



# UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

University of Calgary

**PRISM: University of Calgary's Digital Repository**

---

University of Calgary Press

University of Calgary Press Open Access Books

---

2021-10

## Energy in the Americas: Critical Reflections on Energy and History

University of Calgary Press

---

Kiddle, A. (Ed.). (2021). Energy in the Americas: Critical Reflections on Energy and History.

University of Calgary Press.

<http://hdl.handle.net/1880/113901>

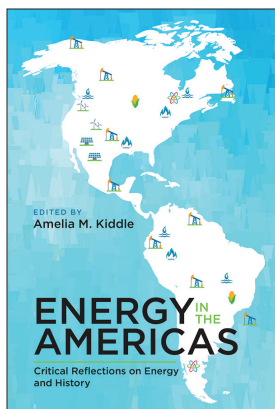
book

---

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0>

© 2021 Amelia M. Kiddle

Downloaded from PRISM: <https://prism.ucalgary.ca>



## ENERGY IN THE AMERICAS: CRITICAL REFLECTIONS ON ENERGY AND HISTORY

Edited by Amelia M. Kiddle

ISBN 978-1-55238-940-9

**THIS BOOK IS AN OPEN ACCESS E-BOOK.** It is an electronic version of a book that can be purchased in physical form through any bookseller or on-line retailer, or from our distributors. Please support this open access publication by requesting that your university purchase a print copy of this book, or by purchasing a copy yourself. If you have any questions, please contact us at [ucpress@ucalgary.ca](mailto:ucpress@ucalgary.ca)

**Cover Art:** The artwork on the cover of this book is not open access and falls under traditional copyright provisions; it cannot be reproduced in any way without written permission of the artists and their agents. The cover can be displayed as a complete cover image for the purposes of publicizing this work, but the artwork cannot be extracted from the context of the cover of this specific work without breaching the artist's copyright.

**COPYRIGHT NOTICE:** This open-access work is published under a Creative Commons licence. This means that you are free to copy, distribute, display or perform the work as long as you clearly attribute the work to its authors and publisher, that you do not use this work for any commercial gain in any form, and that you in no way alter, transform, or build on the work outside of its use in normal academic scholarship without our express permission. If you want to reuse or distribute the work, you must inform its new audience of the licence terms of this work. For more information, see details of the Creative Commons licence at: <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

**UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU MAY:**

- read and store this document free of charge;
- distribute it for personal use free of charge;
- print sections of the work for personal use;
- read or perform parts of the work in a context where no financial transactions take place.

**UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU MAY NOT:**

- gain financially from the work in any way;
- sell the work or seek monies in relation to the distribution of the work;
- use the work in any commercial activity of any kind;
- profit a third party indirectly via use or distribution of the work;
- distribute in or through a commercial body (with the exception of academic usage within educational institutions such as schools and universities);
- reproduce, distribute, or store the cover image outside of its function as a cover of this work;
- alter or build on the work outside of normal academic scholarship.



**Acknowledgement:** We acknowledge the wording around open access used by Australian publisher, **re.press**, and thank them for giving us permission to adapt their wording to our policy <http://www.re-press.org>

## List of Contributors

**Juan Pablo Bohórquez Montoya** is the author of several books and articles on Colombian social movements, political sociology, political philosophy, and transnationalism. He is on the National Committee of the Popular Campesino Association (Colombia) and is director of Willow Springs Strategic Solutions—Colombia.

**Michael Camp** received his PhD in history from Emory University in 2017 and is the author of *Unnatural Resources: Energy and Environmental Politics in Appalachia after the 1973 Oil Embargo* (2019).

**Paul Chastko** is a senior instructor in the History Department at the University of Calgary, and the author of *Developing Alberta's Oil Sands, From Karl Clark to Kyoto* (2004) and the forthcoming *Globalization and the World Oil Industry*.

**Linda B. Hall** is professor emerita of history at the University of New Mexico and the author or co-author of seven books on the history of the Mexican Revolution, the US-Mexican border, and religion, gender, and film in Latin America, including *Oil, Banks, and Politics: The United States and Mexico, 1917–1924* (1995).

**Pablo Heidrich** is an international political economist specializing in natural resources and development in Latin America and associate professor of global and international studies at Carleton University. He has published several articles and book chapters, and his research has been supported by SSHRC, the IDRC, the Ford Foundation, the Marshall Foundation, and CIDA.

**Amelia M. Kiddle** is associate professor of history at the University of Calgary and the author or co-editor of three other books, including *Mexico's Relations with Latin America during the Cárdenas Era*. She is completing a SSHRC-supported research project on the roots of resource nationalism in Latin America and the Mexican oil expropriation of 1938.

