



HESTIA 2020

Association for Sociopolitical Heterodoxy

March 7-8, Ryukoku University, Kyoto, Japan



CONFERENCE HANDBOOK

www.sociohex.com

Dear conference attendees,

Welcome to the inaugural HESTIA conference, held in the historical city of Kyoto in association with Ryukoku University. We are proud to host a stimulating line-up of presentations, and we look forward to the lively discussion they will no doubt provoke.

The Association for Sociopolitical Heterodoxy was established in 2019 as an organisation for scholars to address sociopolitical issues from interdisciplinary standpoints and, more importantly, to promote a mindset willing to challenge dominant paradigms. We invite our members to apply good ideas, whether new or old, to issues facing contemporary society.

This weekend features three types of presentations:

- **ANALYTICAL** presentations are 20 minutes in length, and consist of a brief introduction to a key concept, or the work of a particular scholar or writer, followed by an explanation of how the concept (etc.) can be used to frame contemporary issues in new and interesting ways. Analytical presentations are particularly accessible to new researchers, or those from outside academia.
- **RESEARCH** presentations are 50 minutes in length rather than the more usual 20 minutes. This allows ample time to showcase the ongoing research activities of one or more participants, and to engage with the audience.
- **DISCURSIVE** presentations feature two or more presenters sharing differing views on a common subject. A mediator guides the interaction and invites participation from audience members. Discursive presentations are a more interactive take on the conventional panel.

Please bear in mind, however, that the aim of Hestia is to provide a forum in which participants can share and discuss ideas as effectively as possible. We have no desire to adhere slavishly to formal structures so please feel free to approach presentation in the manner best suited to your needs.

We sincerely appreciate your support for ASH events, and encourage you all to participate in a discussion of future ASH activities in the annual meeting to be held at the end of conference. Topics to be covered include publishing opportunities in two journals planned for release this year, the Iconoclast and The Heterodox Review, and plans for future conferences (scheduled for Hokkaido in September, and Okinawa in March 2021).

While we expect to expand slightly in size following our first event, our focus is on quality rather than quantity, and to that end future events will remain relatively small-scale, intimate and thought-provoking experiences.

This booklet introduces the conference schedule and presentation abstracts. Please make the most of your time with us!

Yours sincerely,

The ASH Executive Team:

