also see Scott 1996). The state also modulates attempts to change or reign in these patterns. Although states around the world have passed thousands of laws in response to diverse movements demanding action on environmental crises and environmental racism, there is a seeming “glass ceiling” on far states will go given the imperatives they face to generate revenue, accumulation, and legitimacy (Hausknot 2020; also see Akbulut 2019). Although it might therefore be tempting to disavow the state, its essential roles authorizing, subsidizing, promoting, protecting (e.g. through policing) and providing infrastructure for extraction means it cannot be ignored. Abolishing extractivism requires understanding and confronting the state. This two-part session sets out to do just this. The first part will be comprised of research papers inquiring into how and why the state does what it does vis a vis extraction, what keeps extraction so entrenched, and what holds the glass ceiling on environmental state action in place.

The second part will be a panel discussion exploring anti-extractivist world-making to undo and remake the worlds extractivism produces (spinning off Getachew 2019). What divisions of labour, global financial and/or geopolitical configurations, or more local economic or political formations would support extraction without extractivism – that is, extraction that meets needs with any surplus distributed equally among not only people but also “the world beyond the skin” (Armstrong 1996)? How should the state be engaged within anti-extractivist world-making?

Session #1:

- “Counter-Revolution of the Courts: On Indigenous nations, imperial state formation, and the demobilization of forest defenders at the Fairy Creek Blockades” — Brydon Kramer, UofA
- “A Shaky Class Compromise? Left-Wing Populism and Dispossession in Kerala, India” — Sudheesh RC, National Law School of India University;
- “Just Transition for All: Reconciliation and Economic Justice for the Working Class of Chemical Valley” — Brady Taylor;
- “Permaculture as Socialist Practice” — Michael Arfken, UPEI Faculty Association;

Organizers: Rosemary Collard; Jess Dempsey; Chris Hurl; Bengi Akbulut

1-1c) The Political Economy of the Far Right

An ascendent hard right has seized--or is seriously contesting for--power around the world. Most mainstream analyses reduce the far-right threat to the domain of “culture,” thereby obscuring more than they elucidate and justifying the coercive responses of neoliberal states. There is thus an urgent need for an analysis that centers class and political economy. The papers on this panel offer critical insights on the contemporary global far right, showing how the rise of this new far right must be understood as an outcome of the crises of legitimacy that have manifested across the advanced capitalist countries. While the more coercive states that have emerged over the neoliberal period were able to contain surprisingly limited working-class resistance, growing contradictions lurked just below the surface. Working-class communities were devastated by ‘deindustrialization,’ while smaller capitalists unable to restructure internationally were increasingly squeezed by the intensifying competitive pressures of globalization. This proved fertile ground for the emergence of a ‘new right,’ which occupied the terrain abandoned by increasingly neoliberal social democratic parties.

Papers:

- “Capitalist crisis through the prism of Hungarian illiberalism: On the dynamics of surplus populations and social reproduction” — Sara Swerdlyk, McMaster
- “Neo-Fascism and Class Power in the United States” — Stephen Maher, SUNY; Scott M Aquanno, Ontario Tech University;
- “What’s Wrong with Texas? A Morphological Analysis of Christo-Fascism” — Clyde W Barrow, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

Organizer: Jordan House, Ontario Tech University;

1-1d) Health for All: The Promise of Socialism in Achieving Health Equity

As we navigate a world of ongoing and worsening health disparities and social inequalities, this panel will explore the intersection of health equity and socialism, past, present, and future. In this discussion we will examine the current and potential role socialism plays in achieving equitable access to health and health care, dismantling systemic inequalities, and promoting collective well-being.

Panelists: Lanyan Chen, Nipissing; Erin Flanagan, York; Will MacGregor, York

Organizers: Stella Medvedyuk; Zsofia Mendly-Zambo

10:45 - 12:15

1-2a) Poor People’s Movements, Research & Responsibility (Roundtable)

Poor people’s organizing has secured major victories. Much of what is understood as the Canadian welfare state exists because of poor people’s resistance. It is poor people’s resistance – specifically drug users’ resistance – that has led to life-saving measures like overdose prevention sites, safer supply and decriminalization in BC. While it is important to learn with/from the lessons of these movements, many have experienced scholars to be exploitative and extractive. This roundtable examines poor people’s organizing, class struggle and its relationship to the academy. Contributors are scholar-activists who have worked with poor people’s struggles in Vancouver, Ottawa, Toronto and Montreal. After introducing the activist projects, they have been a part of, they will discuss the relationship between academia and poor people’s organizing. Contributors will discuss the practical, material ways that scholars can mobilize resources for movements and the power relations that coincide these; and how to engage in non-extractive, reciprocal research. They will also examine the conflict between movement and academic epistemic conceptualizations of knowledge ownership and production as well as what it means for poor scholars to attain class privilege because of their scholarship.

Participants: Andy Crosby, Carleton University; Anna Kramer, McGill/Street Solidarity Circle; Tyson Singh Kelsall, Simon Fraser; Nmesoma Nweze, McGill University; AJ Withers, Simon Fraser

Organizer: AJ Withers

1-2b) Extraction, the State, and Anti-Extractivist Worldmaking - Session #2 (Roundtable)

Extraction is world-making: dams, mines, industrial agriculture, forestry, and oil and gas drilling have instituted and entrenched racialized and colonial divisions of labour at multiple scales,

dispossessed local and Indigenous communities, and churned out emaciated, homogenized natures and a hotter and hotter planet. Most extraction today is more accurately extractivism, a term born out of anti-colonial Latin American struggle that describes hyper-extraction: large scale, export-oriented extraction that generates wealth accumulated far from the site of extraction where violent effects are concentrated, all underpinned by logics of domination and devaluation that sanction extraction's gendered and racialized violence (Murrey and Mollett 2023).

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Session #2/Roundtable:

- Bengi Akbulut;
- Stephanie Eccles;
- Becca Wilgosh;
- Rosemary Collard

Organizers: Rosemary Collard; Jessica Dempsey; Chris Hurl; Bengi Akbulut

1-2c) 'Socialism not Barbarism': Creating and Sustaining Social Counter Hegemony — Session #1

This panel will be an attempt to push past the well-worn repetition of the 11th thesis of Feuerbach that "the point is to change it". From the far right and the increasingly radicalized mainstream

right, we are seeing change – whether it’s turning back the clock on abortion rights or bodily autonomy for women, queer and trans people, ever greater inequality, more subsidies for the rich and greater cuts to, and privatization of education, healthcare and other public services – and it is considerable, wide-ranging change: unfortunately, it’s not the change most people, the ‘99%’, want or need. We’ve seen all kinds of interpretations, analyses and even proposals for understanding what is happening, ideally to be better prepared to organize to change the current dynamic of reactionary and radical right-wing repressive forces. Fundamentally, however, we have yet to see the actual possibility of change become something that socialists – of all stripes – can engage in the process of directing and organizing around.

The question we need to ask is: ‘How do we change it? What political organization is best around which to organize? How will we communicate? Communication is an integral part of political organization, something that we have seen to the detriment of left political parties and organizations in the century plus since the 1917 revolution.

This panel will take its starting point from a recognition that both political organization and communication are necessary to build a sustainable future in which the left in Canada can organize, educate and agitate to establish itself as a force around which social movements, unions and the intersectional working class would be able to challenge the contemporary conjuncture within which we find ourselves.

Following upon some of the more recent work of various left scholars, activists, theorists, organisers, agitators and advocates, the idea is that this panel will address the following questions:

- What role for the political organization: e.g. electoral or vanguard, coalition, alliance or movement?
- What role for the political organization’s media: e.g. party website and paper, social media and digital popularizer, internal newsletter, theoretical journal?
- What purpose communication? How does communication enable the political organization to function (e.g. reach out, organize, educate, expand, agitate, mobilise) and how does the political organization enable (open, accessible, democratic, pluralistic) communication?
- Is there a future for a socialist political organization and media: a socialist party, project, movement? If so, how would this be achieved?

This panel is for anyone interested in thinking out loud and engaging in a fuller discussion about the possibilities for forming a 21st century socialist organization and/or media.

Session 1:

- “From Revolution to Critical Junctures and Vice Versa: An Analysis through the New Prefigurative Practices of the Socialist Movement (MS) in Spain” — Nerea Montejo López, Scuola Normale Superiore;
- “NGO Workers: ‘Whistleblowing’ and the Role of Unions” — Chelsey Rhodes, UofT;
- “Political Organisation and Cultural Apparatus: Rebuilding a ‘Socialist Political Formation’” — Hillary Pimlott, Wilfrid Laurier;

Organizer: Hillary Pimlott

1-2d) Research Trajectories in Critical Political Science

This panel will present work by contributors to the newly published Encyclopedia of Critical Political Science (Elgar 2024) and is part of the transnational effort to establish a collaborative

relationship between the Society for Socialist Studies (Canada) and the Caucus for a Critical Political Science (United States). Critical political science generates knowledge that questions the basis of existing economic and political systems, including the multiple institutions and policies that support and reproduce those systems. Consequently, critical political science promotes and facilitates a constructive engagement between Marxism, Feminism, Critical Race Theory, Post-Marxism, Post-Modernism, Post-Structuralism, and other forms of analysis to unravel the complexities of power, domination, exploitation, and oppression. It seeks to identify political trajectories that promote the building of a new society based on a democratic and egalitarian economic, social, and political order without class exploitation, institutionalized racism and sexism, imperialism, and catastrophic environmental destruction.

Papers: (abstracts available if needed)

- “Critical Political Science in Canada” — Greg Albo, YorkU;
- “CB Macpherson and Democracy Today” — Phillip Hansen, University of Regina;
- “The Violence of US Border Externalization: Critical Insights on the Realities of Border Regimes” — Carla Angulo-Pasel, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley;
- “Ideology as the Critique of False Consciousness” — William Clare Roberts, McGill;
- Discussants: Willow Verkerk, UBC; Joel Garrod, St. FX;

Organizer: Clyde Barrow, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

1:15 - 2:45

1-3a) Making Sense of the War in Ukraine (Roundtable)

The panelists will examine the geo-political and historical context of the Russian-Ukrainian war from a critical left perspective, and talk about the human costs and prospects for a peaceful resolution. The speakers will provide a counter-narrative to the US-NATO perspective/propaganda which has dominated Western media and many academic discussions about this war. Why have progressive voices been silenced or marginalized? Why the calls for increased military spending and more arms shipments to Ukraine, rather than peace negotiations?

Panelists:

- Radhika Desai, University of Manitoba;
- Dimitri Lascaris;
- Kevin Mackay, Mohawk College;
- Glenn Michalchuk, Association of United Ukrainian Canadians;

Organizer: Jennie Hornosty, University of New Brunswick

1-3b) Challenging the Canadian Nuclear Establishment

Canada has been involved in nuclear technology since the Manhattan project that developed the bombs dropped over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Later, as part of the Cold War, it too sought to use nuclear technology to support the power of the U.S. led “capitalist” bloc. The CIRUS reactor built in India, which was later used to produce the plutonium used in the first Indian nuclear test of 1974, was supplied

as part of the Colombo plan that was “premised on the relation between misery and poverty and communism.”

