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00:00

A very good morning everyone. It is my great pleasure and honor to welcome all of you to today's panel discussion. Please note that the event is being recorded. You are welcome to keep your camera switched off during the entire lead of this event. I am Devparna Roy. I am the convener of the Global South Interest Group, which is an interest group of the Sociology of Development section of the ASA, or American Sociological Association. Our group aims to engage with scholars from regions outside the Western world to learn about and to contribute to the current thinking on development issues. Our goal is to understand the critical discussions on development, as well as to explore the shifting dynamics of global North global South relations. While placing the global South at the center of these discussions. We wish to understand the theoretical frameworks that have emerged from the global south and have animated or are animating development discussions. We believe this exchange of ideas enriches the intellectual field of development, sociology, and development studies in general. The Global South interest group houses a group of sociologists who are members of the American Sociological Association or ASA, and who share an interest in understanding the root causes of poverty, social inequality, racism, classism, xenophobia, gender inequality, and the climate crisis, along with the threats of ever increasing nationalism, commodification, war, and autocracy. Please note that our global south interest group has not been formally recognized by the ASA council, and therefore has no official status within the ASA. We have crafted a shared statement in our individual, professional and personal capacities. Let me read out a statement which is as follows: The members of our global south interest group are personally deeply saddened and concerned about the horrific events of October 2023. In Israel and Palestine and the ongoing humanitarian disaster in West Asia, we joined the cause for immediate ceasefire, freeing of Israeli hostages, full access to humanitarian aid for Palestinians, and guarantees from the international community and government of Israel to build, rebuild Gaza for the Palestinian people. Continued military action is not only an existential threat to 1000s of civilians in the affected geographies, but contributes to a concerning rise of anti semitism, Islamophobia and xenophobia globally. As sociologists we recognize the very real harm caused by these everyday acts of violence, and call on academics, politicians and policymakers, particularly in the United States, to do the work of critically engaging the broader historical and sociological factors that have produced this decades long conflict. As sociologists of development, we feel it is important to bring the global south perspectives into conversation with development. And hence our inaugural event of our speaker series brings together three eminent scholars from the global south to engage us in a constructive dialogue that re affirms our principles of solidarity, engagement and tolerance. We hope that by getting together and thinking and conversing together, we can discern a better future for all and the ways forward to

a less divided world. I would like to thank Dr. Milena Arancibia, who is the moderator of our panel discussion today. Dr. Arancibia is a visiting scholar at Columbia University in the United States. She's also a researcher for the National Scientific and Technical Research Council at the Buenos Aires University in Argentina. Now, I will invite Milena now to take over as the moderator of our panel discussion today. Thank you.



04:42

Thank you Devparna. Thank you very much, everybody. Welcome, everybody and good morning. Thank you all for being here. And a special thanks to the guest speakers who accepted to join us in this discussion today. We are very pleased to have you here today. And we want to thank also some institutions that support this event, the Sociology of Development section, Nazareth University, the Institute of Latin American and Caribbean studies of the University of Buenos Aires and the Institute of Latin American Studies of Columbia University. Well, as for the dynamic of today's event, I will share with you some questions that we will ask to the three panelists to address in our 15 minute presentation, I will then open the floor for a q&a session with the audience. And you will be able to open your mic and speak and ask the question to the panelists. And well, the questions that we prepare collectively are, first of all, how do you conceptualize development? What are the most creative and relevant ways of conceptualizing development that have appeared in social theory in your region? And how does it relate to other global South regions and the Global North? Second, political perspectives on development usually refer to some sort of emancipatory ideas, for example, being building an egalitarian society? In your view, what does emancipation look like? And how can critical development theory help to reach those ideals? Is emancipation even possible under the current circumstances? And third, when it comes to the immense social, political and ecological challenges that the world is now facing branching from climate crisis socioeconomic inequality, including gender inequality, to the rise of illiberal democracies and authoritarian populism? Can you briefly speak to resistance movements that exists in your region of the Global South? What are their goals? And how successful are they in meeting these objectives so far? What do you think we should learn from their efforts? So well, these questions could serve you as a guide. But of course, we encourage you to illuminate aspects that you find more relevant. And well, our first speakers will be Professor Patrick Bond. I will share a very brief bio, but he has a very long career. Professor Patrick Bond is distinguished professor of sociology is a political economist, political ecologist and scholar of social mobilization. From 2020 to 2022. He was professor at the Western Cape School of Government. And from 2015 and 2019. He, he was a distinguished professor of political economy at the University of Witwatersrand School of governance, from 2004 to through mid 2016. He was senior professor at the University of KwaZulu Natal School of Built Environment, Environment and Development Studies, and was also Director of the Center for civil society. He has held visiting post as Adolfsen of universities and presented lectures and more than one hand, there are others. So please, now Professor Bond, it is your turn, you have 15 minutes for your presentation. And I will show you a sign now when you have two minutes left, like this.



08:33

Thank you very, very much. This group is wonderful. I really look forward to joining you. I've been in the Department of Sociology at University of Johannesburg for about a year and a half. And it's a wonderful, hospitable place. So I hope we're going to be in touch much more closely. I