Gavan Gray
Julian Pigott
Patrick Strefford

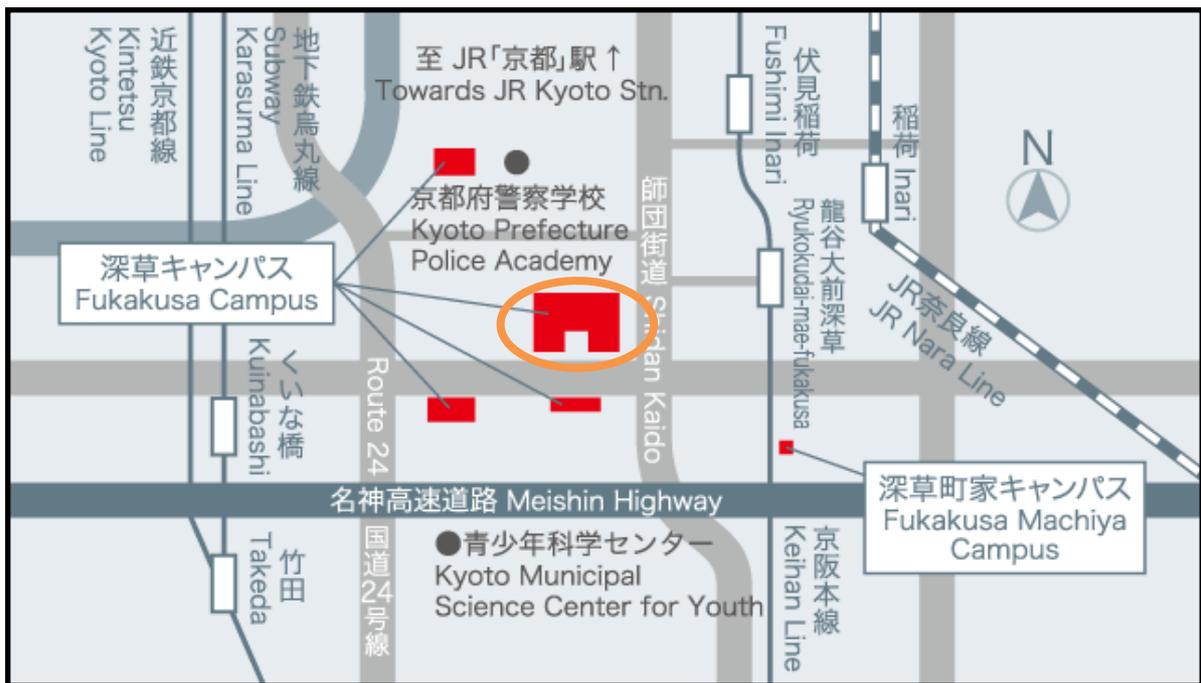
The History of Kyoto

- 300** - Queen Himiko reigns in nearby Nara
- 700** - The Hata clan settle in Kyoto and establish Fushimi-inari, while the Kamo clan establish the nearby Kamo-jinja
- 710** - Japan's first capital is established at Nara
- 794** - A new grid-plan capital is established at *Heian-Kyō* (peaceful capital)
- 869** - The *Gion Festival* begins as a religious march against the plague
- 1021** - *Murasaki Shikibu* writes *The Tales of Genji*, the world's first novel.
- 1100** - The city is renamed Kyoto, literally 'capital city'
- 1192** - Political power moves to the Kamakura Shogunate (military leaders)
- 1333** - The Kamakura Shogunate is defeated and power returns to Kyoto
- 1397** - *Kinkaku-ji* (Golden Pavillion) is built as a Shogun's retirement villa
- 1467** - The *Onin War* begins a decade of conflict that cripples Kyoto
- 1500** - The *Ikki* peasant uprisings erupt as an anti-tax protest
- 1568** - *Oda Nobunaga* seizes political power and begins to unite Japan
- 1585** - Under *Toyotomi Hideyoshi* the city is renovated and restructured.
- 1600** - *Tokugawa Ieyasu* defeats Toyotomi at the battle of *Sekigahara* and *Nijo Castle* is built as a symbol of his power. The government moves to *Edo* (Tokyo) but Kyoto remains the capital and home of the Emperor.
- 1864** - In the *Hamaguri Rebellion* 30,000 of the city's houses are burned
- 1869** - Tokyo becomes the capital and the new home of Emperor Meiji
- 1945** - Kyoto is spared from both carpet- and atomic-bombing with some saying the reason was that the city's intellectual population would promote a strong post-war anti-military mindset
- 1964** - The Shinkansen bullet train links Kyoto to Tokyo
- 1996** - An international climate conference produces the *Kyoto Protocol*
- 2015** - After a decline following the *Tohoku Disaster*, Kyoto sees a return of tourists with almost 60 million annual visitors
- 2020** - Inaugural Hestia Conference held at Ryukoku University