Starting from such beginnings, the nuclear establishment in Canada has expanded to link federal departments, Crown corporations and agencies, provincial public utilities, public universities and thousands of companies from small manufacturers to Canada’s largest multinationals and partners in the U.S. and beyond. In contrast to the earlier decades, today the main message is in support of a capitalist trajectory of continued economic growth: nuclear power offers a clean, safe and reliable energy that can rescue us from the climate crisis.

This message overlooks the obvious and well-known problems associated with nuclear energy: the risk of catastrophic nuclear accidents, the links between nuclear power and nuclear weapons, the hazardous radioactive waste that the fission process will always produce. Nuclear power has also failed the test of the market, requiring massive public subsidies to make their electricity affordable to ratepayers. Yet currently, the federal government, in partnership with the nuclear industry, is pushing hard to develop so-called “small modular nuclear reactors”; across Canada and put Canada at the centre of a global export market.

Our panel will explore these issues with a focus on highlighting struggles against the nuclear establishment and building movements and alliances with university researchers, activists and Indigenous collaborators across the country.

Papers: (abstracts available if needed)

- “Small Modular Reactors: Nuclear Fantasies for the Interregnum” — MV Ramana, UBC
- “No Depth in Shallow Promises: Unfolding the Green Narrative of Nuclear into the Burden of Wastes” - Laura Tanguay, York
- “Is Nuclear Electricity ‘Clean,’ ‘Non-Emitting’ and Sustainable? A Life Cycle Perspective” — Mark Winfield, York
- “Challenging Hegemonic Corporate Media Discourse on Nuclear Power: The NB Media Co-op” — Susan O’Donnell, St. Thomas University

Organizer: Susan O’Donnell; MV Ramana

1-3c) ‘Socialism not Barbarism’: Creating and Sustaining Social Counter Hegemony - Session #2

This panel will be an attempt to push past the well-worn repetition of the 11th thesis of Feuerbach that “the point is to change it”. From the far right and the increasingly radicalized mainstream right, we are seeing change – whether it’s turning back the clock on abortion rights or bodily autonomy for women, queer and trans people, ever greater inequality, more subsidies for the rich and greater cuts to, and privatization of education, healthcare and other public services – and it is considerable, wide-ranging change: unfortunately, it’s not the change most people, the ‘99%’, want or need. We’ve seen all kinds of interpretations, analyses and even proposals for understanding what is happening, ideally to be better prepared to organize to change the current dynamic of reactionary and radical right-wing repressive forces. Fundamentally, however, we have yet to see the actual possibility of change become something that socialists – of all stripes – can engage in the process of directing and organizing around.

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Session 1:

- “Unlikely Comrades: Wrestlers and Farmers in Hindu Nationalist India” — Priyansh, UofT;
- “The Brazilian Left and the June Days of 2013” — Sean Purdy, UofT;
- “The Internal Foes of the Anti-Capitalist Left in Brazil” — Aruã Silva de Lima, Universidade Federal de Alagoas;
- “Making Canada and Israel: Dynamics of Settler Colonialism and Racial Capitalism” — John Price, UVic;

Organizer: Hillary Pimlott

1-3d) China, the Global South and International Political Economy

Through the implementation of state-directed industrial planning combined with a market-oriented reform program since 1978, China has not only become the centre of global production networks but also has made significant progress in industrial modernisation and development of various high-tech and renewable energy industries, including solar power, electric vehicles, and AI technology. The rise of China emerges as a unique case for scholarly research on the dynamics of economic growth and industrial modernisation for late-developing countries (which is often referred to as the China Model), as well as on the varieties of capitalism and socialist futures. China's increasing influence in the Global South and the intensified geopolitical confrontation with the United States – exemplified by the US' Pivot to Asia, China's Belt and Road Initiative, the trade war and technology war, and growing military tensions over Taiwan – have also reignited scholarly debates on great power competition.

While China's economic achievements may be well celebrated and serve as an inspiration for other developing countries in the world, the question to ask is how to understand the Chinese political economy within the context of evolving global capitalism. China is a nominally socialist state governed by the Communist Party, but it has also become an integral part of global capitalism since its economic reform in 1978 and joining of the WTO in 2001. Should China still be considered a manifestation of 'actually existing socialism' or a country transitioning towards socialism? Or does China represent a

new form of state capitalism that enables an ascendant power to rise and engage in an inter-imperialist rivalry with the existing global hegemon, the United States? How does the rise of China influence or transform global political economy? To what extent does China's centrifugal geo-economic engagement generate industrial development in the Global South? How does China's project of eco-civilisation and renewable energy transition differ from the Western approach? Last but not least, how can working-class and other social movements organise and struggle for a socialist future amidst deepened global capitalist crises and heightened tensions between capitalism and democratic politics?

Papers:

- "China's Eco-Civilization, Climate Leviathan, and Hobbesian Energy Transition" - David Chen, UofT
- "China and Industrial Development in the Global South" - Erdem Kaya, York
- "Old Lessons, New Horizons: Dependency Theory in the 21st Century" - Adam Alimi, York
- "Is China an Imperialist Power?" - Jerry Harris, Global Studies Association of North America

Organizer: David Chen, UofT;

1-3e) Author Meets Critics: Hurl, C. and Werner, L.B. (Forthcoming). *The Consulting Trap: How Professional Service Firms Hook Governments and Undermine Democracy*

Cosponsored with the Canadian Sociological Association, this session will discuss Hurl and Werner's forthcoming book, *The Consulting Trap: How Professional Service Firms Hook Governments and Undermine Democracy*. The book explores how governments have come to depend on consultancy firms for policy advice and service delivery. Drawing on case studies from Canada and around the world, Hurl and Werner investigate how big consultancies leverage social networks, institutionalize relationships, mine and commodify data, and establish policy pipelines that facilitate the quick diffusion of ideas across jurisdictions. It also offers strategies for how these powerful firms can be resisted using people's audits, public consultations, access to information requests, and social network analyses.

Participants: Chris Hurl; Leah B. Werner; William Carroll; Heather Whiteside.

3:00 - 4:30

1-4a) Solidarity and Self-Activity in Comparative Context

The concepts of solidarity and self-activity are both foundational to the socialist movement. In North America, "Solidarity Forever" is perhaps the most universally known anthem of the working-class movement. Poland's magnificent trade union movement in the early 1980s called itself Solidarity (Solidarność), a name adopted by others – e.g. "Operation Solidarity" in early-1980s British Columbia. But, if simple as a word, it is complex as a concept and difficult to operationalize. Similarly, self-activity is a concept towards which many gesture, but too often only in words not in deeds. The workers' council (soviet), in the early years of the Russian Revolution, was seen as the institutional embodiment of working-class self-activity. However, as early as 1919, Iulii Martov argued that: "The state which had been constructed with the aid of the 'power of the soviets' became the 'Soviet Power'" – a gesture towards bureaucracy, rather than democracy and self-activity. This panel will attempt to expand our understanding of both these concepts – solidarity and self-activity – through theoretical critique, and selected case studies.

Papers (abstracts available if needed)

- “Self-activity: A Contested concept in the history of Democratic Socialism” – Abigail Bakan, University of Toronto;
- “Solidarity Across Nations: A Strategic Concept” – Marcel Nelson, Sheridan College;
- “Solidarity, Praxis, and the Socialist Society” – Gökbörü Sarp Tanyildiz, Brock University;
- “Learning solidarity: socialist activism in the Pale of Settlement, 1901-1905” – Paul Kellogg, Athabasca University;

Organized by: Paul Kellogg

1-4b) Resources and Social Reproduction in Theoretical and Comparative Contrast

- “Impact of Economic Practices and Environmental Exploitation on Global Sustainability” — Jihad Algharam, Canadian Institute for Middle Eastern and Gulf Studies;

The article proposal examines the economic disparity and environmental exploitation caused by global commerce and disputed by the policies of global capitalism. The research focuses on two main causes that led to the inquiry in the modern global scene. The first aspect addresses the growing economic inequality within global systems, shown by the widespread poverty affecting significant segments of the world’s population. At the same time, wealth is concentrated among a select few. The second segment addresses the ruthless exploitation of natural resources, which has materialized in trade disputes and conflicts that have extended globally, resulting in pollution as one of its ramifications and the overall menace of climate change. On the other hand, the fact that there are economic inequities between nations and environmental exploitation demonstrates that capitalism is not suited to deal with the urgent global crises that are occurring now. Consequently, this article proposal aims to understand the complexity surrounding capitalism’s viability by investigating the prevalent political practices worldwide and the effects these practices have on the well-being of the economy, society, and the environment. Doing so contributes to the current discussion over the viability and adaptation of capitalism in the twenty-first century and the consideration of the role that technology solutions and prospective pathways may play in achieving a more sustainable future. And how negative practices related to both economic systems and environmental resource management contribute to broader global sustainability challenges.

- “Staples before Staples Theory: A Critical Political Economy of an Actually Existing Institution and its History”— Jamie Lawson, UVic;

Before late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century “staples theory”, actual staples institutions existed, and the name covered long-distance trade institutions that spanned the long transition to capitalism. This overview paper examines what these institutions were, what they did, what their supporters and participants thought they were for, without a sense of prior obligation (or enmity) to Innis, Mackintosh, Watkins, or the other participants in “staples theory”.

Far from being simply raw materials themselves or the full set of institutions associated with them, staple institutions were initially guild-like institutions designed either to provision medieval towns or to enrich emerging mercantile or state institutions by diverting surpluses in the course of circulating long-distance commodity goods. In a subsequent period, the late medieval practice of royal control of staples for taxation, and of mercantile control for cartelized profiteering and quality control, set a new precedent about the significance and meaning of staples. That debate concerned metropolitan and colonial elites about the developmental purposes of raw material exports under mercantilism. The aim of the paper is to suspend subsequent debates about “staples approach” or “staples theory”, in order to

understand first how actual staple institutions relates to material production and circulation relations that were in transition from the late Middle Ages into the Early Modern colonial period.

From such a study, I propose to look with fresh eyes at what twentieth-century and contemporary debates about “staples” became. Ties between the early Canadian and American staples canon and the Cambridge school of economic history exemplify what the earliest North American thinkers thought they were discussing, in a debate that for them was already old. I also examine staples in this early transition, because of our own position today. Our world must transition once again from the fossil capitalism that colonizes, environmentally degrades, and racially oppresses through the current extractivist approaches to the metabolic relations on which all societies rest.