**Daniel Macfarlane** is associate professor of environment and sustainability at Western Michigan University and is the author or co-editor of four books, including *Fixing Niagara Falls: Environment, Energy, and Engineers at the World's Most Famous Waterfall* (2020) and *Negotiating a River: Canada, the US, and the Creation of the St. Lawrence Seaway* (2014).

**Brian S. McBeth** is an affiliate member of the Latin America Centre at Oxford University. He is the author or co-author of thirteen books on the history of Venezuela and other subjects, including *Juan Vicente Gómez and the Oil Companies in Venezuela, 1908–1935* (1983) and *Dictatorship and Politics: Intrigue, Betrayal and Survival in Venezuela, 1908–1935* (2008). His latest book, *La política petrolera venezolana: Una perspectiva histórica, 1922–2005* (Venezuelan oil policy: A historical perspective) was published in Caracas in 2015.

**Dermot O'Connor** is a PhD candidate in political science at York University who studies conflict over land in Colombia. He is the principal consultant at Oak Road Concepts, where he conducts collaborative research with Indigenous communities on rights and energy development.

**Joseph A. Pratt** is professor emeritus at the University of Houston and author of *Exxon: Transforming Energy, 1973–2005* (2013) and co-editor of *Energy Capitals: Local Impacts, Global Influence* (2014), as well as ten other books on the history of energy and the city of Houston.

**Tyler Priest** is associate professor of history and geography at the University of Iowa. He is the author of *The Offshore Imperative: Shell Oil's Search for Petroleum in the Postwar United States* (2007) and the forthcoming *Deepwater Horizons: The Epic Struggle over Offshore Oil in the United States*.

**Esteban Serrani** received his doctorate in social sciences from the University of Buenos Aires and is a professor at the Universidad Nacional de San Martín. He is a full researcher in the Argentine CONICET (Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas) and coordinates the CLACSO Working Group on “Energy and Sustainable Development.” He is completing an Agencia Nacional de Promoción de la Investigación–supported research project exploring the relationship between energy models and industrial policy in Argentina.

**Gail D. Triner** is professor emerita of history at Rutgers and the author of *Mining and the State in Brazilian Development* (2015) and *Banking and Economic Development: Brazil, 1889–1930* (2000), in addition to numerous articles and book chapters.

**César Yáñez Gallardo** received his PhD in history from the Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona and was a full professor at the Universidad de Barcelona before returning to Chile to become full professor at the Universidad de Valparaíso. He is an economic historian and has published numerous articles and book chapters about energy history, in addition to his books *The Economies of Latin America: New Cliometric Data* (co-authored with Albert Casrreras, 2012) and *La renovada historia económica de Chile. Diez tesis* (2021).



# Bibliography

## ARCHIVES

### *Brazil*

Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil, Fundação Getúlio Vargas, Rio de Janeiro

### *Canada*

Archives of Ontario, Toronto

Government of Ontario, 1954–1956

Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario (HEPCO), SPP Series, 1954–1957

Glenbow Archives, Calgary

Canadian Petroleum Association (CPA) fonds

Imperial Oil Limited (IOL) fonds

Independent Petroleum Association of Canada (IPAC) fonds

Petroleum Oral History Project

### *Mexico*

Fideicomiso Archivos Plutarco Elías Calles y Fernando Torreblanca, Mexico City

### *United Kingdom*

Bank of London and South America Archives, Commercial Bank of Spanish America Records, University College London Special Collections, London, 1913

National Archives, Kew

Cabinet Office, 1929

Foreign Office. General Correspondence

Ministry of Power, 1938

Venezuela Embassy and Consular Archives, 1908–1924

Parliamentary Papers, 1914

S. Pearson & Sons Ltd. Archive, 1923

## *United States*

- Albert B. Fall Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, California  
DeGolyer Library, Texas Instruments (TI) Records, Southern Methodist University, Dallas  
Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, Exxon Oral History Collection, University of Texas at Austin  
Dwight D. Eisenhower Library and Archives, Columbia University Oral History Project Transcripts, Abilene, Kansas  
Edmund S. Muskie Archives and Special Collections Library, Senate Office and Committee Staff Files, Edmund S. Muskie Papers (MS), Bates College, Lewiston, Maine  
Exxon Archive, Exxon Management Committee Records, Irving, Texas  
Howard H. Baker Jr. Center for Public Policy, Howard H. Baker Jr. Papers (HBJ), Knoxville, Tennessee  
National Archives and Records Administration  
    Department of State Central Files (RG 59), College Park, Maryland  
    Records of the Department of State Relating to the Internal Affairs of Venezuela, 1908–1924, National Archives at Atlanta  
University of Houston Libraries, Oral Histories—Houston History Project, 1996–, Series 7: Energy Development, Houston  
University of Tennessee Libraries, Special Collections, Tennessee Valley Authority Reports, 1933–1973, Knoxville