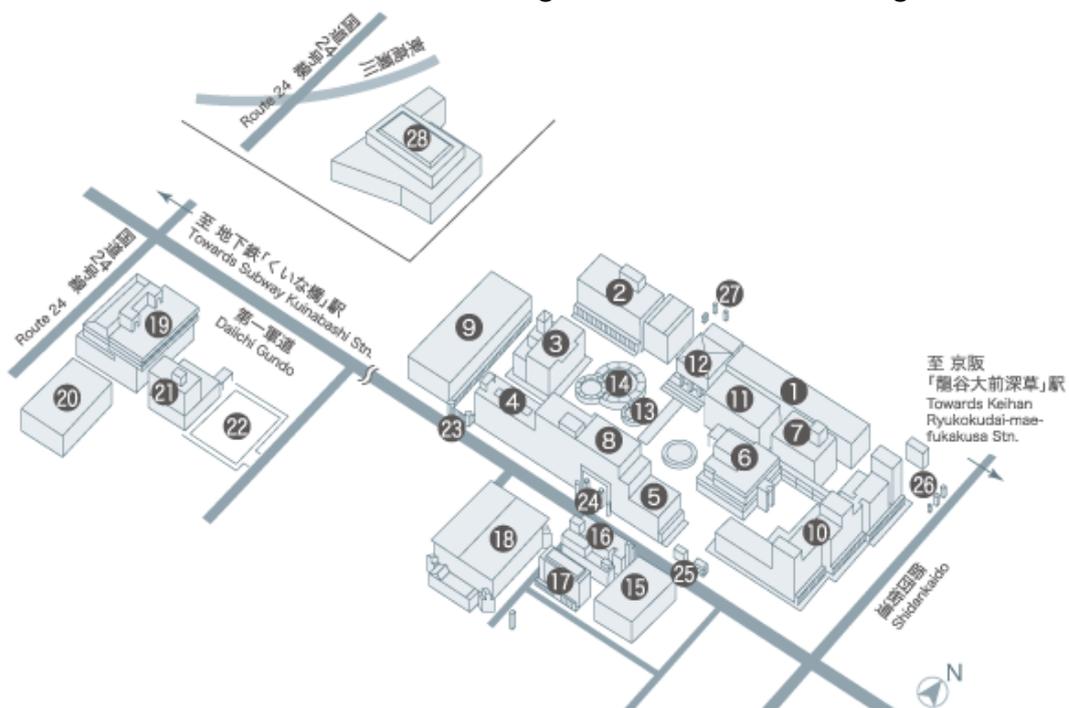


Finding us...

Attendees will have already received general information on visiting Kyoto in the form of our Travel Guide. In short, the venue is Ryukoku University's Fukakusa campus. The nearest stations are (to the east) **Ryukokudai-mae Fukakusa Station**, on the Keihan line, and (to the west) **Kuinabashi Station**, on the Kyoto subway line. The former station is closer but both are within walking distance.



The conference itself will be held in the Wagen-kan (和顔館), building Number 1 below..



Conference Schedule

Update: Given the recent outbreak of the Corona Virus and its ongoing impact on events and travel both regionally and internationally, our initial plans for the conference have, unfortunately, had to be scaled back due a large number of presenters being suddenly unable to attend. While the event will still take place, all presentations have been consolidated on Sunday (March 8) with the conference dinner taking place as planned on the previous evening (March 7).

Day 1 (Saturday, March 7)

18:00 - 20:00 **Conference Dinner (Restaurant Ganko)**

The first day of the conference provides an opportunity for participants to get to know one another and discuss conference topics in an informal setting. The meal will take place in Ganko Takesegawa Nijoen, an atmospheric former mansion with spacious traditional gardens on the bank of the Kamogawa River which runs through the heart of Kyoto City.

20:00 - 20:30 **Stroll through Gion District**

After our meal the group will take a short walk through the atmospheric Gion District, which represents one of the oldest and most traditional parts of Kyoto.

Directions

GANKO Takasegawa Nijoen
(がんこ 高瀬川二条苑)

Restaurant Ganko is a five minute walk from **Sanjo Station** on the Keihan line.

Leave by Exit 12, then turn West and cross the Kamogawa River, when you reach the small stream turn North onto Kiyamachi-dori street.

The restaurant will be on your right-hand side just before you reach the T-junction.



Day 2 (Sunday, March 8)

Session 1

09:00 - 09:30

Conference Opening

09:30 - 10:00

Michael Burke

➔ *Postmodernism and the challenges it poses to the national security of Western liberal democracies*

10:00 - 11:00

Gavan Patrick Gray

➔ *Memetic information warfare: The dangers of self-contamination*

11:00 - 11:15

Tea Break

Session 2

11:15 - 11:45

Paul Jackanich

➔ *The ontology of the mainstream left: From abstract to concrete individualism*

11:45 - 12:15

Julian Pigott

➔ *"Charge straight ahead and kick them in the electrodes": Marshall McLuhan, new media, and new politics.*

12:15 - 13:00

Lunch

Session 3

13:00 - 14:00

Peter Baehr

➔ *The arrest of sociology*

14:00 - 15:00

Roger Berkowitz

➔ *Arendt and Hayek on the danger of experts in politics*

15:00 - 15:15

Tea Break

Session 4

15:15 - 15:45

Christian Etzrodt

➔ *Managing the liberal democracy*

15:45 - 16:15

Anders Granmo

➔ *Normative contestation in the age of social media: A framework for analysis*

16:15 - 17:15

Rachael Rudolph

➔ *Strategic sanctioning: Exploring the geostrategic thought behind the Trump administration's sanctions policy toward North Korea*

17:15 - 18:00

Roundtable discussion

➔ *The aims of the Association for Sociopolitical Heterodoxy in relation to the present state of academia.*

18:00

Close of Conference

List of Abstracts

(in alphabetical order by author name)

The Arrest of Sociology

Peter Baehr
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Abstract:

A new book from Colin Campbell, the distinguished British sociologist, asks a disquieting question: *Has Sociology Progressed?* Campbell concludes that the discipline has made little progress in the past half-century. This article describes what Campbell means by progress, and the factors that, on his account, impede it. My discussion focuses on one such obstacle: the politicisation of the university. The older current of ideological advocacy, that Campbell highlights, is today bolstered by a newer development: ideological policing. The fate of sociology, and of other social sciences and humanities, requires grasping the dangers of such policing and finding ways to check it. Remedial measures are suggested.