1-4c) Theorizing Capitalism and Democracy (Roundtable)

For much of the mid to late twentieth century mainstream scholars assumed that capitalism and democracy had a positive, mutually reinforcing relationship. Free markets and a stable property rights regime, we were told, contributed to a more general state of social and economic equality. But today even capitalism’s champions appear to doubt that the two fit so neatly together anymore. Many popular and academic writers bemoan such developments but few offer much insight into why this state of affairs seems to have changed. It is time for critical scholars to return to the challenge of theorizing the relationship between capitalism and democracy. Participants will offer insights into how capitalism shapes both the space for and limits to what we call democracy as well as work that contests how we understand what democracy is and could be

Papers:

- “Radical Republicanism as a Model of Socialist Democracy” - Michael Thompson, William Paterson University;
- “Democracy Like an Apple Rots from the Core: Capitalism, Crises, and Character” - Lauren Langman, Loyola U
- “The Next Fascism: Foresight, Hindsight, and Political/Social Blindness” - Arnold Farr, U of Kentucky (Visiting Scholar, York University 2023-24)
- Title TBD - Peter Hudis, Oakton College;
- “Is Capitalism Facing a Philosophical Crisis?” - Manindra Thankur, Jawaharlal Nehru University;
- “Capitalism and Democracy: Incongruence” - Chandrabhanu Pattanayak, Director, Institute for Knowledge Studies;

Organizer: Terry Maley;

1-4d) The contribution of social ecology to the critical analysis of capitalism

In the last decade Social Ecology has matured in Europe as quantitative science of the metabolic relations of societies and contributed to the emergence of a non-reductionist ecological materialist analysis of the economic process. The contributions of this new social ecology have mainly been discussed in ecological economics and the environmental sciences. ESCA, a Montreal based workshop on the social ecology of advanced capitalism, has striven to develop this strand of social ecology into a critical theory of advanced capitalism complimentary to (but also in tension with) more classical approaches in critical and heterodox political economy, including eco-marxism. The main strength and contribution of social ecology is the tools and concepts developed in Vienna to analyze the metabolic

regimes of different societies and their economic process. In this panel we will explore how the mobilization of viennese social ecology can contribute to the critique of capitalist accumulation.

Papers:

- “The ghost of systems past: exploring the positive value of negativity in a post-growth society” — Krystof Beaucaire, UQAM;
- “From fossil to energy capital ? Abstract energy regime as a socio-material condition of capitalism” — Arnaud Theurillat-Cloutier, UQAM;
- “Rereading Marx to better cultivate our autonomy: socioecological perspectives on agriculture” — Gaelle Jaudard, UQAM;
- “Ecologizing Erik Olin Wright: the socioecological contradictions of the erosion of capitalism” — Eric Pineault, UQAM;

Organizer: Eric Pineault, UQAM;

1-4e) Race, Empire, and Canadian Foreign Policy (Roundtable)

Critical perspectives on Canadian foreign policies with engaged activists speaking about Ukraine, Palestine, China, and elsewhere, as well as Canada’s changing national security state.

- Bianca Mugenyi, Canadian Foreign Policy Institute;
- Xiaobei Chen, Carleton University;
- Radhika Desai, University of Manitoba;
- Yasmeen Abu-Laban, University of Alberta;

Organizer: John Price, UVic

Day 2: June 18, 2024

9:00 - 10:30

2-1a) The Social Reproduction of Desire - Session #1

This session draws on recent developments in social reproduction theory to examine processes of sexual and gender formation in capitalist societies. Marxist-feminists developed social reproduction theory as a corrective to Marxist frames that tended to examine class relations at the site of capitalist employment, without inquiry into the unpaid or poorly paid labour processes through which the dispossessed organize to sustain themselves and raise the next generation. The focus of social reproduction theory on the multiple dimensions of feminized reproductive labour in capitalist societies highlights the ways hierarchical divisions of labour and exclusions from formal wage-work organized around gender, racial and sexual formation are central to class reproduction. Papers in this session will examine the ways particular regimes of sexuality and gender develop from above, through regulation by the state and employers; from below, through innovative forms of community formation and activism; and through the mediations of the value-form.

Papers (abstracts available if needed):

- “Written on the Child’s Body: Alienation, Play and Social Reproduction” — Susan Ferguson, Wilfred Laurier University;
- “Is Social Reproduction the Subtraction of Desire from Demand?” - Gökbörü Sarp Tanyildiz, Brock University;
- “Autonomous Reproduction as a Terrain of Struggle” - Brian Whitener, University of Buffalo;

Organizer: Alan Sears;

2-1b) Climate Obstruction: From Climate Denial to Climate Capitalism

This panel analyzes ‘climate obstruction– ’ organized efforts to prevent, delay, and circumvent robust action on climate change. It considers the actors, networks, discourses, and political strategies that constitute the full spectrum of obstructionism, including extractive populism, climate capitalism and associated tactics that either deny the reality of climate change, delay transformative climate actions, or mobilize political opposition to sustainable solutions. We consider how different varieties and networks of climate obstruction overlap and reinforce each other, as well as important differences between them. Papers also seek to identify and understand possible effective strategies to overcome both overt opposition to climate action and the pursuit of false solutions, bridging scholarship on climate obstruction with research focused on green-left alternatives.

Participants:

- “From Fossil Capitalism to Green Growth? Mapping Canada’s Climate Policy-Planning Network” — Nicholas Graham, UBC;
- “Climate Obstruction: From climate denial to climate capitalism—the case of gas expansion on Murujuga, Western Australia” — Lisa Mill, Carleton University;
- “Marketing Climate Obstructionism: Mapping Online Ad Buys in Canadian Facebook’s Conservative Media Ecosystem” — Bob Neubauer, UWinnipeg; Shane Gunster, SFU;
- “The Healing Power of Martial Masculinity: Eco-fascism and climate change in White Nationalist social media” — Helena Krobath, Columbia College; Freya Zinovieff, SFU;

Organizer: Bob Neubauer, University of Winnipeg; Nick Graham

2-1c) Gramsci for Our Time - Session #1

As the organic crisis of late capitalism deepens, Antonio Gramsci’s relevance, both for theory and practice grows. This session features papers that embrace a philosophy of praxis in analyzing political-ecological, political-economic, psycho-cultural, ethico-political and strategic dimensions of crisis and hegemonic struggle, in Canada and elsewhere.

Session 1:

- “Recovering a Gramsci for our time” - Bill Carroll, UVic;
- “Gramsci and the People: An Intersectional Feminist View” - Sonita Sarker, Macalester College;
- “Between Sympathy and Leadership: On Gramsci’s Political Intuition” - Christopher Hurl, Concordia;
- “The Common Sense of Social Media” - Marco Briziarelli, University of New Mexico; Rob Carley, Texas A&M University; Joseph P Zompetti, Illinois State University

Organizer: Bill Carroll,

2-1d) Publishing, Boycotting, and Organizing for a Free Palestine

Following the October 2023 Frankfurt Book Fair, when a prize ceremony for Palestinian author Adania Shibli's novel *Minor Detail* was indefinitely postponed, a collective of book publishers formed the global solidarity group Publishers for Palestine to organize against anti-Palestinian racism and to uphold calls for Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions against Israel in the publishing and academic industries. The group wrote and circulated a statement of solidarity that draws attention to the complicity of the media and cultural industries in justifying Israel's genocide in Gaza. Within a few months, over 400 publishers around the world signed on to the statement, some of which have also begun to organize around demands of the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI).

Even as solidarity with Palestinians grows, the crackdown on expressions of support for Palestine intensifies in Canada and globally. In the publishing world, workers have been fired or censured for criticizing Israel, many have been effectively intimidated into silence, publishing houses have lost funding for their support of Palestine, and employers, notably Deutsche Welle, have directed workers to accept a revised code of conduct requiring support for Israel's right to exist.

In Canada, publishers eschewing the call for solidarity with Palestine have asked, what does Canadian publishing have to do with it? This panel, comprising editors of radical independent presses in Canada, will discuss the context of Canadian publishing's relationship with Israel, the influence of foreign policy on Canadian arts and academic institutions, the importance of understanding publishing as a political project, and the opportunities of this moment to foster alliances, protection, and relationships of politically informed mutual accountability among cultural workers resisting institutional pressures to comply with Zionism.

Participants: Irene Bindi, ARP Books; Jazz Cook, Fernwood Publishing; and Amanda Crocker, *Between the Lines*;

Organizer: Tanya Andrusieczko, Fernwood;

10:45 - 12:15

2-2a) Data Justice Hub: Mobilizing Data for Justice (Roundtable)

Over the past two decades, increasingly complex regimes for accessing information have made it challenging for activists to investigate and confront government and corporate practices. Access to information is brokered through a web of platforms and procedures demanding information users become skilled at collecting and analyzing data. In this context, how do social activists generate capacities to make sense of the institutions that they confront? And how do they deploy data in a way that makes a social and political impact?

The proposed panel, based on our forthcoming book, explores how social activists are engaging with data in new and innovative ways in social justice struggles. Drawing on case studies, we aim to focus on five sets of skills: 1) establishing communities of care around data; 2) building security cultures in negotiating surveillance infrastructures; 3) accessing government and corporate archives in gathering data; 4) assembling archives in storing data for struggles; 5) developing new forms of visualization in presenting data.

Participants: Chris Hurl, Concordia University; Elena Rowan, Concordia University; Hannah Grover, Concordia University; Kevin Walby, University of Winnipeg;

Organizer: Christopher Hurl;

2-2b) Transforming/Transformative Education: Navigating Progressive Pedagogies in Interdisciplinary Higher Education Participants (Roundtable)

In casual conversations (and, increasingly, in empirical research), many of us who teach have noticed qualitative differences in the practical and pedagogical implications of university classrooms in recent years. This includes, the (at least partial) return to in-person learning following years of online and blended course offerings, the increasing availability of language-learning models (such as ChatGPT), but also the housing cost-of-living crises that impact students' capacities for being physically and intellectually present to learn. Most recently, the Canadian government has made the decision—ostensibly to support international students and better protect them against exploitation—to disproportionately burden international students in the face of social conditions, like the cost-of-living crisis.

As educators, students, and researchers we hope that this roundtable can offer space to discuss pedagogy holistically—inside and outside of the classroom, and with careful consideration to who is, in fact, part of our classroom communities. The diversity of learners in our institutions is growing, as is the diversity of instructors: in other words, universities are different because the people who make up our learning communities are different. Using a collaborative and conversational approach, this panel seeks to illuminate effective strategies, share success (and less-than-successful) stories, and foster a supportive environment where educators and students alike can explore shared and divergent experiences, and provide a forum for open-dialogue on what transformative interdisciplinary education can look like in practice. Participants come from a range of disciplinary and interdisciplinary backgrounds, lived experiences, and roles in academic institutions.

Participants: Emily Douglas; Jayne Asekhauno; Will Kujala; Ali Jones;

Organizer: Miranda Leibel, University of Lethbridge

2-2c) Gramsci for Our Time - Session #2

As the organic crisis of late capitalism deepens, Antonio Gramsci's relevance, both for theory and practice grows. This session features papers that embrace a philosophy of praxis in analyzing political-ecological, political-economic, psycho-cultural, ethico-political and strategic dimensions of crisis and hegemonic struggle, in Canada and elsewhere.