happen to be in Portland, Oregon, been at Lewis and Clark doing some debates, especially about bricks. And that may be one of the things that, that I've been trying to distinguish applications of, of social theory theory of the global south, to make clear, a very important distinction that I'll come to. So I hope that's going to be part and parcel of our debates today and where I can learn from all of you the extent to which applications of of older theories of uneven development and capitalist non capitalist relations and how they how they fit very closely, I think two conditions in the BRICS plus countries or five BRICS and five more, I'll come to the crucial regional, I think influence of, of social theory from the south actually comes from Berlin, okay, maybe even from from St. Petersburg and Moscow in in the early part of the 20th century when Leon Trotsky came up with a term, uneven and combined development and I find particularly Luxemburg, Rosa Luxemburg from Berlin, taking a bit of time off to sort of draw up a major thesis at In opposition to Rudolph hillford dings finance capital, from 1910s to 1913, comes a book that reflected a lot of research about Southern Africa, not just South Africa, Namibia, was a German colony until First World War and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, then the Belgian Congo, and her secondary now, she never had of cancer. But her secondary research led to, I think, a quite innovative way of understanding imperialism a bit different than Lenin and bluecar in comforting who oppose these problems of inter Imperial rivalry, in interstate terms, and for Rosa Luxemburg, it was a question more of the capitalist non capitalist relations and those were developing very powerfully in a mineral rich economy that started with the diamond mines and migrant labor systems, tax and all the ways in which which workers were were coerced to come to Kimberley, the side of the biggest diamond find ever. And to go down into the big hole. Of course, there'd been Portuguese slave, Dutch settler colonial and then the British, who in 1805, had taken over South Africa as as we know it today and made it a colony Afrikaners had moved, because they were no longer allowed to hold slaves in the so called Great trek of the 1830s and taken over the area now, where I have lived for about 30 years. Johannesburg, and that was a sort of long complicated process in which capitalist non capitalist relations got evermore extreme. And I would attribute that to as Luxemburg did, the way mining capital, backed by especially London financial capital, organized society, mainly through labor and social reproduction, that reproduction at a distance was a very gendered process to cheapen labour power to have women in the so called bantustans, long way away from many of the workplaces, in the mines or in factories in the fields, doing the work that a state would normally do of raising children and schooling them taking care of sick workers, looking after those who'd in their mid 40s, been burned out by these very difficult conditions in the minds in lieu of a pension. So by not having state taxes to cover the mass of workers and their social reproduction, in childhood in illness, and in retirement, the labor costs were very inexpensive, so capital non capitalist relations, as Rosa Luxemburg put it entails the mining corporations eating up the non capitalist spirits. Now that extends to the sphere of nature. And I think environmental sociology or political ecology is very explicit about this accumulation by dispossession through extractivism. So South Africa represents such an important part of that process. And I turned to, I think one of our greatest influences who passed away in 2018, Samir Amin, to put this into world systems context. And Samir was late to integrating environment as what actually was my supervisor, David Harvey, who only with gender and environment in mid 2010s. Put these into the sort of laws of motion of capital. And I think that reflects that an accumulation by dispossession as a sort of process of articulation of modes of production is our local phraseology, where capital and the non capitalist are together in ways that create super exploitation. That, to me is that linchpin of uneven and combined development in our region. So I'm throwing out the buzzwords because I'm expecting many of you know this when I was at my PhD program at Johns Hopkins, had the benefit of the world systems folk it was Chris Chase done at that time, and then later, Giovanni Arrighi. And Immanuel Wallerstein was always in our, in our circuits since he started his career in southern Africa. And to me, those are some of the ways in which a critical perspective, let's

say, takes a very, very strong form that transcends depth and density, simply north south, and transcends also world systems. And the term semi periphery, if I can come to this aspect of the theory now, I think has been supplanted. For some of us, not everyone, by what koi moto Marini was able to do in Brazil, starting in the mid 60s. After the coup, the US supported coup, and identifying a layer of the world system that isn't necessarily just a semi periphery but acts as sub Imperial because it has the privilege of having a deputy sheriff role that's often a military and securitized way of saying well keep the US based power structure guy In US militarism in the Middle East, particularly Israel, but also with Saudi Arabia and to some extent UAE, and of course, Egypt. That's a very, very important layer of sub imperial powers allied as Robert F. Kennedy, who's so pleasing on so many areas of, you know, his environmental history, and so controversy among others, but I think he put it very well, when he endorsed, you know, the Israeli genocide by saying, Israel as our aircraft carrier, we need it for oil, he was a very explicit, or a very articulate proponent of sub imperialism, Israel's role, especially for the US, that may be fraying because of the way activists here in the US have been putting pressure on the uncommitted and all of the wonderful young people protesting in solidarity with Palestine. But you see, that layer is terribly important in parts of the world. Apartheid, South Africa was very much that sub Imperial ally, and I think for Marini crucial, was not simply saying it's a it's a world system where to advance the interests of of imperialism, there are key nations, Brazil, and many others in that period, even Iran and others before before the revolution. The crucial point, though, is that this combines with with super exploitation, and so Marino's framing of the development theory and dependency was very much about the way over accumulation over production occurred in a place like Brazil and required a going out the Chinese term for an over accumulated economy. So my PhD supervisor, David Harvey, I think took that in the early 2000s, when he was reviving Luxembourghish, thinking to the point of saying, once the capitalist class unevenly develops, the productive forces, you'll find countries that were once surplus recipients and then become themselves in need of transferring surpluses geographically. And that process going out for the Belt and Road Initiative, or the joining in the G 20. Have a layer of countries, Saudi Arabia, maybe most notably, that could support the West during that financial crisis of 2008, South Africa was allowed to join as the only African country but of course, Brazil and Argentina and you know, a variety of others, Indonesia, India, of course, and China, Russia. So, as the G 20, took shape, and posted last year in India, this year in Rio in Brazil, next year in Johannesburg in South Africa. And then the year after back in the US, that to me is the site where the Imperial and southern period come together, not just in theory, but in practice. Theoretically, I would say that the logic of reproducing global capitalism has not simply got the strength of US military power. This is the thesis by the way of the hyper imperialism that's come from the Tri Continental. And I hope at some point, this group will invite Vijay Prashad and his team because they have a very strong new statement a couple of months old, about hyper imperialism. However, in that statement, I take strong exception, two bits of it, and one of them is the there is no sub imperialism. And in my view, the way to understand this development under development capitalist non capitalist is partly through global corporate neoliberal power, as expressed in the WTO and World Bank and IMF and especially since we should talk about the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. Its there were Imperial and sub Imperial interest in not making the emissions cuts and never admitting liability polluter pays, let's say an ecological debtor, climate reparations, those combined like a G 22 fuse Imperial sub Imperial interest, including Rush's There are obviously sites where there are frictions and the world financial system is one in which a D dollarization narrative has emerged, particularly after March 2022. And not only Janet Yellen and the Western sort of financial power structure, put financial sanctions on Moscow, but even the BRICS New Development Bank, their own institution, in which Moscow had 19% ownership also joined because the BRICS New Development Bank looks up to Moody's Standard and Poor's and Fitch and sees sort of Western financial power as its main, ultimately, main adjudicator, so that

unfortunately, under Dilma Rousseff, or maybe fortunately, if you if you want to see Russia punished for the invasion that even sustains and DOMA would, I'm sure love to drop the sanctions against Russia. She'd love to maybe speed up the use of local currency. Currently, it's 23% of the BRICS Bank is local, not dollarized or euro currency, but it's only going to be 30% by 2030. So you can see there's something quite a ride with the rhetoric talk left There's a walk right? When it comes to financial inflation. So I've mentioned climate and finance. And of course, the geopolitical is much more complicated. The Journal of world systems research, let me try to think that through about what is a rogue sub imperial power. Those are some of the theoretical framings that I'll very quickly mentioned, before we turn to the more exciting areas where we've had lots of steps forward and a few backward on resistance. Is that okay, then to the switch Mila, and I still have a couple of minutes, three, four minutes. And it to me, that's going to be short, because we're at a low ebb for resistance politics, we certainly have the protests levels in a place like South Africa, and indeed, across the African continent, the levels of rebellion have been since 2009 2010, extremely high. And with the debt crisis, and several countries in default, even the stars of the 2010s, like Ghana, and Zambia and Ethiopia, recently, formally defaulting and austerity biting. Even in South Africa, our universities are under great pressure because of the IMF deal that we took in 2020. Incidentally, we took an IMF do \$4.3 billion dollar loan with all the standard wash con conditions, and there is no Contingent Reserve Arrangement of the Bricsys as advertised an alternative to the IMF, it just didn't exist. Now, the point being here, that the resistance could be described in a poor Lanyon way with all these pressures. But I think the way Nancy Fraser has added a triple movement, quadruple movement, and Michael breeze terms to pick up social movements, and also to pick up reactionary tendencies in populist resistance. Those are terribly important. They're not as well advanced, the latter, right wing populism in South Africa except in the sphere of xenophobia. So I'll just quickly mentioned where these other social movements have found resistance in a way that Fraser would and is, I think, quite impressed. I mean, for example, the most powerful resistance to a near liberalisation, the commodification of everything is in the sphere of medicine were for AIDS, drugs, the AIDS medicines that about 7 million people in South Africa require to keep their immune system strong, the anti retrovirals a RVs. Those cost over \$10,000 a year in the