Biography:

Peter Baehr is Research Professor in Social Theory at Lingnan University, Hong Kong. His books include *Caesar and the Fading of the Roman World* (1997), *Hannah Arendt, Totalitarianism and the Social Sciences* (2010), and *The Unmasking Style in Social Theory* (2019). He is the editor of *The Portable Hannah Arendt* (2000), and (forthcoming for Penguin Classics), *The Book of Dictators*.

Arendt and Hayek on the Danger of Experts in Politics

Roger Berkowitz

Founder and Academic Director of the Hannah Arendt Center for Politics and Humanities and Professor of Politics, Philosophy, and Human Rights at Bard College.
berkowitz@bard.edu

Abstract:

Watching the impeachment hearings in the United States, the real issue is the conflict between the impartial civil services and the populist politics of President Trump. After more than five decades of increasingly technocratic rule by elites, we are seeing a rebellion of the public against expert governance. I explore the danger of expert governance through two of the 20th century's greatest intellectuals. Friedrich Hayek wrote at length about the arrogance of experts who claim to know how society works. For Hayek, there is, "a body of very important but unorganized knowledge which cannot possibly be called scientific in the sense of knowledge of general rules: the knowledge of the particular circumstances of time and place." As did Hayek, Hannah Arendt warned about the danger experts pose to democratic government. She argues that the great danger of intellectuals comes from their capacity to deny facts. For those trained in conceptual thinking, the world and its reality frequently appear only as obstacles to human freedom. Arendt repeatedly returns to the problem of what she calls the danger of the "steadily increasing prestige of scientifically minded brain trusters in the councils of government." Intellectuals gain power as countries become bigger and in need of centralized administration. The rule of experts disempowers citizens and renders citizen self-government meaningless. The rule of experts breeds resentment against technocrats that may well "harbor all the murderous traits of a racial antagonism." Rule by an elite can be resisted "only by extermination of those who happen to have a higher I.Q." Faced with such a danger from a numerically superior class of non-intellectuals, Arendt imagines that the "danger of demagogues, of popular leaders, will be so great that the meritocracy will be forced into tyrannies and despotism."

Biography:

Roger Berkowitz is Founder and Academic Director of the Hannah Arendt Center for Politics and Humanities and Professor of Politics, Philosophy, and Human Rights at Bard College. Professor Berkowitz authored *The Gift of Science: Leibniz and the Modern Legal Tradition* (Harvard, 2005; Fordham, 2010; Chinese Law Press, 2011). Berkowitz is co-editor of *Thinking in Dark Times: Hannah Arendt on Ethics and Politics* (2009), *The Intellectual Origins of the Global Financial Crisis* (2012) and *Artifacts of Thinking: Reading Hannah Arendt's *Denktagebuch** (2017). He is the winner of the 2019 Hannah Arendt Prize for Political Thinking.

Postmodernism and the challenges it poses to the national security of Western liberal democracies

Michael Burke

Lecturer at Kanda University, Chiba, Japan

Doctoral Candidate in the Department of War Studies, King's College, London.

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Abstract:

Within the humanities and social science the focus has, in recent years, shifted somewhat away from naturalist empiricism, or the belief that the social world can be known objectively via the scientific method through the eyes of impartial observers, to one which looks at the same things more subjectively, that tries to understand the world through the subjective struggles of its more disadvantaged inhabitants; their lived experiences, in other words. As opposed to the scientific paradigm, which at least ostensibly attempts to focus on what is, this new way of seeing things, by drawing on a narrative of exploitation, focuses on what ought to be; so as to overcome the various injustices out there in order to, seemingly at least, attempt to build a better and more just world. This paradigm is most often referred to as postmodernism or post-structuralism.

My position here is neither that this development has been all-conquering; that it has swept all else aside, nor that the intentions behind these changes are not sometimes very laudable indeed. Instead, the position I put forward begins with a much simpler observation, one that draws on the principle of entropy and applies it to the social world: there have been significant changes and—like all other significant changes—they almost certainly have at least some negative consequences. This is simply because, mathematically, there are more things that can go wrong than there are things that can go right; which means negative outcomes are more likely than positive ones (Merton 1936, 894-904).