Session #2:

- “Gramsci and the Northern Ontario Question” - Joseph Fantauzzi, YorkU;
- “Gramsci, Ambedkar, and Bourdieu: Navigating Hegemony, Constitutional Morality, and Habitus in Social Reform” - Surabhi Baijal, Ambedkar University Delhi;
- “From Transformism to Caesarism: Emmanuel Macron and the Passive Revolution of French Neoliberalism” - Thibault Biscarie, Université de Montréal;
- “‘Delicate and Dangerous’: Gramsci, the Crisis of Authority and US Politics” - Kim Pollock, Independent Scholar;

Organizer: Bill Carroll,

2-2d) Thinking the Digital

- “Studying, Producing, and Collecting Data: The Transgender Media Portal and the Pursuit of Digital Ethics” — Jada Gannon-Day, Carleton;

How are the products of human-centered research shaped by the platforms and technologies through which they are mediated? Reflecting on the development and upcoming launch of the Transgender Media Portal, this paper will analyze the possibilities of Marxist feminist anthropology in the study of data commodification and the movement to produce alternatives. In the Transgender Media Lab, we have been confronted by the parallel processes of data extraction and securitization shaping platform capitalism and yet our goal, to promote the works and careers of transgender artists, is presently contingent on our use of their very structures. Whereas the normative response to data commodification often diverges into either a rigid anti-machinist avoidance or an attempt to isolate the research from the structures in which they are developed and utilized, they must instead be thoroughly politicized at each point of contact. Rather than occupying an imagined space of neutrality, information and communications technologies, namely the platforms which mediate human communication, should be interpreted as the deliberate and calculated creations of political-economic actors. Launching the Transgender Media Portal, this paper will argue that ethnography is vital to critiquing the changing shapes of capitalism and producing research that is capable of capturing new possibilities.

Socialist, feminist, and anti-colonial methodologies are capable of driving both the study of information and communications technologies and the development of alternative digital environments. In particular, these methodologies provide an economic foundation which ties change to a history of class struggle, making visible possible alternatives to capitalist technology. At the same time, they remove neither the product of research nor the field itself from its constitutive conditions. As such, this paper will argue that the proposed methodological development is necessarily without a distinguishable end point. Rather, continued and repeated investigations into digital technology should equip socialist academics’ political mobilization and self-critique. Thus, this paper will advocate for an expansive political economic examination of data (de)commodification which mobilizes participant observation to both interpret the changing social environments and bring forward sociopolitical transformation.

- “The Libertarian Socialist Potential of Advanced Digital Technologies” — Alan N Shapiro, University of Applied Sciences and Arts;

What is the potential of self-aware technologies to support a vision of post-capitalism? “Self-aware technologies” is my term for the technologies of the Fourth Industrial Revolution – technologies like Artificial Intelligence, Virtual Reality, the Internet of Things, blockchains, 3D printers, Augmented Reality, advances in biotech, and the Brain-Computer Interface. I take my inspiration from the 1971 book *Post-Scarcity Anarchism* by Murray Bookchin. With Bookchin, we see that the imagination of a post-scarcity post-capitalist economy and society founded on the intelligent and creative design and deployment of technologies was already a major idea during the New Left 1960s. The digital and virtual technologies of today can be part of that vision, provided they are carefully designed in alternative ways. These technologies have something to do with more decentralization, democratization, disintermediation (elimination, with blockchain, of the “middleman” like the bank or broker), peer-to-peer transactions, and the increased importance of code. The challenge is to create an economy that is much more focused on ecology and sustainability than the present system, reversing the waste and destruction to the environment which have been caused by the excesses of capitalism. With 3D Printers and Additive

Manufacturing, the capability of using materials which are naturally plentiful and readily biodegradable – such as cellulose (the most abundant organic polymer on Earth) – will need to be developed. We seek to limit capitalism to one dimension of three of a capitalist-socialist-anarchist economy. The project of Technological Anarchism: envisioning post-humans as partners and friends to humans, as participants in the post-capitalist “third dimension” of the economy to which we delegate some of our human power, as “self-owning” self-aware technological entities. The “Achilles heel” that both capitalism and state-socialism-from-above share is that, in both systems, *humans are in charge*. Humans are – perhaps not ontologically or genetically, but in the current historical era – selfish, narcissistic, corrupt, and power-hungry. We need a posthuman perspective, a partial “delegating” and coding of moral responsibility (a back-and-forth shared ethical decision making), and of much of social and economic logistics, into semi-autonomous technological processes.

1:00 - 2:45

2-3a) 2023 Errol Sharpe Award Keynote: “Truth Behind Bars”: Reflections on the Fate of the Russian Revolution

No event has done more to shape the contemporary Left than the Russian Revolution of 1917. For generations, it was the reference point for those who saw collective action by the working class and the oppressed as the driving force of history. This book re-examines our understanding of that revolution through a close study of working-class history and a re-examination of core assumptions of political theory. Historically, it uses the arctic city of Vorkuta as a case study, surveying three moments of struggle – hunger strikes during the Great Terror from 1936 to 1938, revolts against forced labour from 1947 to 1953, and mass miners’ strikes from 1989 to 1991. Theoretically, the book suggests that this long history of workers’ resistance to repression reveals the submergence of traditions of *self-emancipation* under the dead weight of *substitutionism*. Based on this historical and theoretical survey, the book revisits key texts associated with the revolution, arguing for a radical revision of our understanding of the dynamics within the Russian Left of the 1917 era. In 1843, the then 25-year-old Karl Marx, in a letter to a friend, advocated the “ruthless criticism of all that exists, ruthless both in the sense of not being afraid of the results it arrives at and in the sense of being just as little afraid of conflict with the powers that be”. To properly assimilate the lessons of 1917, exactly this kind of approach is required.

Organizer: Paul Kellogg

3:00 - 5:00

2-4a) AGM

Please visit our website, [here](#), to review agenda items prior to meeting. Attendees must be in good standing with the society, including an up-to-date membership.

6:00 - Onward

The Society for Socialist Studies Social and Mixer

Socialist Studies are pleased to invite you to a casual social and mixer event, hosted off campus at [Le Chavel Blanc](#). Located at 809 Ontario Est., Le Chavel is a quick 25 minute ride on the #24 bus, or a similarly timed walk down Sherbrooke. All conference attendees are welcomed, as are any family, friends, colleagues, or comrades.

Day 3: June 19, 2024

9:00-10:30

3-1a) The Social Reproduction of Desire - Session #2

This session draws on recent developments in social reproduction theory to examine processes of sexual and gender formation in capitalist societies. Marxist-feminists developed social reproduction theory as a corrective to Marxist frames that tended to examine class relations at the site of capitalist employment, without inquiry into the unpaid or poorly paid labour processes through which the dispossessed organize to sustain themselves and raise the next generation. The focus of social reproduction theory on the multiple dimensions of feminized reproductive labour in capitalist societies highlights the ways hierarchical divisions of labour and exclusions from formal wage-work organized around gender, racial and sexual formation are central to class reproduction. Papers in this session will examine the ways particular regimes of sexuality and gender develop from above, through regulation by the state and employers; from below, through innovative forms of community formation and activism; and through the mediations of the value-form.

Papers: (abstracts available if needed)

- “Logic of gender of logic of cisness? Gender normativity and the commodity fetish” — Charlie Bond, Concordia;
- “Daring to be bad: Consciousness-Raising and the Problem of Value” — Amy De’Ath, King’s College London;
- “Making Love with Alienated Labour” — Alan Sears, TMU;

Organizer: Alan Sears

3-1b) Contesting New Frontiers in Water Financialization and Privatization

The 2023 UN Water Conference, held last March in New York to take stock of progress on Sustainable Development Goal 6 (SDG 6), was the first such UN meeting convened on water in 46 years. The conference marked the return of water to the global agenda as a distinct issue after its subordination to efforts to combat climate change—an issue with which it is deeply interconnected—for more than a decade. But this re-prioritization is not without risks or shortcomings. Despite the aspiration of achieving universal and sustainable water access and resource management contained in SDG 6, progress remains lacklustre. Indeed, worldwide some 2 billion people remain without access to safe drinking water and nearly 4 billion lack access to improved sanitation. Water services, resources and ecosystems are increasingly under threat from the impacts of climate change and disasters, 90% of which are water related, and ongoing environmentally destructive economic development—including the intensifying extraction of minerals central to the energy transition.

More alarming, those interested in turning a profit from water services and resources see the current conjuncture as an opportunity to “do well, while doing good.” Private sector forces have been especially successful in capturing global water governance and establishing new institutions to advance their increasingly financialized pro-privatization agenda as a solution to water crises at multiple scales. Despite the consistent failure of market ‘solutions’, whether public-private partnerships in management and delivery or ‘innovative’ financing mechanisms, global water governance and development institutions maintain that the only way to address contemporary and future water challenges is to further privatize and financialize water resources and services. The 2023 UN Water Conference was no

exception, with International Financial Institutions, Northern donor countries, and private finance and corporations dominating the proceedings in New York.

This panel will explore global struggles for water justice in the context of these long present and newly emergent dynamics. Papers include those addressing new forms of privatization and financialization, the corporate capture of global water governance, including the newly revitalized water space at the UN, financialization and the racialization of the urban water scape, and the praxes of public and community water providers and movements as disruptive alternatives to these (re)emergent processes of financialized expropriation.

Papers:

- “Access to water for whom? Interrogating finance-sector engagement in implementation of SDG 6” - Meera Karunanathan, Carleton
- “Water Boundaries: Financialized Expropriation, Trans-local Solidarity and Water Justice” - Adrian Murray, University of Johannesburg
- “Democratizing Credit: The Banco Popular and Community-Based Water Management in Costa Rica” - Susan Spronk, UOttawa;
- “Behind the Blue Curtain: Decoding the UN Water Conference, Financial Influences and Covert Agendas” - Rachel Woods, Carleton;

Organizer: Meera Karunanathan; Adrian Murray

3-1c) Theorizing Fascism

- “Right-wing populism and conformity” — Anasuya Agarwala, Gargi College, University of Delhi, India;

This paper argues that right wing populism exhibits at least two kinds of morality, distinguishable not in the consequences of their actions, but in their phenomenological structures. Arendt notices that Nazi morality takes at least two forms: an obvious morality of conviction where belief in Nazi ideology and hatred for Jews drives ordinary people towards moral and political evil. But she notices another moral phenomenon taking place in Nazi Germany. She names this the banality of evil and claims it to be expressive of a morality of custom. I want to ground the distinction between these two types of morality in Heidegger’s distinction between conformity and conformism in order to describe the phenomenological (intentional) structures underlying these different moralities. To be sure, both are modes of conformity that result in the extermination of Jews. But while one works on belief, the other works on indifference. Grounding the morality of custom in Heidegger’s notion of indifference helps a moral evaluation of indifference as a mode of engagement in times of crisis such as fascism. Distinguishing conformity from authenticity, I want to suggest, with Arendt, that resistance to right-wing populism may be sought in authenticity.