22:22

1990s, early 2000s. And it was through sustained critique from the base, including against stubble and Becky, the South African President and aids denialist and international linkages here in the United States to act up in medicine, some frontier in Oxfam, to say, we know we need these medicines free and take away. He's got a waiver on intellectual property of Big Pharma corpse to sell us these very expensive medicines and only a very small fraction. And it was an extraordinary campaign that in 2001, succeeded. I think, today that, you know, it's only a year and a half ago that we lost a similar battle for COVID-19 medicines, vaccines to come off AIP to get a waiver. And it was at that time, led by Cyril Ramaphosa, South Africa's president and arranger Modi, and they failed. So the balance of forces certainly is a lot more adverse today than back in the early 2000s. I should just add that that was one of the great victories because our life expectancy in South Africa, with 7 million out of 60 million people living with HIV was down to 52. And it's now up to 65. Because of that massive access that was one free medicines not branded and aids mode, but free generic medicines provided through the state. A few others, since I've only got an hour, one minute, I would point to fees must fall as a student movement that worked against the commodification of higher education, their movements, David hemsson in the house knows these so well from water and electricity struggles in townships that have common so there's sort of friend sense of a of a mutual aid

network for local plumbers who can put the pipes together and local electricians who illegally connect wires, how widespread in Soweto 86% of the residents are getting free electricity through an often highly politicized Soweto electricity crisis committee. There are plenty of other of these resistance struggles. What we've finding is issue by issue and certainly this is a common problem around an NGO or zation, of social movements. But that issue by issue we can't do very much aside from win these occasional battles, some of which are, you know, as I say, quite spectacular aids medicines fees must fall, which for 95% of working class kids mean free education that was won in 2017, or all of these micro struggles and townships or labor struggles which are very impressive. So it is really up to hopefully some sort of united front of the local struggles, I think are theorisation of that around the lines of a non reformist reform here we think of Boris capitalist scared here. A sociology comrade who's now in jail for five years and in Russia for having made a small little remark on telegram about it, the bridge attack. I'll wrap up now. But those examples, let's say of a struggles for an anti capitalist reforms that don't strengthen the system by smoothing its rough edges, but instead find new openings for these radical social movements allowed, just as a very final point that it's been depressing that our big movements of the left the Economic Freedom Fighters party with about 12% of the vote, the Communist Party in 400,000 members, the biggest union, the metal workers, the biggest union federation, COSATU and the breakaway now led by Jacob Zuma radical economic transformation within the ruling party, which may do quite well in the election. Those major center left forces are all part and parcel of the let me call it a broader campus politics that they favor Chinese socialism under under Xi Jinping, if you can call it that they favor Putin's attack on, you know, the NATO invasion, they favor the BRICS, they also still favor a very carbon addicted economy. So for an independent left that wants to provide, let's say, some critical perspectives on uneven and combined development. The intellectual terrain remains very rich, we've got these great traditions, David hemsson, again, with the racial capitalism thesis, the articulations of modes of production, which are leading to theologist Harold Wolpe had developed. So we have a lot to work from some of the world's leading ideas and the policy and sociology of fractions of capital, the social history, traditions, minerals, energy complex theory that emerged from Ben Fein and his colleagues, many political, economic, political, ecological, gender and anti racist and anti imperialist social theories. I hope you're all at some point going to connect into those to me, they're brought together under the term uneven development. And I look forward to, you know, understanding how we can break uneven development through these commenting processes of radical social movements, maybe by linking up the same ideas, the same politics in your parts of the world. Thanks to your comments.



27:17

Thank you, Patrick, so much for sharing with us your thoughts. I want to remember everyone to turn off the mix because there are some mix on so please check that thank you. And now it's the turn of course in Professor Jose Mauricio Domingues currently he works at the Institute for Social and Political Research of Rio de Janeiro State University. He was awarded with the Anneliese Meyer fashion prize prize for 2018 2023 from the Alexander von hull was shifting and Domingues is a sociologist working with sociological and social theory as well as critical theory ecumenically Considering consider his latest book in English is authoritarian collectivism and real source socialism 20th century's trajectory 21st century issues. So please customer do you have 15 minutes for your presentation. And again, I will show you the two minutes left side now. For you to know. Thank you



28:36

we can't hear you. You have emojis. Yeah. Because emojis Yeah. Or you're listening. Oh. We don't can somebody hear him? Because I'm Alisha.



28:59

We can't hear you.



29:01

We can't hear you. I don't know if he can hear.



29:09

Jose, Mauricio, we can't hear you.



29:14

Oh, great. Okay, okay, perfect. You're trying to fix it? Good.



29:30

Maybe you can log out and then log in again. And if not, you we can continue with Aditya and then you have some more minutes to try to fix it. Okay, perfect. So I will introduce you Aditya Nigam he's a political theorist formerly with the Center for the Study of developing societies in Delhi. He has had long standing interest in the experience of capitalism and modernity, the global south, especially movements against displacement, displacement and dispossession. He has also had a long standing interest therefore, in ecological critics of capitalism, his recent work has been concerned with the decolonization of social and political theory. Professor Nigam recently published border Marxism and historical materialism and untimely encounters 2023. So please, Aditya, your turn, you have to take 10 minutes for your presentation.