By applying sources from American and Israeli intelligence (Asher 2009, Gendry & Gordon 2019, Bar Joseph 2005; 2016) to the postmodern paradigm described above, I will argue that this shift has caused, is causing and will likely continue to cause significant damage to the national security interests of Western liberal democracies.

Biography:

Michael Burke is a lecturer in the English Language Institute at Kanda University of International Studies, with educational research interests focusing on critical thinking, critical theory, critical pedagogy, cross-cultural psychology and learner autonomy. He is also a PhD candidate in the Department of War Studies at King's College London, where he is examining the threat that the postmodern paradigm poses to the national security of Western liberal democracies.

Managing the Liberal Democracy

Christian Etzrodt
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Abstract:

Who is controlling liberal democracies behind the scene? We are all aware of the relevance of lobbying on policy making. However, we are less aware of the influence of secret (and not so secret) societies and think tanks on our democracies. In the first part of this research presentation I want to present a test of the degree of control of different elite networks over the U.S. governments between 1901 and 2020. I am measuring the degree of control based on how many members (weighted by importance) of the U.S. governments were also members of secret elite networks. So far, I have included the following networks: Skull & Bones, the Pilgrims network (Pilgrims Society, Council on Foreign Relations, Royal Institute of International Affairs, Bilderberg Group, Trilateral Commission, Rhodes Scholars), the Knights of Malta network (Sovereign Military Order of Malta, Opus Dei, and Le Circle), Freemasons, and the Bohemian Grove network. I will provide a numerical analysis for the different administrations, but ***I will not name names***. The test provides a clear picture, which allows us to reinterpret key historical events in a different light. The second part of the presentation and the discussion will focus on the implications of this result for our understanding of world history.

Biography:

Christian Etzrodt (Ph.D. in economics, University of Cologne, 2000; Ph.D. in sociology, Ritsumeikan University, 2006) is an associate professor at the School of Human Sciences at Osaka University. He has published two books and 24 articles and book chapters. His published articles on social theory, philosophy of science, sociology of education, sociology of globalization, and money and banking, and have appeared in a wide variety of academic journals.

Normative contestation in the age of social media: A framework for analysis

Anders Granmo
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Abstract:

Normative negotiations are integral to daily life in any society. They range from largely subconscious reifications of established norms - through acts such as gossiping - to the explicit polemics of political debates and elections. Prior to mainstreaming of social media, presenting normative claims to a global audience was largely restricted to those with a platform to do so: politicians, philanthropists, and universally recognized artists. Platform access is among the most significant prerequisites to norm entrepreneurship - the act of presenting and suggesting new norms and/or contesting existing ones. This is the first phase of the Norm Life Cycle, a theoretical framework posited by Finnemore & Sikkink in *International Norm Dynamics and Political Change*, a cornerstone article of constructivist political science. Today, norm entrepreneurship has been pluralised to the masses. In December of 2019, Greta Thunberg was named *Time Magazine's* Person of the Year, only 16 months after a Rosa Parks-esque moment transformed her life from absolute anonymity to becoming the teenager with the arguably best access to a global political platform in history. Conversely, in recent years, a loose movement opposing vaccination - largely enabled by social media - is now considered by the World Health Organization to be among the most significant threats to global health. Credible accusations of government-funded amplification of normative discord in foreign countries are now expected rather than surprising. This presentation seeks to suggest an update the Norm Life Cycle framework to include normative determinants, factors, tools, and terminology that have become integral to global normative discourse since the article's initial publication over 20 years ago. This includes terms such as virtue signalling, trolling, deplatforming, cancelling, and astroturfing. Its purpose is to shed light on the normative mechanisms affecting, inter alia, issues such as freedom of expression and democratic institutions on a global scale.

Biography:

Anders Granmo holds a PhD in Political Science from Stellenbosch University, South Africa. His main research interests comprise international norm theory, global health, and development policy; these were synthesized in his doctoral dissertation, which traced the norms underlying the health-related development goals of the Millennium Development Goals and the Sustainable Development Goals, respectively. He is also generally interested in issues such as free speech and political correctness, and is a supporter of a heterodox and interdisciplinary approach to academia.