The paper is divided into four sections. The first discusses Arendt’s identification of the two kinds of morality under Nazism. The significance of this section is its attention to a less obvious morality of custom. The second section discusses the phenomenological structures of two kinds of conformity. The significance of this section is the distinction we might find between the structures of conformity and conformism and thus the phenomenological difference between a morality of conviction and a morality of custom. The third section ties the above two sections together to offer a moral evaluation of indifference as a mode of engagement with the world in times of crisis. The fourth section

uses Arendt's notion of judgement to offer authenticity as a rescue to conformity and right-wing populism.

- “The Myth of ‘Left-Wing’ Fascism in Britain in the 1930s” — Daniel Ritschel, University of Maryland;

The precise nature of the relationship between the ideologies of fascism and socialism remains one of the more contested questions in 20th-century history and politics. While the two are conventionally viewed as implacable antagonists positioned on the opposite ends of the ideological spectrum, a persistent strain of both academic and political opinion treats fascism as a variant of collectivism that purportedly harbored prominent socialist elements, including anti-capitalism, welfarism, and state planning. Such arguments spring from a variety of their own ideological motives – ranging from efforts to implicate socialism, exonerate capitalism, or rehabilitate fascism itself – but modern socialist discourse needs to address these damaging allegations, if only to clarify its ideological integrity and sustain its future.

My paper joins this debate by examining recent scholarly assertions that Sir Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists (BUF) in the 1930s represented a “left-wing” or “socialist” brand of fascism. My analysis evaluates the accuracy of these claims by scrutinizing Mosley's economic agenda, the contemporary response to British fascism by socialist observers, and the views of the fifteen former socialists who are usually offered as evidence of a “left-wing” perspective within the BUF. I conclude that the attribution of “left-wing fascism” to Mosley's movement may be ascribed mostly to problematic assumptions about ideological boundaries and allegiances, but also to remarkably careless methodological practices, including uncritical reliance on the BUF's own propaganda about converts from the Labour party within its ranks. If the BUF were to be used as a test case, there was little that was “left-wing,” much less “socialist,” about interwar fascism.

- “Atomization and Neo-fascism: A Critical Socialist Perspective” — Thom Workman, UNB;

This paper examines the fundamental character of politics in the age of capitalist atomization. It builds on theories of society—Gesellschaft theory of Tönnies, and later Horkheimer, Adorno and Marcuse—and contends that politics necessarily assumes the character of aggregation/disaggregation strategies. The possibility, however, of authentic, working class aggregation is foreclosed by the exigencies of capitalist accumulation, and the drift towards demagogic distortion accordingly becomes a latent and ever-present threat as working class grievances are exploited by Löwenthal's “prophets of deceit.”

3-1d) Histories of Labour Imperialism

This panel will explore histories of labour imperialism and their significance. The panel will analyse the practices of a wide range of institutions involved in these practices, from the ILO and ICFTU to national labour federations, political parties, and movements. We will consider what constitutes labour imperialism and map out the diverse range of strategies. What relevance do these histories have for developing a critical lens to practices of labour transnationalism today? The first paper will explore why and how the ILO and TUC intervened in the labour movement in Bengal between 1919 and 1939 and what its consequences were. The second paper will examine the alignment between radical trade unions in India, with anti-communist counterparts in the USA and Britain, notably the American Federation of Labour (AFL), even garnering support from the CIA. Despite their professed anti-imperialist ideology, the actions of these anti-communist trade unions in India between the 1920s and 1960s inadvertently bolstered imperialism, even in the post-independence era. The third paper will look at the early Cold War labour imperialism inside the Canadian Congress of Labour (the industrial union

predecessor to the Canadian Labour Congress). Focusing on two cases, the Colombo Plan and bilateral aid to the Caribbean, this paper will explore key dimensions of the Canadian case and how it differed from that of the British TUC and the AFL.

Participant: Subho Basu, McGill; Proshanto Dhar, University of Toronto; Katherine Nastovski, York

Organizer: Katherine Nastovski

10:45 - 12:15

3-2a) The Politics of Energy Transition and Fossil Fuel Resistance Across the World

Energy transition is a global contested political field. The majority of social forces across the world – including environmental movements, Indigenous land defenders and water protectors, the capitalist class, the leadership of non-reactionary political parties and trade unions, and even the heads of petro-states – all strive for “energy transition”. Energy transition has become an umbrella term under which forces with different, often opposed, interests each frame competing projects for socio-environmental change.

This panel features contributions that analyze how actors of the field in different countries construe transition, how they use the expression to further their goals, and what vision of transition their discourse and actions put forth.

Papers: (abstracts available if needed, asterisk indicates presenter)

- “De-risking and the infrastructural entanglements of decarbonization: the case of Saudi Arabia” — Nicolas Viens, UBC; Alexis Montambault-Trudelle, University of Edinburgh
- “How does the German capitalist class shape energy transition? A social ecology of renewable energies and hydrogen” — Arnaud Theurillat-Cloutier, UQAM
- “Imagining Peace and Friendship in 2030 in Mi’kma’ki” — Sadie Beaton, Treaty Truck House Resistance Movement; Emily Eaton, University of Regina; Michelle Paul, Treaty Truck House; Robin Tress, Treaty Truck House

Organizer: JP Sapinski

3-2b) The Multi-Dimensional Relevance of Marcuse’s Critique for Today’s Shared Global Struggles

Herbert Marcuse is perhaps best known for his most famous work, *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society*. Published in the mid-1960s, *One-Dimensional Man* was critical of the forms of domination that characterized the post-WWII era of affluence in the US. Marcuse struck back against the one-dimensionality of capitalism, its consumerism, its ideological constriction of thought, its instrumental form of technological rationality, its ecological destruction. By contrast, Marcuse’s critique was characterized by multi-dimensional ways of thinking and being in the quest for liberation. His ‘negative’ critique of the system was not only about what Marcuse struck back against, but what he argued for. This included discussions of the potentialities of revolt, liberation and socialism. This roundtable seeks to address and elaborate the multi-dimensionality of Marcuse’s critique and how it is still relevant to today’s global struggles - for sustainable, liberated futures, societies and the planet.

Paper:

- From the Concealed Front to Post-Materialist Humanism - Lauren Langman, Loyola U;
- Title TBD - Arnold Farr, U of Kentucky (Visiting Scholar, York University 2023-24)
- “Marcuse and Critical Ecology: Reconstructing Labor and Carework for Socialist Futures” - Sarah Surak, Salisbury University;
- “Marcuse’s Political Economy: Lessons from the Early Marx” - Robert Kirsch, Arizona State University;
- “The Implications of Marcuse's writings on feminism and Nature for the Global South: Theorizing De-colonialism” - Savita Singh, Indira Gandhi National University;

Organizer: Terry Maley;

3-2c) Fascist Turns in the Contemporary World

- “Right Wing Populism and its Opponents in India” — Idris Hasan Bhat, School of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences SRM University;

The right-wing movement in India is personified by Modi and his political party, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). It is backed by the social organisation Rashtriya Swayam Sevak (RSS) that enjoys financial and cultural support from an increasing number of Hindu nationalists living abroad. Its popularity was consummated in the 2014 General Elections where Modi and his party formed the national government by winning a majority in the popular house. It increased its seats in the popular house in the 2019 general election. As we write this paper, India looks forward to another General Election in 2024, in which Modi and BJP are expected to win a third term. The war cry for this election rests on the construction of a temple bought through the demolition of a 16th Century Mosque in 1992 by Hindu nationalists.

Though the right-wing movement of Hindu Nationalism is a 100-year-old project in India, informed and inspired by 1920s/30s German and Italian fascism, it gained popularity in the 1990s and captured political power in 2014. While we offer a brief analysis of the history of the right-wing movement in India since its genesis in the early twentieth century, the focus of this paper is the rise of right-wing populism in India post 2014 General Elections. We want to focus on the social, political, cultural, and legal causes of this rise.

The years since 2014 has seen several attempts at resistance. We document three important efforts and analyse their significance for right-wing populism in India. These attempts include 1) Resistance from opposition political parties; 2) Resistance from Muslim women against amendments to India’s Citizenship Laws; 3) Ethnic nationalism from regional parties.

We also document the significance of the historical Farmers Protest in 2020 against the neo-liberal policies of the BJP. As the only movement based on labour and industry/economy, we want to suggest the importance of economic resistance.

Our paper has four sections; section one traces the origin of the right wing movement and its rise through different phases; section two documents popularity of the right wing movement and its capture of political power; section three enumerates three important resistance movements against the right wing movement; section four documents success of farmers protest against neoliberal policies of the right wing government and section five discusses basis of different resistance movements based on identity, emotion and labour.

- “Multi-Track Fascism and the Contemporary Far Right” — Steve D’Arcy, Philosophy, Huron University College;

In this paper, I propose and defend a *de-centred* conception of contemporary fascism. In contrast to conceptions of both classical and contemporary fascism that emphasize the fusion or tight coordination between party, leader-figure, street-fighting or para-military apparatus, and centres of ideological struggle such as newspapers or intellectual cliques (and once in power, the state), I make the case, on the contrary, for a view of both classical and (more importantly) contemporary fascism that allows for conjuncture-specific dispersions or convergences of a multiplicity of "tracks" or sectors of Far-Right activity that can only be assessed as qualifying or not qualifying as "fascist" when they are analyzed as part of a decentred system of (potentially) fascist contention. I make the case in part by critically responding to doubts raised on the Left, in recent months and years, about the allegedly incautious use of the "fascist" label to describe the contemporary Far Right.