30:41

Thank you, thank you to the global south interest group. Also for this organizing this panel and asking me to speak in it. I would like to begin my presentation or rather, before beginning my presentation, add my voice to the gathering demand all over the world for ceasefire, the ongoing genocide in Gaza Palestine. Listening to the official statement, it did strike me that the story doesn't begin in October 2023. And so if we have to go to cut off dates, perhaps we'll have to go earlier. That's not the point of my discussion here. But I would certainly like to register this point before I move on. And the second, the, as far as my presentation is concerned. There are two kinds of ways in which the question of development has come up in what one might broadly call social theory, it's actually not really happened within the realm of

social theory or within the disciplinary bounds of social theory. But at another level, I think, in countries like India, even though we have separate disciplinary departments, much of theorizing happens, actually, or has happened not so much in specifically specialising social science departments, but often in tandem with popular social movements and popular movements, and so on and so forth and cutting across so you might actually find somebody working in the economics department like Colin Santa's writing his book on rethinking capitalist development in postcolonial capitalism and so on postcolonial capitalism and governmentality, which I think is a landmark book in this respect. On the other hand, you might find us a whole range of other people who might talk about briefly, who come from very different disciplinary persuasions, and they to talk about development and development related issues, but in tandem with many of the moments so let me start with your last question first. India's actually the classic place of resistance and struggles against displacement and other development, and other direct effects of development. Without getting into a detailed elaboration of these struggles, I want to underline that some of them predate by many years, the iconic Narmada struggle of the adversities on the tribe, which is the word we use for tribal since the word tribal in any case is quite problematic in many ways. Try adivasi indigenous people of the Narmada valley in the mid 80s, against the damming of the river that would lead to the submergence of villages and towns again. And indeed Another early struggle that acquired a legendary status not among not only among people, new people's movements, but also in the annals of the environmental movement in the country was what is known as the Chipko struggle in the early 1970s. In the hill regions of a northern state of what is now the northern state of Uttarakhand. Mindless felling of trees by private forest contractors alongside rampant limestone pouring was already denuding the forests, hills and rapidly and it was against the private timber merchants that the women of the region took a lead role in protecting the trees by hugging them when they came to cut. The Narmada movement might have been the last of the struggles that were directed against displacement caused by the state led development projects for by the 1990s With the advent of structural adjustment and the neoliberal order, it was increasingly the struggle against big corporations. Private corporations, especially in the mining sector that would take center stage in different parts of the country. Indeed, the rise of Maoism in the Adivasi belt, in the densely forested areas of Bihar in central India and running across the east from Russia Jharkhand and Bengal has been directly linked to the increasingly violent state enabled displacement of indigenous populations. It is not a coincidence that the year 2006 When the then Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, declared that Maoism constitutes the single biggest security threat to the Indian state began with the killing of 16 tribals, in Kalinga. in Odisha, during an encounter with the armed police that came with the officials of a private corporation to cordon off the land for it for about a decade and a half before that. Now, diversity and present struggle for prison populations have been displaced at a frenetic pace with little visible protest. Such was the extent to which neoliberalism had managed to delegitimize all protests as being inimical to develop. But the irony really is that 2006 was also the year when finally a series of militant popular struggles, largely nonviolent mass movements and vote which had nothing to do with Maoism and so on, but these came to the fore. Kalinga Nagar was soon followed by two big movements in the Marxist trouble state of Jharkhand. And in single and underground, two places where the big movements eventually led to the downfall of the 34 year old Marxist government in the state. None of these protests had anything to do with the mouse, which is more of a bogey that is by the ruling political elites. In the Chipko movement was spearheaded by women, most of these other movements to involve women in active militant action. The Narmada movement was led by the charismatic Gandhian socialist woman leader, Mira Patil, and once again saw a huge partex participation of our diversity movements in the struggle. And if I were to add to this, the two more recent struggles, one against the citizenship Amendment Act in the early in early 2019, late 2019 and early 2020. And the year long farmers struggle in 2020 and

2021, that the whole year, practically, from the end of 2021. These two were also large participant mass movements and massive participation of women in women, the former in fact, against spearheaded by them. Though the anti car movement struggle wasn't directly connected to what we might understand as development. The farmers struggle primarily focused on the repeal of three new laws that had sought to facilitate the corporate takeover of agriculture, all in the name of development with a capital D. Now, what is it that connects all these movements in a way and why am I bringing in the gender question here? It says, in order to answer this question, let me turn to the second part of your first question. I don't think there's actually been any particular interesting reconceptualizing development in any serious since in India. Rather, the attempts have been towards finding alternatives to development by building on Gambian insights and his philosophy of Gandhi's philosophy of non violence from the late 1970s, and the early 1980s. Scholars like Wanda Shiva, Krishnan, the Claude Alvarez and others, they start Dilys Center for Study of developing societies where I also work later, that began to critique development, not just in economic terms, but in epistemic terms, by looking at the close connection between science hegemony and violence, which is also the title of a book, which came out in the late 80s published by them. The scholars, some of these scholars like Claude I virus, we're interested in providing an alternative history of science and technology in India and ruin the archival work of another Indian scholar Ron Paul. Some of this work actually tied With another initiative inspired by Joseph Needham, his work on Science and Technology in China. This was an initiative involving scientists who formed a group called the patriotic and people oriented science and technology which aimed at busting the mix of the exclusively Western provenance of science and technology in the way the modernist elites present it, which also implies that anything indigenous consequently, is either unscientific scientific or mired in tradition.



40:35

It is in the work of opposition and the however, that we find the most comprehensive critique of the connections between violence inherent in modernity, science development and their connections with the logic of the nation state. Nandi, in fact, connects his subversive reading of Gandhi and his philosophy of non violence with the critique of masculinity that is characteristic of the Science Nation development, science development nation state combined. I'm bringing his training as a psychologist also, as also his reading of salvation cultural orientations, Nandi presents before us an androgynous figure of Gundam as the negation of the while and masculinity of the nation state development Science Complex. Needless to say, in Nandi, this was also at once a critique of the west of West the Western intellectual hegemony that was being imposed by modernist elites, and was therefore often read as some kind of defense of indigenous tradition. None of these work, however, was a critique of modernity in the name of its victims, who were perishing under its onward march, almost in the way in which EP Thompson would do it, in fact, post facto rescuing the artisan and the those who perished in the storm of Indian industrialization, from the enormous condescension of modernity, once it had already happened in the enormous condescension of posterity, once it had already happened. But for Nandi and for most of the people who are critiquing development or the movements, ongoing movements, it is actually something right there. These forms of life, these modes of living being are right there. And it is in their name that in fact, the critique of development is mounted. It wasn't an IT WASN'T indigenous and sought to establish connections with scholars from other parts of the Global South. Saya Lucena, letters from Malaysia Alima zoo from Ghana Martita anima from Iran, Gustavo Stiva, Frederick Margolin and others who are similarly

similarly beginning to critique the imposition of Western cognitive hegemony from their respective contexts, keeping the question of development at the center of their concerns, keeping the question of development at the center of their concerns.



43:06

Now, before I conclude a little bit, how much time do I have Milena?