Memetic information warfare: The dangers of self-contamination

Gavan Patrick Gray
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Abstract:

In the 21st century, and especially in the wake of the RussiaGate scandal in the United States, the role of the internet in information warfare has received renewed attention. While 'memes' were originally conceived of by Dawkins as a unit of cultural information capable of being transmitted in a manner similar to biological evolution, in relation to information warfare they are more commonly viewed as 'internet memes', combinations of graphics and text that spread, in viral fashion, across the internet. Recent studies, both popular and academic, have focused on this aspect of online communication as being an important new development in the nature of psychological operations. However, this paper rejects such a view as grossly exaggerating both the power and impact of such communications and contends that the 'memetic' element of information warfare remain focused on the propagation of specific 'beliefs'. This is now done in a manner with strong analogies to the process of biological viral warfare, specifically in regard to matters such as targeted populations, vectors of distribution, quarantine responses, and the dangers of self-contamination.

The last forms the key thesis of this paper and refers to the fact that the vast majority of recent studies on the subject have focused exclusively on the operations and capabilities of non-Western states and their use of information warfare as a tool of aggressive destabilisation. In actuality, many Western states have their own groups and organisations, both civilian and military, who are heavily involved in the exact same forms of psychological operations, often with no public awareness of their impact. This lack of understanding of their capabilities and operations has led to serious problems, wherein one element of a state promotes policy that is unknowingly responding to disinformation promoted by a separate element of the same state. This danger of 'self-contamination' represents a growing threat both to the ability of states to develop effective national security policy and to international stability in general.

Biography:

Gavan Patrick Gray is an Associate Professor at Tsuda University's College of Policy Studies in Tokyo and coordinator of its Communication Program. He has a Ph.D in International Relations and undergraduate degrees in International Security and Counter-Terrorism. His current research involves a three-year government-funded study of responses to Violence Against Women & Children in Japan, Thailand and the EU but he continues to research and write on both issues of communication and education, and international security.

The Ontology of the Mainstream Left: From Abstract to Concrete Individualism

Paul Jackanich

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Abstract:

What fundamentally distinguishes the Left from the Right is ontology, the study of what exists. The Mainstream Left (ML) however no longer attempts to define its ontology. Long gone are the days when Habermas debated Gadamer on the ontological necessity of prejudice. Why does the ML refuse to do so? When one defines a concept, one includes and excludes content, and because ontology seeks to define everything that exists whatsoever, the ML seriously fears that it will exclude and marginalize. Indeed, Habermas' top-down sociological program for rooting out prejudice is thought to be dangerous on just these grounds. This places the ML in an interesting situation: on the one hand, they share Habermas' goals, but on the other, their beliefs about inclusion prevent them from conceptually understanding it, and thus from realizing Habermas' goals. What I am saying is simple: the ML has moralized what are essentially ontological concepts (i.e., inclusion and exclusion), thus closing off ontological inquiry. Rawls' post-Rawlsian children, despite thinking him a racist, still believe that ontology can be killed off by ignoring it. The ML's failure to define its ontology does not mean that it lacks one though. The post-WWII ontology was based on individualism, maintaining that all humans are individuals in the abstract or legal sense, endowed with rights and bound to the rule of law. By contrast, many of the goals (e.g., reparations) of the ML explicitly conflict with the former. This is because they are implicit advocates of what I call concrete individualism: the notion that natural or biological features lack ontic validity, and that inequalities between individuals can be explained in terms of arbitrary social constructs alone. The purpose of my presentation is to explain how this way of thinking came about.

Biography:

Paul Jackanich is a doctoral candidate in philosophy at the University of Montreal. His primary field of study is the Enlightenment, and more precisely how religion and technology affect the development of social mores and political thought in the Modern Era. He has published academically on historical topics, such as Rousseau's moral theory, as well as contemporary ones, like the relationship between Christianity and Liberalism seen through the lens of Hegelian Dialectics.

"Charge straight ahead and kick them in the electrodes": Marshall McLuhan, new media, and new politics.

Julian Pigott

Associate professor, Ryukoku University
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Abstract:

Marshall McLuhan's metaphysical explorations of technology (most famously encapsulated in his apothegm *The media is the message*) identified the constraints that media modalities place on content, and showed how it is the mode rather than content per se that has profound consequences for how we make sense of the world and organise society. This paper examines the ramifications of the new media (broadly speaking, social media) for political discourse. This is done through use of McLuhan's *tetrad* to ask what type of discourse the new media *enhance*, what they render *obsolete*, what they *retrieve*, and what they *reverse*.