- “Hindutva Pop and Contagious Mimesis: A Study of a Population Exposed to Psychedelic Songs of Fascist Forces” — Asijit Datta, SRM University;

My paper desires to interpret the dissemination of neo-fascist and soft-Hindutva ideologies and propaganda via new mediatic forms in India through the lens of Nidesh Lawtoo’s contagious mimesis and homo mimeticus. The sacrificial victim of these fascist forces is always the crowd, the herd which is vulnerable and volatile and a quick prey to psychic dispossession and depersonalization. It is intriguing to observe that exposure to such infectious mimesis dissolves the ego of the individual by seeping into the unconscious. For this, one needs to understand how since birth our mimetic unconscious, through the mirror neurons, causes affective and physical changes, and continues to do so especially when exposed to crowd behaviours or hypnotic forms of fascist intensities. The individual finally is left with an ego that is phantom-like and a thought-process that is shaped by moralities of a system that is beyond them. Existing on the cusp of network society we are continually exposed to contagious pathologies stretching from mental malfunctions to neo-fascist movements, pandemics, and climate crises. I am trying to bypass the former notion of mimesis as straightforward imitation and representation and instead comprehend it as a virus that contaminates human minds and bodies (turning them into active ‘mimos’ or actor/ performative agent) and expands its effect when in close contact with the other. What the fascist regime originally wants is a specific kind of political/social/communal ‘unity’ through the pathways of affective contagion. One of the methods of controlling the crowd is definitely through various models of hypnosis and trance-like contagious emotions. This is where I would like to shift to Kunal Purohit’s phenomenal work on the ‘artists’ of RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh) wing of Hindutva who perform, write, and publish violent, xenophobic, discriminatory anti-Muslim content weaved out of quasi-political, mediated truths and Islamophobic fiction. Purohit’s book, H-Pop focuses on the Hindu-centric killer beats and lyrics of Kavi Singh, the dream of Kamal Agney who wishes to teach young Hindu boys about the Vedas and prepare them for the impending war with Muslims, and finally Sandeep Deo who is a former journalist-author and now a YouTuber and an open supporter of Hindu nationalism. My research will attempt to diagnose the impact of mimetic pathos in villages where these minor-artists perform (especially on sensitive topics like the Pulwama attack or the abolition of Article 370 and opposition by Kashmiri separatists) and the kind of violence on Muslims that directly ensues as an outcome of these performances. Interestingly, these recorded shows are redirected through various social media platforms only to be repeatedly accessed by a larger population. This is how a local concert in a remote village in Gumla in the state of Jharkhand, becomes a national hate-spreading epidemic. It is a crucial time for reevaluating the term ‘viral’, and look at it as something of a rapidly transmitting, infective disease. Ironically, the violence also is an act of ‘saving’ and ‘securing’ one’s

kind, one's 'imagined community' (Benedict Anderson) and is fundamentally based on another kind of mimesis which produces compassion, mimicry, sympathy, hysteria, identification, participation. Purohit's work is a reminder that fascism, all over the world and in all of twentieth century history, has always taken into account the biological fact that our brain is plastic and our egos porous, that we are not autonomous but relational creatures.

3-2d) International Labour Solidarity: Taking Stock of the Current Moment (Roundtable)

This roundtable, made up of trade union activists and labour academics, will take stock of the state of practices of international labour solidarity. In the context of the genocide unfolding in Palestine, the role of labour in struggles against colonialism and imperialism has once again become a significant question trade unionists are debating. Unlike efforts towards transnational coordination between workers based on economic demands, whether around free trade agreements or across borders where there is a common employer, solidarity with struggles against colonialism and imperialism are not situated as mother issues. This panel will explore the different ways anti-colonial and anti-imperialist labour solidarity is resisted or undermined, what we can learn from these practices and how they may inform organizing strategies. Finally, we will take stock of some of the current efforts to build new practices international labour solidarity today.

Participants:

- Mostafa Henaway, Concordia;
- Kevin Skerrett, Carleton University;

Organizer: Katherine Nastovski

1:15 - 2:45

3-3a) Author meets critics: *A Social Ecology of Capital*, by Éric Pineault

Full summary of the book and author bio (publisher's website):

Faced with an ecological crisis of existential proportions, the economic relations of capitalism have only fanned the flames. The transformation of property relations is an urgent necessity, but not, in itself, enough to save us. Enter 'degrowth': a concept that radically challenges contemporary life, culture and economics as we know it.

Through an impressive synthesis of the traditions of eco-Marxism and feminist ecological economics, Éric Pineault presents a well-rounded critique of contemporary capitalist growth and its socio-ecological contradictions, in which growth is understood as both a biophysical and accumulation process.

The book provides fresh answers to key questions of current socio-ecological debates: Why does capitalist society depend on accelerating growth? Why is the constant upscaling of its economic process necessary for its social stability? How does this deepen the ecological contradictions that humanity now faces? And what can we learn from this for our understanding of emancipatory futures?

Éric Pineault is a Professor in the Department of Sociology and the Institute of Environmental Sciences at the Université du Québec à Montréal. His research focuses on financial institutions, extractive economies, the issue of ecological transition and degrowth as well as the general macroeconomic and social transformations of advanced capitalism.

Participants:

Éric Pineault, UQAM; Angele Alook, YorkU; Bill Carroll, UVic; JP Sapinski, Université de Moncton;

Organizer: JP Sapinski

3-3b) Reconciliation and Anti-Colonial Theories

- “Reconciliation and the Proletarianization of Indigenous Peoples in Canada” — Yaroslava A Montenegro, York University;

This paper seeks to explore the proletarianization of Indigenous Peoples in so-called Canada in the current era of ‘Reconciliation’ under/with the settler state. Throughout earlier periods of colonization, Indigenous Nations in Canada have been forced to the margins as part of the Canadian apartheid project. This genocidal reality allowed for few opportunities for class mobilization and integration within the settler economic system and state. In response to continued radical efforts for Indigenous sovereignty and attacks on settlers’ historic myopia to violence against Indigenous Nations, the settler state has embraced calls for Reconciliation. However, the Truth of Reconciliation in Canada is not one of admission of genocide in various, horrific forms, but rather an attempt to reconcile Indigenous Peoples with the capitalist mode of production that they have long been excluded from. Exploring these topics through the lenses of Social Reproduction Theory, Fisher’s conception of capitalist realism, and Coulthard’s distinctions between recognition and self-determination, this paper will argue that attempts towards Indigenous liberation that do not challenge modes of capitalist production are doomed to be fundamentally recuperated and appropriated to maintain the settler-colonial, capitalist system. From capitalists seeking equity in Tar Sands boardrooms to NGO-co-optation of Indigenous struggles for donor funding, this paper will challenge the existing pathways towards false, supposed “freedom” for our peoples and point towards Indigenous-led, class-conscious ideals of national liberation.

- “Reconciliation as Tactic of the Capitalist System” — Steven Bates;

The capitalist system has been historically hierarchically, geographically, racially, genderly, sexistly, otherly, and life-denyingly economically structured to ensure endless accumulation of capital by the few, to the detriment of the many, and to the detriment of the earth. Capitalism necessitates particular relations: for there to be those who are rich, there must be those who are not rich. For there to be profits into the hand of one, what is held dear in the hand or heart of another must be devalued, or taken. The structure of the capitalist system excludes no one; it includes everyone, but each is included in particular ways. Those of us who are included in the capitalist economy in less than beneficial, often horrific ways, decry exclusion and demand inclusion, without necessarily seeing that hierarchical inclusion has already occurred for each and all of us; it has been a historical structuring of a global system which operates through putting people and other forms of life in their place, most often in the lower rungs of a global pyramid scheme. Demands for dignity, equality, education, paid or higher-paid labor, etc., are often at first met with resistance by the powers that be, since sharing, caring, wellbeing, and caretaking of the earth are not central to dynamics of the system. But such demands for inclusion, and such demands for reconciliation, are often resolved in ways which only reconcile such demands with the exigencies of capitalism, while mollifying and dulling demands and leaving the system in place. Reconciliation is a sleight of hand and mind, a shell game, a distraction by one hand while the other hand continues to control the board, pocket the cash, and maintain privilege. Reconciliation ensures that the hierarchical capitalist system remains in force, under the guise of acquiescing to demands for equity, equality, and inclusion. Reconciliation gives the appearance of one thing happening while something entirely different, often its opposite, has occurred, all too often with the obtained consent of the oppressed.

The historical structuring that includes us all has been geographic (though we are all living on earth), racial (though there are no races as we are each and all equally human beings), sexist (though we are equal in our capacities and worth regardless of biological sex), gendered (though gender is social in origin), and economic (though economic structuring has for 500 years been in accordance with the capitalist central dynamic of accumulation into the hands of the few). This raises the question: who wants to demand to be included in the above unequal/inequitable/racist/sexist/gendered/capitalist life-denying structuring (even though each of us is already included in particular ways)?

This paper briefly discusses reconciliation as a tactic of the capitalist system, in hopes that further light may be shed on present-day acts of obtaining the consent of the oppressed to participate in their own oppression, often on the promise of economic benefit for the oppressed. And so too, for those who seek to defend the earth and land; and the animals; and the water; and the air; and the people who may live after us, reconciliation means the various ways in which our demands for such defenses are resolved by actually intensifying our inclusion in ways which are contrary to our wellbeing and even contrary to our very survival, albeit with our actual participation and consent.

- “Marx on the River: Transforming Marx(ism) in Conversation with Indigenous Resurgence Theory” — Seb Bonet, UVic/Camosun College;

In 2014, Glen Coulthard published *Red Skin, White Masks*. In it, he offered a recuperative critique of the Marxist tradition, insisting that to understand Indigenous resistance, Marxism must be transformed in conversation with Indigenous people themselves. Using the Two Row Wampum as a framework to carry out this conversation, my paper presentation will place Leanne Simpson's telling of the story of Kwezens in the Sugar Bush in "Land as Pedagogy" alongside Marx's thought experiment on the first historical act in *The German Ideology*. By comparing and contrasting these texts, I name some ways the epistemology of historical materialism occludes understanding crucial dimensions to Anishinaabe - and Indigenous - existence. Finally, I gesture towards how these occlusions show up in Marx's analysis of capital and in the politics by which white settler Marxists have historically left Indigenous people feeling like our solidarity falls short of their visions for decolonization.

3-3c) Refusing Reductions, Establishing the Terms of Liberation

- “Towards collective liberation: Building solidarity among Black, Indigenous, and racialized scholars, activists, and artists through decolonial and anti-racist praxis” — Jennifer Ma, McMaster; Maimuna Khan, McMaster; Soma Chatterjee, York; Yahya El-Lahib, University of Calgary; Nellie Alcaraz, McGill; Carolyn Tran, University of Regina; Ayat Salih, McMaster

This presentation focuses on a critical reflection of our experiences engaging in land-based programming and creating art to build solidarity among Black, Indigenous, and racialized scholars, activists, and artists. We address the question of how participation in decolonial and anti-racist activities contribute to cultivating critical relationships across and between our communities while resisting hierarchical relationships between different ways of knowing and how these ways are framed. While there is a growing body of literature on decolonizing higher education, little is known about how participants articulate those processes in the context of their research and practice. To respond to this dearth, we will share reflections on our experiences engaging in a two-day workshop that centered decolonial and anti-racist praxis and discourse and we will examine how it contributed to challenging our ideas about implementing these practices in our work. We will conclude by identifying strategies that students, educators and researchers can utilize to challenge colonialism and racism in academia and the community, shifting to transformative and liberatory experiences.