43:17

Let me also quickly refer to one more strand which comes from within broadly within Marxism, I also in fact, have 20 years of active full time work with the Communist Party of India Marxist. So, in a way I stand at the crossroads of these two different kinds of critics in a certain sense. This second strand actually comes partly from the kind of historical work which has been done by the subaltern studies scholars, but I mentioned Cullen's Anelle in particular who does not belong to the subaltern Studies Group is an economist, but has been in conversation with the critiques of subaltern studies. One of the key questions which actually faced both the subaltern studies scholars and colons, Anelle and something which I have myself actually been working on for the last 20 years is what in Patrick been referred to, then what has been referred to in the classical literature as uneven development. Now, the question was posed by colons, Anelle, in terms of the outside of capitalism or as non capital, I do not have the time here to go into colons and ELLs discussion of it a lot of it draws from earlier debates in Latin America and other parts of the world, other parts of the third world as it was known at that point where the question of development or non development of capitalism, right toleration and so on and so forth were being grappled with and then, at some point, the point actually emerges that it's too much of a long transition, if you think that there's going to be perpetually a state of suspended animation in which these societies are placed. So, my own work from taking off from my own work taking off also in conversation with the work of subaltern studies and Colin Sandel takes me actually away from this whole Marxist positioning of the idea of uneven development, which assumes a prior to reality. In my understanding, now, it is actually a process of colonization and the fact that large parts of the world despite having been directly colonized, and then subsequently, under the auspices of the financial institutions like an International Monetary Fund World Bank, and then subsequently WTO, have not really reproduced capitalist relations of production in large parts of the of the of the of those societies. So I see it as an ongoing struggle between apparatus which tries to capture and discipline these economies, and shove them along the line of something they call development. Whereas most of these are actually the resisting and finding ways of remaining outside it. I know it's going to be very controversial Marxists. But we can come to it if there's any questions in the discussion, I just want to conclude now if I have a couple of minutes, with set by saying that if one looks at it from this angle, then in fact, what is referred to in the earliest part of my discussion, as the movements against displacement as the movements, there are also questions for color and sandals work actually deals largely with the so called informal sector. Now, if we're looking at all this, and if we're looking at the Ghanaian critiques that were made, during the from the 80s onwards, I would like to connect it with also another book which was written by Schumacher sometime in the late 70s. called Small is beautiful. And I myself have in my reading of Gandhi's insearch read it as a kind of argument for an aesthetic of slowness. And my point here is that when we are looking at emancipatory futures when we are looking at this is the second question that you raised about the question of emancipation and whether there's any

possibility and I think, in my book, watermarks isms and historical materialism, I have actually tried to draw in from the movements which have been going on in various parts of the world as well as theoretical philosophical critiques, which are emerging from the vantage point of various indigenous cosmologies also, and drawing all them together, I think what emerges is, is the idea of reclaiming, in some fashion, our autonomy or control over our lives, which has been taken over by states and corporations in the last century and a half, if that is what emancipation or emancipatory struggles are about, which I think they are, then they actually tie up in a certain sense with the growing movement for D growth, which is of course, enunciated in France. But in fact, most of these ideas which have been discussing here long, long before the degrowth movement actually came into existence. Articulate precisely a vision of a society, or a vision of what I would call in my language later life after capitalism, which is both embodied in the smallest beautiful idea as well as in the aesthetic of slowness, that the speed, which was the romance of my modernity and scale, which was the other romance of modernity, and that constituted the kind of aesthetic anchors of modernity. These two are obviously some things which we now that would be my argument that this is what we now need to move away from and step off us from the highway of so called development and capitalism. Thank you.



50:38

Thank you so much, and Professor Aditya, it was great to listen to you. Now, let's see Professor Jose Mauricio Dominguez could speak. Let's see if you can you hear me? No. Yes, yes.



50:55

No problem. Machines what had to change them? I said, so don't



50:59

worry, don't worry. We



51:01

thank you very much. You're off to bid for being here. And Devparna, Milena in particular, who's chairing the session. I think I did meet some of you before. But anyway, this is a very challenging discussion, because we had a lot of certitudes, the path seem to be given and clear some decades ago. But since the mighty knights, the defeat of an alternative to the world we live in, has become very, very difficult. So we're forced to think, to rethink to think things are new. But it's not very clear where we can go with that. Mostly, I think, I have seen a rejection of more of the tenets of the left or the center left. But you have sort of other situations, our perspective, that's now widespread, but booty surfing, in in place of the old certitudes has become something very, very difficult. Near the far left, in a situation we meet, it's very, very difficult also to organize politics. For an emancipatory perspective, since you have no problem at all speaking about all these things, step by step, let's, let's try to engage with the three different questions you have put forward to me. And then I'll wrap things up, try to come back to this initial statement. The first thing he knew, he asked me about us about us development.

This has become very contentious, very contentious in Latin America, very contentious in India, Africa and Africa, to some extent, and even in Europe and the US, you have all the discussions about growth, you have this discussion about opportunities and development of post health math studies. On the other hand, especially if you come to Latin America, I'm not sure about other parts of the world. What happens is the traditional forces of the center left especially, but the left, more specifically, have so far clung to 95th perspective, you have to catch up and do like China. I know I have a lot of friends who think this way. And the problem is none of us perspectives really offers a way out. There is a initial problem in the background because either with developmentalism, it was a sort of off theory that was born in Latin America. Of course, the Soviet Union, China, we can interpret today from the point of view, rather than speaking of socialism. But speaking of development, that is that's what the Soviet Union did, to some extent China is trying to do it's a nationalist project is not a socialist project. I find it very difficult to to understand how people still can believe the Chinese a socialist country, and a ninja as well as the institute's that the EU created after independence, you have all these development projects, but the theory of development and is most born in mainly Latin America, it's the work of the suppo, where luck with luck. And you have a lot of important prohibition as a team and economists and then afterwards, several other Latin Americans wrote about that. And the theory was developed, basically Latin America, even the critique of development that is the idea that you're just because we would be only the day you have Global Capitalism developed capitalist development and development, this thing so initially developed in Latin America. But now it is as if development was imposed from the outside or Latin America, you take all these people from that write about alternatives to development, oppose proposed development, they tend to interpret the process or the attempts at development in Latin America, as something that's imposed from the outside or to disco bar, for instance, has a book with which I disagree entirely, that he tries to show that developmental stuff imported by the World Bank or Latin America, this couldn't be more wrong, this couldn't be more wrong. And that, then they'll what's the alternative to that? The alternative is to bet on indigenous communities PESA and same sort of thing. And this has become, to some extent, for the first part of the left, the standard perspective, the problem is, I don't know there are two problems. The first is that I don't believe that you can offer an alternative like that fullness, who civilly a local standpoint, I'm not against this sort of thing, I think you have to experiment, the state must support the sort of alternative and try to see what you can gain from it. Right. But that's a general developmental post development perspective, I think this is bound to fail, you can't offer this as a solution for the problems of the whole society, you're going to you're not going to overcome capitalist more, or the sort of subordinate position of, of Latin American countries or India or wherever else if this sort of strategy, which doesn't mean that it must not be supported. That is not a partial alternative. Colombia's trying to do that is the only country in the region that's trying to do that. I don't think they are going very far of that. There are many reasons for the problems of Petros, Gustavo Petro governance, and I don't think he will be able to elect a left wing President once once his service is over. But from the point of view of development is strictly I don't see that is offering an alternative for Colombia, in particular, not only for Indian, economic and social terms, but in particular, because you cannot build a historical block with the sort of birlikte Latin America, which is so to speak all of Latin America is a bit different. Although I don't think it's so different. Africa is different, but perhaps not so different. Latin America is urban continents. Sao Paulo has more than 12 million people. How would you offer them post developments and alternatives development as a program, they are going to vote for the extreme right? There is no other way because they want jobs. They want social insurance, they would mean very different ways. Neoliberalism, a popular new liberalism, extremely strong in Brazil now. But if it wasn't this strong, you would have or in order that it becomes weaker, you have to offer an alternative that will really speak to this mass of young men employed or self employed, people who want to develop, they want to live a better life,