One of the most lamented consequences of the rise of the new media is how they appear somehow to have superseded or even infected older modalities such as print journalism and cable television, leading to a decline in their relevance, quality, and trustworthiness. Concerns about fake news and calls to moderate or censor content speak to the underlying unease many feel faced with the transformation of culture, values, and attitudes accompanying the rise of the new media. However, at least some of these concerns are insincere. They are in fact weapons of retribution aimed at political opponents and new media 'upstarts' who are simply more fluent at speaking these new languages (who *get it*), and whose success threatens the old guard. Tellingly, critiques tend to focus on the message, which, as McLuhan showed us, is to miss the point. Political rhetoric, persuasion, propaganda and lies are hardly new, even if the modalities (Tweets, memes) are. Rather than censorship of content, understanding media "as they extend man" is our only hope of gaining a measure of control over their influence. A commentator wrote in 1995 that McLuhan's reputation had been in a hiatus, waiting for electronic reality to catch up. In 2020 we need more than ever to use his ideas to knock some sense into ourselves.

Biography:

Julian Pigott is Associate Professor in the Faculty of International Studies, Department of Global Studies, at Ryukoku University in Kyoto, Japan. He teaches courses in language acquisition theory, applied linguistics, the psychology of language learning, communication theory, and research methods to graduate and undergraduate students. He gained his MA in applied linguistics from the University of Birmingham in 2008, and his Ph.D. (also applied linguistics) from the University of Warwick in 2016. He is currently pursuing research within disparate fields on education policy, the new media, and political discourse.

Strategic Sanctioning:

An exploration of the geostrategic thought behind the Trump Administration's sanctions policy toward North Korea

Rachael M. Rudolph, PhD

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Abstract:

From the targeting of states to non-state actors, the U.S. has increasingly sought to use sanctions as its primary tool of geo-economic statecraft to influence geopolitics and 'rogue regimes' like North Korea. Most scholars focusing on U.S. sanctions policy toward North Korea posit that they have been inefficacious for a variety of reasons. Despite this the present Trump administration has refused to ease or lift them, thus causing tension in the on-going negotiations with North Korea. This study seeks to trace the geostrategic thinking behind the Trump administration's policy of sanctions toward North Korea. It employs a theoretical framework rooted in the literature on geo-economic statecraft, sanctions strategy and U.S. sanctions policy toward North Korea to analyse primary documents obtained from the Office of Foreign Assets Control of the U.S. Department of Treasury, Executive Orders, Congressional legislation and debates, and public statements issued by officials in the Trump administration. Part one of the study provides an overview of the existing literature on geo-economic statecraft and the use of sanctions as a foreign policy tool for influencing adversaries and obtaining U.S. foreign and national security objectives, sanctions strategy, and U.S. sanctions policy toward North Korea. Part two outlines the theoretical framework for analysis, discusses the data and highlights the strengths and weakness of the approach employed for analysis. Part three traces the Trump's administrations strategic thinking in its approach to sanctions toward North Korea. The study concludes with a discussion on the implications of the findings for U.S.-North Korea relations and U.S. foreign policy in an era of great power competition. This study is unique in the sense that it offers a new framework for analysis of and explores the geostrategic thinking behind U.S. sanctions policy toward North Korea and diverges from the existing literature's primary emphasis on efficacy of sanctions.

Biography: Dr. Rachael M. Rudolph is an Assistant Professor of Social Science for Bryant University-BITZH Programs, Beijing Institute of Technology, Zhuhai, where she teaches courses on traditional and nontraditional security. Her research focuses on strategic security in the Indo-Asia Pacific, U.S.-North Korea relations, U.S.-China relations, and transnational crime. She is the author of *Saudi Arabia's War on Terrorism (1979-2003)*, *Mobilization of Islamic Resistance and Counterterrorism in Saudi Arabia* and the co-author of *Politics of Terrorism*. Her most recent journal articles include *Framing the U.S. Public's Human Rights Discourse on North Korea*, *Strategic Containment of North Korea*, and *Framing Sino-American Military Cooperation*.

ASSOCIATION FOR SOCIOPOLITICAL HETERODOXY



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Further information regarding the Association for Sociopolitical Heterodoxy can be found through our website.

Any parties interested in submitting papers for future events or our journal can send proposals to submissions@sociohex.com.

Any further questions or concerns can be sent to enquiries@sociohex.com.

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