- “Feminist Dialectical Materialism: Movements Toward Transformation” — Nuzhat Khurshid, York; Joseph Fantauzzi, York;

Tensions between feminism and Marxism have been identified in the Marxist feminist literature for more than a century (including, Zetkin, 1896; Kollontai, 1909; Davis, 1981; Arruzza, 2013; Luxton, 2014; Bannerji, 2020) but these analyses also emphasize the compatibilities – indeed, the necessity of compatibility – between the two. We argue that dialectical materialism as a methodology provides a deeper synthesis of the strengths of both Marxist thought and feminist theory, emphasizing the intertwined relationship between ontology and epistemology that is necessary for articulating meaningful conceptualizations of struggle and resistance within a capitalist framework. We build on previous works that have highlighted the role of women as a particular political category within the social totality, arguing that a feminist analysis of consciousness can “allow us to understand the internal contradictions in the organization of labour and capital themselves” (Carpenter and Mojab 66). On the other hand, dialectical materialism allows feminism to emerge from dominant trends of poststructuralism and identity to a dialectical understanding of the oppression of women in a neoliberal world. Understanding the nuances and depth of dialectical materialist methodology can bridge the divide between matter and consciousness, theory and praxis, and universalism and particularity that often seems to divide critical thought on Marxism and feminism. When attempting to resolve feminism and dialectical materialism as methodology, and thus coherent pedagogy ultimately leading to praxis, Himani Bannerji’s work offers one clear analytical window. Rejecting the notion that critical feminism and Marxism belong in separate intellectual spheres, we assert that they are not only mutually compatible, but integral for an interconnected and transformative theory based in praxis.

- “Envisioning Real Transformation: Three Pathways Towards Black Liberation, Anti-Colonial Emancipation, and Indigenous Resurgence” — Kelsey Brady, UBC;

Part III of Erik Olin Wright’s *Envisioning Real Utopias*—“Transformation”—opens with the question: “[h]ow [...] can significant movement on the pathways of social empowerment be accomplished?” (Wright, 2010: 273). In other words, how do social actors achieve real, palpable levels of structural change and systemic transformation? Indeed, this is the age-old question, mirrored in Lenin’s *What Is To Be Done?*, and constantly practiced and (re-)articulated within Black, anti-colonial, and Indigenous social movements. Wright proposes to answer this question by offering a full theory of emancipatory social transformation, involving [1] “[a] theory of social reproduction, [2] a theory of the gaps and contradictions of social reproduction, [3] a theory of trajectories of unintended social change, and [4] a theory of transformative strategies” (ibid.; original emphasis).² The present paper attempts to provide the last component of a full theory of emancipatory social change—a theory of transformative strategies towards social empowerment—, but to give this theory a firm practical basis in Indigenous, anti-colonial, and Black resurgence over the last century.

Although my case studies in this paper are decolonial, Black, and anti-colonial thought and practice, it should be noted at the outset that the sets of strategies developed here are in no way identity-, racially-, or ethnoculturally-specific.³ That said, *Envisioning Real Utopias* deeply lacks an analysis of race and racial domination.⁴ This is why I focus on Indigenous, Black, and anti-colonial thought and resistance, because Black and Indigenous bodies and epistemologies are caught up in intertwined processes of racialization and minoritization which escape, but also fundamentally deepen, the dominantly white analyses of power and domination. Nevertheless, despite his blindness to race, Erik Olin Wright remains the most systematic, comprehensive, and analytically sharp theorist of transformative strategies in the contemporary literature; and, for this reason, his work will figure centrally in what follows.

- “Antisemitism as Anti-Jewish Racism: Reflections on Relations of Solidarity” — Abigail Bakan, UofT; Yasmeeen Abu-Laban, UofA;

The current period of heightened antisemitism has led to renewed attention, both in naming this frightening reality and in moving towards relations of solidarity to launch effective challenges. The context is additionally challenged by false charges of ‘antisemitism’ forwarded in efforts to silence expressions of solidarity with Palestine and Palestinians. And other forms of racism – specifically Islamophobia or anti-Muslim racism, and anti-Palestinian racism – have also risen. Rarely have these two divisive forms of racism – antisemitism and anti-Palestinian racism – been met with a united and articulate anti-racist response in a unified movement of solidarity. It is this problem that animates this paper. We maintain that the challenge of forging relations of solidarity across these specific lines of difference includes addressing an absence of common language about what antisemitism is, and what it is not. As Jewish (Bakan) and Palestinian (Abu-Laban) authors, we forward an analytic informed by anti-racist feminism. This paper aims to address what we see as a missing analytic of antisemitism as anti-Jewish racism, with implications for effective praxis.

3-3d) The Substances of Contemporary Capitalism

- “Examining The Political Economy of Today’s Psychedelic Renaissance” — Jamie Brownlee, Carleton; Kevin Walby, University of Winnipeg;

Our research examines the political economy of today’s psychedelic renaissance. Just as private capital flooded the field of cannabis decriminalization years ago, a psychedelic ‘gold rush’ is underway. Wealthy entrepreneurs are investing billions into the psychedelic sector, biotechnology start-ups are raising capital and running clinical trials on psychedelic medicines, and venture capitalists are strategizing about how best to leverage the prospects of a lucrative mass market. In this paper, we examine the new economic field of psychedelics, focusing on the corporatization and commercialization of psychedelic substances, as well as the appropriation and commodification of Indigenous knowledge as part of this process. We explore the activities of psychedelic capitalists and the enclosure of the psychedelic commons through their intellectual property schemes. We also investigate the emergence of “digital psychedelia” – the expanding infrastructure of wearable devices and digital apps designed to harvest data and monitor behaviour – and its implications for systems of mass surveillance. We conclude by highlighting critical voices that are calling for open and equitable access to psychedelics, decriminalization and harm reduction, and alternatives to psychedelic capitalism.

- “Staples in the Grass: Reflections on Canada’s Cannabis Industry and Global Capitalism” — Joel Z Garrod, St. FX;

A staples economy is traditionally defined as one in which the dominant form of capital accumulates through the export of more or less unrefined resources that undergo further processing elsewhere before taking their final form. Embedded in the flows of the larger global political economy, staples production tends to proceed in booms and busts, with significant impacts on a country’s economic and political structure, trade and international relations, infrastructure, government policies, and regional social/cultural dynamics—the works. In particular, a focus on staples reveals the uneven power relations involved in their production; both between the workers who produce the staple, and the owners of the enterprise, as well as between staples-producing regions or countries, and those that turn them into consumer products.

In Canada, the analysis of staples has long been associated with a political strategy of left nationalism, in which the problems of Canadian development—i.e., the staples trap, in which an undiversified economy is reliant on external markets—could be solved through restrictions on foreign

ownership. Using Canada's nascent recreational cannabis industry as a case study, I demonstrate how the property relations of global capitalism are transforming the traditional organization of staples production, and thus, what to do about it. Through an analysis of (1) how financialization has altered the nature of corporate ownership, and (2) how free trade agreements lead to treaty-shopping by transnational firms, I argue that state regulation of cannabis in Canada perpetuates longstanding issues related to capitalist exploitation, settler colonialism, and glocalization. The paper concludes by considering alternative ways of structuring Canadian cannabis production/distribution to avoid the newglobal staples trap.

- “Neoliberalization and the Enduring Logic of Canada’s Drug Prohibition Policy Regime” — Megan Aiken, University of Alberta;

How does the emergence of a dominant policy paradigm logically integrate with longstanding, rigid policy regimes? In some circumstances this may signal an impending policy regime failure. However, Canada’s drug prohibition regime has withstood all shifts in Canadian economic policy paradigms in the 20th century while remaining relatively consistent, logically, despite a long-established connection between drug prohibition and economic policy (notwithstanding the broader ethos of neoliberalism). In this paper, I revisit the development of neoliberalism in Canada throughout the 1980s-2010s with a specific focus on implications for “hard drug” (e.g., narcotic) policy throughout the process of shifting neoliberal logic at the federal level. This is done by analyzing Parliamentary discourse in the House of Commons, committee proceedings, and in legislative documents. I find that the logics of neoliberalism and drug prohibition were easily integrated, discursively, due to historic normative understandings of referent populations under Canada’s drug prohibition policy regime. These decades-old norms, informed by classist, racist, and colonial logics, allowed for the simple integration of neoliberal governmentality into Canada’s drug prohibition regime; further, the shift to neoliberalism provided moral capital that led to increased surveillance, incarceration, and dehumanization of regime subjects.

3:00 - 4:30

3-4a) Socialist and Feminist Reflections on Contemporary Cases of Wars, Hate Crimes, Atrocities, Genocide

Can there be hope for a future without violence, atrocities, Genocides, where equity, rights for self determination, climate justice and reparations for past injustices prevail? The proposed session calls for papers that examine contemporary cases and challenges that humanity is facing such as the rise of violence, wars, hate crimes, anti-Semitism, atrocities, Genocides, and silencing. The session is interested in papers that examine these issues from feminist and socialist perspectives that bring out, in myriad ways, their complexities and may highlight paths for a future free of such horrors.

Participants: Dolores Chew, Marianopolis College; Indira-Natasha Prahst, Lanara College; Karin Doerr; Sima Aprahamian, Concordia

Organizer: Sima Aprahamian

3-4b) The Uneven Processes of Value Extraction and Social Control

- “Socialist Ethics and Sustainable Relationship: The Case of the Temporary, International, Racialized, Student Workers in Canada” — Sabujkoli Bandopadhyay, University of Regina;

This paper frames the issue of the crisis of sustainability by studying the case of the Canadian temporary labour force constituting of international and racialized students. Recent news articles circulated through CBC, Global News, CTV have identified Canada’s immigration policy as one of the factors that have compromised the financially sustainable lives that Canadians have lived erstwhile. These stories have also identified that more than 400,000 students have arrived in Canada with their new Study Permits who were scheduled to start their postsecondary education in Fall 2023.

I will argue that following a colonial philosophy of looking at the world as a site of resource extraction, the Canadian universities reduced international and racialized students as foreign resources who could be extracted for financial growth and labour stability in the country. As a consequence, it created a precarious labour-force, primarily made up of young, able-bodied, international and racialized students who would live in Canada on a temporary basis, to sustain the settler state’s interests and intentions. The extractive and temporary nature of the relationship often presents an obstacle towards developing a sustainable relationship with their environments for these individuals. These young, precarious workers live in care-deficient conditions and leave behind communities/families that are also deprived of sustainable relationships because of these family separations and fragmentations.

Sustainable socialist futures need to address these student workers as important contributing members of the labour force and protect their rights to movement, security, and opportunities. Instead of framing the needs of the temporary workers as a rational process, I will demonstrate that we need a re-envisioning of socialist ethics to create care communities where sustainable and reciprocal relationships with the human and non-human world of the workers become central focus of a worker’s right.