they want health, they want to live in better places, they want things that look alternatives to development would ever offer. The problem is, I don't know if you agree with that. But that's my point of view, but also acceptance. What do you do? That the national division of labor is very, very difficult to overcome? Brazil try. Brazil is one of the most successful countries in the world in this regard. And we got stuck at some point. Even China may become stuck in at some point. It was the struggle of China announced overcome the middle income, country status, that Xi Jinping is desperate for that because he knows if he doesn't make it the next 510 years, you're probably stuck with Brazil. Leave it to this problem. Argentina as well, Mexico, the most industrializing countries of Latin America, weren't capable of overcoming the situation of similar peripheral status, in fact that this was introduced by Fernando, those who



59:45

didn't use this expression. But the idea is that the period of over accumulation the West led to industrialization, Latin American and Latin America, district countries and maybe Chile became part of a semi periphery which they On men like that, but after that this country started to industrialize without developing really a high tech sector, which is entirely different from Europe in the United States. So what do you do you come back to the protests of the 1950s 1960s, with the left and developmentalists wanted, that's impossible, you're not going to do that. Right? The gap now between developed countries in technological terms, and the rest of the world except shine is so deep, is so large, that is very difficult to imagine how a developmentalist project could overcome the situation of absolute global inequality. And I think, to a large extent post development, and these men alternative development are a sort of surrogates to the sort of these most prospective, you can go back in time. But you have no project for the future, or do you do Oh, you get out of developments, but it's not a solution. So we leave it to very, very difficult times in this regard. And I don't know how we're going to be able to, as you said, I'm not what I'm saying doesn't make us very happy or optimistic. But the fact is, the situation is very, very complicated. I see now the Lula government in Brazil, Lula came back to power, but extremely right remains very strong and the way things look now, it's very likely that they were going to elect the next president's not Bolsonaro. But somebody a bit more rational, a bit less crazy. Because Bolsonaro was extreme of the extreme right? And if we rationalist maybe get someone like me laid up, a bit more rational than Bolson, or even believes more rational than vasana, although the guy's crazy as well, I know that. But anyway, what is trying to do is trying to has a project of developments. But it's very difficult to develop, implement implement, some of the ideas would be well, you have to bet on green energies, which is in green New Deal, the global new dream, the Global Green New Deal. That's part of the government, Lula's government projects. The Amazon region, of course, is key to that they did bring down the destruction of the forest, believe it or not, if the indigenous government is the country's export, for 80 years have been destroyed by the Amazon forest, because they have nothing to do with post development alternatives to development. They want to colonize all the forests, burn them and cultivate the land. That's the perspective. So I still do the work. But anyway, Lulu, is trying to develop something that could have to do with the forest. Instead of bringing the forest down, you use that in terms of the produce. But it's not very clear how you do this. It's very unclear how to develop. That's the That's a great idea. But so far, it's only an idea. You have also a perspective of industrializing the country with clean energy, Brazil has a matrix of energy, which is very clean, and it can be developed further. But it's very easy for tuition scars, how do you develop electric cars in Brazil, the flex circuit for for that is very complicated, very complex produce a very large country. But in the area of healthcare, for instance, this is very important, but it has a basic, universal public health system. And they try to couple it with the development of the chemical industry, the pharmaceutical industry,

medicine, industry, and vaccines. But Brazil, to a large extent, very backward in this regard, the other disregard is much more depressing. But we bought a couple of COVID vaccines from India, because we're not really able to produce it here. Then we got a sort of bad Chinese vaccine, which is Ebola. But at the end of the day, the vaccine, which was really used was the Oxford vaccine and biotech vaccine, mainly, so you're going to disregard this very complicated to develop this area. districts may succeed again, but instead of going for alternatives to development, instead of going back to the 50s, and the 60s with Lula into my tribes, in when they were in power, is trying to give to articulate a different project, but it's, it's very difficult. It's still crawling. And I don't know how awkward is going to do, especially because it's quite likely the Lula would be governance in three years time. So it's, the situation's not bright. So I think globally, this is a problem for Latin America is a problem for Brazil but interest the same, right? Because what you what you have with module? What do you want capitalism, very strong capitalism with anti poor backing like it's not only because of a hole in duty is not only because of internationalism or because of his charisma or whatever else. It's because he's offering capitalist development to the population, of course, the farmers are not very happy, because they pay for that, right privatization of the land and debt are the sorts of difficult things. But I think the urban population is very happy with money. And they think they can be the next China, that's the project, whether it's going to succeed something else. But the idea is that you got to catch up, like China's doing. Maybe you have too much production already around the world. So it's not possible. China is facing difficulties of its software, Amelia would have trouble to test that as well. Self effort, I don't know, it seems to be stuck in going backwards in our specs. So I don't see much development there. But the problems are the same, what we are going to go back to the to the communities, or land reform could help but is that going to sort to solve the problem of, of development, industrialization in the periphery at this stage? I don't know. It's very unlikely, but it's a prospect, which we have to, we have to find niches any sort of problem, but it's not easy to work out intellectually, even much, much less. So in practice. This leads us to the second point, which is, okay, I'll be very quick, and must be patient can we think of emancipation is regards emancipation in Global Times, was a sort of replication of emancipation, as we said, country's emancipation was to give autonomy to each individual, we would have in a way or another, the same power. Now we're thinking of that that idea of development was to do the same. in global terms, international terms of countries, you have the same power, the periphery is going to catch up. And we have equal power relation to the central countries, this didn't happen. So we're most impatient on a global level has become very, very difficult as well, because you would have to overcome this gap, some extent of why the entire different project, which I think is not on the guard, at least not right now. So we have any police or social discussion of social movements, which is very complicated, the working class movement is weak. Now, I find it I find very unlikely that it's going to recover from this weakness in the idea that coalition's of different social movements will do the job, CS arguable at this point as well. Right? So it's, it's not very easy to see how we could develop alterations, especially feminism, which was very strong also, during the 20th century, are the main social movements, I guess, in the world today, certainly Latin American. Do they offer a general perspective of emancipation, not really a thing they got across society, but in terms of universalism, and citizenship, was one of them. But it's limited. Socialism was another of them, but it was defeated. So how we have a Universalist perspective, right enough, that can articulate individual autonomy and emancipation, national autonomy and emancipation, in terms of a project that you can explore in the next 5100 years? That's not clear to me, but I think we need to do that. And lastly,



1:08:57

I think this idea of finger freedom is crucial for any theory that pretends to be critical theory, because if you don't have that, just criticizing the West, and modernity leads us in directions that very, very problematical civil reaction. So if that's the criteria for the definition of critical thinking, critical theory or anything like that, that was Marx's project, and all the critical perspectives of the 20th century or based on that. And although this is not so strong, because you're going to find that in liberalism today, as well, the idea of rationalism, I think, should still stand at the core of any critical perspective. I don't think it's possible to accept something different from that. I'm not saying that it must be the tradition of rationalism that appeal if they lie to me that this at more than lighting section, you have to be more sophisticated and read and I think rationalism has become much more sophisticated than that. Mostly give one example to Can Wonka, the Vice President of Bolivia, who was the ambassador to the UN, who like to speak about the transformation of the indigenous perspective, which is not to anybody that because they don't do the the economic policies of Evo Morales and us as government had absolutely nothing to do with that. Right. But discursively he did a formula. And then you had the pandemic. We only favor of, of the vaccine, right? I guess the debate, I think in Germany, I guess all the people who are denying science, and then voted shocker, one candidate, he did not want to take the vaccine, because he wanted traditional treatments. That was the left weak president of Hollyford, the indigenous repair representative in government, it became a political crisis, of course, ending end he was forced to take the vaccine, why all we in Brazil are criticizing Bolsonaro very, very strongly, because he didn't want to take the vaccine. This has to do with science irrationally. What do we do with that? Do you accept that these things are fine? Or do we have to clean to some extent and perhaps in different ways, to the idea of reasonably rationality, I would bet on the last way, coupling it with the idea of eco freedom. I think this is the way forward internally to countries and globally, for a critical perspective. Thank you very much.



1:11:33

Thank you so much for similarities. And now, we want to open the floor for some questions and comments by the audience. We thought about this the stage to be half an hour. I don't know if if the panelists agree, we can we can stay till 1045 to have a dialogue with the audience. I don't know if you if you're okay with that. Okay, so now, well, I encourage everyone to raise the hand tool. Or maybe you can also write your comments or or, or questions in the chat as you as you prefer. And then I will be opening the mic



1:12:36

let's see if we have some hands raised. Okay. Jen charts? Did you raise your hand? Oh,



1:12:48

yeah, you can hear me okay. Yeah. Yes, very interesting. I've been thinking about this for a long time trying to publish and being unable to publish? Partly because, perhaps because I have no PhD, I don't know. But it seems to me that the the problem is, is currencies this week, global southern currencies, that the currencies for which there is little demand inhibits the abilities of those, the peoples of those countries to buy needed technologies, electrical, infrastructure, refrigerators. All of the fact that these there is this real deprivation needs to be

documented because there's neoliberal information coming out of the UN telling everyone that they were doing better and better. But the impression I get is that there is an enormous amount of will infrastructural based poverty in the global south that that those levels of poverty need to be empirically documented. But the strategy of the neoliberal strategy so far has been extended loans to the global south at interest rates that, for the most part, are unable to be discharged, resulting in the seizure of sales of natural resources at fire sale prices. So the shifting in, in foreign policy in the north, where we're seeing the value of the currencies of the global south could be accomplished by investing in Treasury offerings that almost all countries offer. Anyway. So that's my position and I'm sticking to it. That that involves a me poor poor, wherever it's wherever it's worth, that involves a shift from nearly emphasizing the unfairness of the current situation in the ending to the unfairness of the current situation, the unequal terms of exchange, also a, the insight that when, when, when the, when the value of the currencies held by the peoples of the global south are bolstered or augmented, that increases the potential essentially institutionally get out in terms of their demand capabilities, their ability to purchase materials, which has previously been grossly reduced or if ever enhanced. I'll leave it at that. I mean, I'm all in favor of reducing the over accumulation of capital. I agree. This is a basic Marxist insight. I don't agree that the way to eliminate the over humans to capitalist over it is to eliminate the predatory capitalist, I also distinguish between anyway, so distinguish between capitalist and predatory capitalist, does that make any liberal capitalist? Liberal socialist capitalist, like the kind of socialism you see in Sweden, for example, is is really more akin to liberal capitalism than it is to Marxist Leninist kinds of things. Anyway, thank you for letting me vent. And I'm gonna share what's your up my camera, I have to get ready for another zoom later. And I have some things I have to do. But I'll be listening. Thank you.



1:17:01

Thank you, I will ask everyone to please keep the questions short and to the bank. So we can all ask or make comments. And also, I want to say that the panelists also if they want to react to the other presentations, you can also do, you can also raise your hand and react. So I have a question in the chat, if there is no other one who wants to speak? And is what lessons can be drawn from China's escape from peripheral status, and it's a set success in removing masses from poverty.



1:17:52

If some of the panelists want to, to answer the question



1:18:02

I can do is try and get started saying that capitalism works. That's bad to say, but did work. They had the sort of developmental perspective and whereas much, but while they got people out of poverty, China is now one of the most unequal countries in the world is almost as bad as Brazil is almost as bad as the US or the most unequal countries in the world. And they say they want to change. But it's more easily said than done. Right? Once you get to sort of class structure. It's very, very difficult to change. By Phil de Colombia, to the US, you'd have to have a very strong social movements in order to change, oh, the Communist Party is going to do it. Well, I know that at this point, what's really going on is about the Communist Party of China.

Although they stress it all the time, but anyway. But I don't think it's easily replicated as elsewhere, because since China did have a national revolution, they got control of the national stage. And where is it going to happen? Oh, India, to some extent, but you have this problems of industrialization. I don't know if people can repeat what happened in China. I smoke country, yes, but a country form below people to the same challenges. I find it very unlikely, but maybe it happens. But then it'll be captain is Captain anything, you have to remember that the beginning of this process in China was extremely violent or the perspective of the poor. They became very, very, very poor in the cities, because it was new Liberal limited, very specific special zones, where people had no rights. It was complicated to form units and it could form units but just deal with local issues. It's very remote in our democracy, of course. which is not a minor point.