- “Responding to the Neoliberal Precarities: Care work, emotions, and women academics in Indian private universities” — Smitana Saikia, Azim Premji University; Sapna Mishra, SRM University;

Neoliberal economic policies create and sustain precarious labour across the globe with universities becoming another space embodying such precarity. Globally, universities have been transformed to consumer-oriented corporate networks where ethical values of social justice are challenged and compromised. This transformation is more evident in private universities which are mushrooming exponentially in developing economies like India. With public universities becoming ‘dysfunctional’, academics in India have very little option but to seek refuge in these exploitative private set-ups. The neoliberal assault on Indian universities aims to create docile ‘employable’ workers and presents academics merely as service providers rather than as facilitators of knowledge production. Within this matrix, women academics find themselves more vulnerable- because of the ways in which existing gendered labour and norms interact with the neoliberal agenda- so that, on one hand, women academics continue to disproportionately engage in care and emotional labour at work while, on the other, they are routinely scrutinised by techno-managerial standards that invisibilises and undervalues care work. This not only makes them economically vulnerable, but also takes a tremendous toll on their mental health; in many cases, women academics, especially the early career ones, are either caught in the perpetual cycle of changing jobs and in worst case scenarios, they are left with no option than to quit academic spaces.

Informal conversations with women colleagues from various private universities motivated the authors to interrogate the precarities of gendered emotional labour in these workspaces. The paper attempts to explore this more systematically by extending Fraser’s (2016) concept of ‘social reproduction contradiction’ which she argues is inherent to capitalism. In this paper, the authors expand

the traditional definition of social reproduction (such as birthing and taking care of children, maintaining the household etc.) to include nurturing and sustaining social connections at the workplace. Fraser argues that capitalism sustains on social reproduction while at the same externalizing it. Thus the paper argues that it is this externalisation which allows neo-liberal universities to deeply rely on women's labour of social reproduction (such as extending care work towards students; doing gender sensitization work, providing emotional support in absence of dedicated mental health services, to name a few) to create and sustain its community, while continuing to de-recognise and invisibilise this labour (and seeing no monetary value) institutionally.

To conclude, the authors argue that care work in academic spaces is vital to further principles of equality and social justice and those (any gender, but especially women) performing it, need to be recognised for their contribution and provided with institutional support. Through this study the authors hope to expand existing coalitions and networks of socialist feminist solidarities as a significant response to the neoliberal capitalist agenda that constructs a docile but alienated workforce.

- “Masculinity and Gig Work: A Case Study of Toronto Rideshare Workers” — Maya Campo, York;

This thesis examines shifting masculinities and platform labour. Masculinity is fluid and in constant flux, and holds key tenets of being inherently raced, queered, and gendered. It is also highly spatial and geographical (Gorman-Murray and Hopkins, 2014). Scholarship on organizing platform workers tends to be centered around organizing a spatially dispersed workforce and technological surveillance, including the management of algorithms and ratings (Gray, 2022). Platform work is typically precarious and non-standard; forms of work which trade unions have historically had difficulties organizing (Zahn, 2019). Gendered relationship dynamics and how they interact with labour market relations have historically impacted the organization of work. Non-standard work has been commonly done by women, hence the proliferation of non-standard work being contextualized as the ‘feminization of work’ (Zahn, 2019). In contrast, rideshare work is a non-standard form of gig work done predominantly by men. This thesis follows eleven semi-structured interviews conducted with male Toronto-based Uber and Lyft rideshare workers with dependents (children). The following research questions were asked: Are male rideshare workers re-constructing hegemonic masculinity or are new forms of masculinity in workers emerging? If new forms are emerging, what are the implications? Followed by secondary questions of: Do male rideshare workers engage in this work to balance paid work with unpaid SR work? Or to supplement other income-generating activities and the “male breadwinner” role? This thesis argues for a need to organize the worker as a whole, examining how workers’ household responsibilities lives impact the viability of classic organizing methods and arguing for a need to incorporate issues such as convoluted work/home life boundaries into demands.

3-4c) Technologies of Control

- “Shaping Public Discourse: News Coverage of Nord Stream” — William Solomon, Professor Emeritus, Rutgers University;

“It is easier to imagine the end of the world than it is to imagine the end of capitalism.” — Fredric Jameson

On September 26, 2022, explosions broke open two Nord Stream natural gas pipelines in the Baltic Sea. The steel pipes “are 1.6 inches thick, with up to another 4.3 inches of concrete wrapped around them. Each of the 100,000 or so sections of the pipeline weighs 24 metric tons”(Stokel-Walker, 2022). Seymour Hersh reported on Feb. 8, 2023, on SubStack, that the U.S. was responsible. The mainstream U.S. news media have avoided mention of his work. Most media favor a different story: Ukrainian patriots rented a boat in Poland and sabotaged the huge pipelines on a seabed 150 feet beneath

the surface. Others blame Russia, which spent 12 years and €14.8 billion on this project that, from 2013-2022, supplied Germany with 483 billion cubic meters of natural gas. “In the fourth quarter of 2021, the Nord Stream lines supplied 18% of all Europe’s gas imports.”(Ibid.) A few lesser-known websites have denigrated Hersh, suggesting that with age he has allowed a rebellious nature to badly distort his judgement and integrity.

The mainstream U.S. news media place Nord Stream in a special category of news – an occurrence or event whose facts inherently suggest an explanation that runs counter to the ideology which dominates public discourse. In the hamlet of My Lai, Vietnam, on March 16, 1968, U.S. soldiers “killed 347 to 504 unarmed Vietnamese women, children and old men, and raped 20 women and girls, some as young as 10 years old” (Levesque, 2018). A car bomb in Washington, D.C., on Sept. 21, 1976, killed Chilean diplomat Orlando Letelier and his aide Ronni Karpen Moffitt. Cubana flight 455 blew up in mid-air on Oct. 6, 1976, “the first and only mid-air bombing of a civilian airliner in the Western Hemisphere,” killing all 73 on board (National Security Archive, 2006). In the Persian Gulf on July 3, 1988, a U.S. warship shot down a civilian airliner, Iran Air Flight 655, killing all 290 people aboard. In each case, the media responded with hushed tones and brief coverage.

In time, European press reports on Hersh’s My Lai exposé led to reports in news media in the United States. But 16 months after Nord Stream, no media investigations have appeared. As a European diplomat said, Nord Stream is a story best avoided. The U.S. government exerts considerable influence on public discourse. And the internet, often praised as a great advance for civilization, actually may help to centralize the control of news. And as with I.F. Stone, Hersh is being marginalized by mainstream news media. They treat him as “unreliable” – which allows them to conform to ideological pressures while claiming only to be upholding professional standards of accuracy and impartiality.

The image of a free, unfettered press may well be in decline, given news organizations’ increasingly low profile in the media landscape. Since 2004, more than 2,500 newspapers in the United States have closed (Turvill, 2022). News is less profitable than other media forms – so news organizations squeeze more profits out of their operations by monetizing their audiences. But this does influence how journalism is performed. And social media firms intensify this emphasis on corporate goals: After two disappointing reports, Facebook’s “share price plummeted, reducing Meta’s market value by almost \$240 billion, the largest one-day decline in U.S. history.” Facebook’s Mark Zuckerberg responded that the “main competitive response to TikTok will be to change the way that Facebook and Instagram news feeds function, relying more heavily on artificial intelligence to select and promote the content that features in users’ feeds” (Ingram, 2022).

Would media coverage of Nord Stream be any different, if someone other than Hersh had broken the story? If the profit motive were not embedded increasingly intensively into every aspect of journalism?

If Nord Stream is an expression of quarrels within late capitalism, then why isn’t Wall Street demanding a resolution? Are Europeans protesting this major loss of heating fuel? Is corporate power so absolute as to inculcate the public with indifference to corporate crimes? This study examines the news media’s treatment of Nord Stream, from the blasts to the efforts to assign blame, to the current listless miasma. What themes or news frames might be emerging, among which media?

- “Public Police as Greedy Institution” — Kevin Walby, University of Winnipeg;

This paper examines public police as a greedy institution. The greediness of a greedy institution can take two main forms. First, as Coser (1974) originally noted, a greedy institution demands loyalty to the institution as well as obedience. The military and the family are typical examples of greedy institutions. However, police demand loyalty and obedience not only among their own members but

among the citizenry as well. Second, the greediness of a greedy institution can also take the form of financial or economic hoarding. In this paper, I examine evidence of financial or economic hoarding by public police in Canada. For data, I use police press releases and journalism coverage of police calls for increased funding, especially since the police killing of George Floyd in 2020. I also explore police responses to critiques of their financial or economic greediness, which evidently reveals public police in Canada demand loyalty and obedience among the citizenry despite police hoarding and which is evidence of ultra-greed or the anti-social orientation of public police. Overall, this work examines the greediness of public police and the parasitic role of public police in society today.

- “Carceral Capitalism and Plastic Frontiers: Unpacking the Entwined Dynamics of Commodification and Control” — Surabhi Bajjal, Ambedkar University Delhi;

This paper explores the complex relationship between carceral capitalism and the rise of plastic as a key commodity frontier, offering a critical examination of how these two phenomena are intertwined in shaping contemporary socio-economic and environmental landscapes. Carceral capitalism, as a system where control mechanisms are deeply embedded in economic practices, finds a significant manifestation in the lifecycle of plastic – from production to disposal. Utilizing a transdisciplinary approach, the paper delves into the ways plastic, since its proliferation in the Great Acceleration era post-1945, has not only transformed material culture but also reinforced and expanded systems of surveillance, control, and exploitation.

The study begins by situating plastic within Jason W. Moore’s framework of commodity frontiers, where it emerges as a crucial agent in capitalism’s relentless expansion. It highlights how plastic, initially celebrated as a hallmark of innovation, has become a pervasive element in global consumer culture, driving new forms of extraction and accumulation. The paper then transitions to examining how this expansion of the plastic frontier aligns with and supports carceral capitalism. It scrutinizes the policies and practices surrounding plastic production, use, and disposal, revealing how these processes often reinforce systemic inequalities, perpetuate labour exploitation, and intensify environmental degradation.

Central to this discussion is the exploration of how carceral mechanisms – such as surveillance, regulation, and punishment – are employed in managing the life cycle of plastics. This encompasses aspects such as waste management, recycling policies, and the policing of environmental regulations, often disproportionately affecting marginalized and vulnerable communities. The paper argues that the governance of plastic, entangled with carceral practices, exemplifies a broader trend of commodification and control intrinsic to contemporary capitalism.

Moreover, the paper engages with various resistance movements and policy interventions that challenge the plastic-carceral nexus. It highlights how community-based initiatives, activist campaigns, and progressive legislative efforts are striving to dismantle the intertwined structures of plastic capitalism and carceral control. These movements not only contest the environmental and social impacts of plastic but also seek to redefine the norms and values underpinning our economic and political systems.

In its conclusion, the paper advocates for a holistic approach that addresses the dual challenges of plastic capitalism and carceral systems. It calls for transformative strategies that integrate environmental justice, social equity, and systemic reform, aiming to build sustainable and inclusive futures. By elucidating the entwined dynamics of plastic as a commodity frontier and carceral capitalism, this study contributes to the broader discourse on reimagining socio-economic structures and practices for a just and equitable world.