1:20:05

Yeah, I'd like to say something.



1:20:10

Yes, I Aditya, please.



1:20:13

Okay, so a lot of questions actually come up from Jose's presentation also and his response plus this question about China and so on. Obviously, I'm not going to respond to all of them. But there are some things which I do want to place here. Especially because the question of China has been raised. And what we have seen with the experience of 20th century socialism, is that wherever you have made revolutions, you're nevertheless still building capitalism. Whether it's China, whether it's Vietnam idea serving as the labor reserves have swelled with running sweatshop economies, you have China as the pioneer of a season where there are no labor laws, new laws operate, no normal laws of the land operate in those areas. And that's how it's managed to come out in the present. So it's a separate question, but my fundamental point here point of departure, if I may say, and this is not a response, actually, to anybody, but to certain assumptions, which underlie let us say, a presentation like says, so my question is that if actually 20% have to bring 20% of the world to a certain level of lifestyle and development. You have brought one Earth to this crisis, we will need four more Earth's This is a mathematical impossibility, or a physical impossibility. So the question, therefore, is, you want more development, people want jobs, we want capital, we want industry and therefore we will all go down together, that's perfectly fine. I have absolutely no problem with that. I don't think I think the world why the earth might be a happier place without human beings. That there's nothing really what human beings have contributed to the earth except destroying part of it. So the longer term philosophical question does not bother them. If humans disappear from the face of the earth, like many other civilizations of humans have disappeared. So be it. But if you really are interested in addressing the question of the climate crisis, then here is a Copernican revolution. Even the earlier Copernican Revolution told you that they, it is not the sun which revolves, it's not the earth which revolves solid. It's not the sun which revolves around the Earth, an Earth is not the center of the universe. Now, the new Copernican revolution, which we may disregard at our own peril, is that human beings are not the center of the universe, that

the human beings are a speck in a larger Cosmos, and if they are bent upon destroying themselves, and the planet, the planet will rest assured, not be destroyed, what will be destroyed are human beings, and probably life as such, the lives of forest beings, not just indigenous people, but animals, plants, and so on. So this is a larger philosophical question from where one has to start. The assumptions which undergird our understanding of development and development theory and all that which are based on a 19th century understanding of the relationship between the economy and the world, and the economy and the universe? Were humans were the center of the universe, and the economy was the center of human beings, well being, don't simply work as far as I can see it to some people, they may work. And let's try it out. I mean, I'm willing to perish. That's the alternative



1:24:21

melodic drive. to that. I mean, Aditya, no dispute with you on the threat of planetary arson, just advancing more and more rapidly and confirming the needs for us to think through a D development or an d growth in the north. But to be conscious, I think of Gen. Ed's point and read his question, which are very closely linked, if we think of China in the global value chains. And there are two things you haven't said, Jose, a teacher that I'm sure you'd agree with, is that part of the super exploitative process of Chinese accumulation is Haku. The migrant labor in which a lot of the sort pre production tasks, okay, again, pushed to rural areas to women in rural areas, and it's very reminiscent of parkades bantustan. migrant labor. The second being that Do you know, a whole farm home from Johns Hopkins sociology or Aolong, you and a few Chinese Marxists who are identifying over accumulation crisis tendencies. I mean, they're so obvious that Janet Yellen is is doing the same in her visit, which was mainly electric vehicles and solar, but it's really the whole network of industrial production. That also includes Belton road over production already, in all the infrastructure work. So if much of that work, and it's to Jed about the extraction of minerals from from Africa, it occurs in a disadvantages way through unequal ecological exchange. I think the core to that Jad, which helps explain the weak currencies is that there is an uncompensated extraction of non renewable resources, that is our minerals, fossil fuels, which not enough economic environmental sociologists have turned their attention to sunlight, Jason Hickel. And you know, there are plenty of, especially from Swedish universities, and equal ecological exchange studies, but it's really that extraction, that isn't compensated the way it would be if you were in Canada, or Australia, where your shareholders of the mining corporations are recipients of the rentier income, or Norway where the state is. So in some resource rich countries, you can you can reverse that. But much of certainly Africa and southern Africa, South Africa is all about the extractive systems. And it's so regrettable, and I've just done a little paper, identifying about 20 of these in southern Africa, that it's Chinese firms at the frontline. Part of that wealth of China is the impoverishment of the periphery. The sub Imperial way of looking at China, I think, works well, in that sense. Does that make sense to you?



1:27:06

Thank you, Patrick, the panel, do you want to ask a question?



1:27:11

I would rather request Jim to say something and then I'll ask my question.



1:27:19

Okay, so Jose?



1:27:25

Oh, well, no, just not really reply there. But it's, I think, would maybe it's not clear in what I was saying that I'm not supporting this sort of development right now. I'm just saying that it's going to happen. Because either we offer an alternative that changes the patterns of development, or you're going to reproduce this. I actually I think it's already changed. But that's would be very cool. There are many questions I tried to address the two one you had raised climate change, and perhaps the transformation of modernity, what, you know, the discussion about organizing, maternity disorganized and modernity. I wrote about the third phase of modernity, maybe we're entering our fourth phase of modernity, that you have to do it with a different pattern of accumulation, and which may have green technology said at its core, what's the role of finances? That's very controversial, said Victor is saying that the role of finance is not so important. And the longer you have the linear like opposing it's important, but there is a discussion starting globally about this. Work the left doesn't have an alternative program. That's one thing you have to develop in our say that both alternative with a positive element alternatives to development, which may be interesting locally, cannot offer a stat. That's that's just what I was trying to basically argue. You have billions of people in the world one development, how do you offer a different alternative to develop? I not even speaking about socialism, which is not very clear at all, when what we mean by that at this stage, right? Because the Soviet model, of course, nobody wants to reproduce it. So but in what would be a different sort of socialist model, who would be specially the ancients, who would be willing to develop it. So it's, there are many issues there, but I'm not just making it. I'm not defending the current consumer responding of development. On the other hand, I think technologies are going to address and they will keep advancing and humanity is clever. I, I don't think I catastrophist perspective, and even now I'm really replying. I mean, centerpiece perspective helps very much just politically unless you give up and go home, and I'll have fun and that's just fine. But if you want to do politics is not really misanthropic. You have to find a solution for this problem. Change our place in the universe, you know, the center of the universe, the idea of nature is a more than idea. You have to invent this idea, but it's still going to take 500 years you don't change civilizations so easily. I see a lot of fresh ideas about how what our place in nature and what it don't change that. So is it you have to face up to this question to if the imaginary the modern imaginary have now