## *Venezuela*

- Archivo Histórico del Palacio de Miraflores  
    Copiadores, 1908–1924  
    Correspondencia Presidencial, 1908–1924  
    Correspondencia del Secretario General, 1908–1924  
    Varios, 1917–1920  
Archivo del Ministerio de Fomento, 1908–1924  
Archivo Particular del Dr. Gumersindo Torres, Copiador, 1920  
Corte Federal y de Casación, *Memoria*, 1917, 1919–1920, 1924  
Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, *Memoria*, 1908  
Ministerio de Hacienda, *Memoria*, 1917

## **NEWSPAPERS, DATABASES, AND INTERNET SOURCES**

- American Oil & Gas Reporter*  
American Presidency Project, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu>  
Associated Press  
BBC Monitoring, <https://monitoring.bbc.co.uk>  
BBC News  
CanWest News



*Christian Science Monitor* (Boston)  
CODHES (Consultoría para los Derechos Humanos y el Desplazamiento), <http://www.codhes.org>  
Council on Foreign Relations, <https://www.cfr.org>  
*Daily Telegraph* (London)  
*Daily Times* (Farmington, New Mexico)  
*Diario Oficial de la Federación* (Mexico City)  
Ecopetrol, <https://www.ecopetrol.com.co>  
EFE News Service  
*El Paso Times*  
*El Sol de Texas* (Dallas)  
*El Tiempo* (Bogotá)  
Energia.com, <https://www.energia.com/>  
Energy Information Administration International Energy Statistics, <https://www.eia.gov/beta/international>  
Energy-pedia News, <https://www.energy-pedia.com>  
Engineering and Technology History Wiki, <https://ethw.org>  
*Excelsior* (Mexico City)  
*E&P Magazine*, [www.epmag.com](http://www.epmag.com)  
*Financial Times* (London)  
*Folha de S. Paulo* (São Paulo)  
*Gaceta Oficial* (Venezuela)  
Global Mining Standards and Guidelines Group, <https://gmgroup.org>  
*Globe and Mail* (Toronto)  
*Houston Chronicle*  
Inflation.eu, <https://www.inflation.eu>  
International Council on Mining and Metals, <https://www.icmm.com>  
*La Jornada* (Mexico City)  
*Live Trading News*, <https://www.livetradingnews.com>  
*Los Angeles Times*  
*Maclean's*  
*Mexidata.info*  
*Milenio* (Mexico City)  
*New York Times*  
*O Estado de São Paulo*  
*Oil and Gas Journal*  
*Oil and Gas Online*, <https://www.oilandgasonline.com>  
*Oil News* (London)  
Oilprice.com, <https://oilprice.com>

*Petroleum Economist*  
*Platt's Oilgram Price Service* (New York)  
PoundSterling Live, <https://www.poundsterlinglive.com>  
*Regeneración* (Mexico City)  
*Return to Now*, <https://returntonow.net>  
Reuters  
*Renewable Energy World*, <https://www.renewableenergyworld.com>  
Royal Dutch Company, *Annual Report*, 1907–1936  
Society of Exploration Geophysicists Wiki, <https://wiki.seg.org>  
SourceMex, Latin America Digital Beat (formerly Latin America Data Base), University of New Mexico, [https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/sourcemex\\_pub/](https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/sourcemex_pub/)  
Shell Trading and Transport Company, *Annual Report*, 1907–1935  
Skinner, Walter R., *Oil & Petroleum Manual*, London  
Survival International, <https://www.survivalinternational.org>  
*Time* (magazine)  
*Times* (London)  
*Toronto Star*  
UN Comtrade Database, <https://comtrade.un.org>  
United Nations Global Compact, <https://www.unglobalcompact.org/about>  
*Valor Econômico* (São Paulo)  
*Wall Street Journal* (New York)  
*Washington Post*  
*Western Profile*, <https://seg.org/Publications/Journals/Western-Profile>  
World Bank Open Data, <https://data.worldbank.org/>  
*World Oil*

## SECONDARY AND PRINTED PRIMARY SOURCES

- Adria, Marco. *Technology and Nationalism*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010.
- Afonso, José Roberto Rodrigues, and Sérgio Wulff Gobetti. "Rendas de petróleo no Brasil: Alguns aspectos fiscais e federativos." *Revista do BNDDES* 15, no. 30 (2008): 231–69.
- Alberta Geological Survey. *Geological Atlas of the Western Canada Sedimentary Basin*. Edmonton: Canadian Society of Petroleum Geologists-Alberta Research Council, 1994.
- Allen, Robert. *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Allitt, Patrick. *A Climate of Crisis: America in the Age of Environmentalism*. New York: Penguin, 2014.

- Almeida, Mansueto, Renato Lima de Oliveira, and Ben Ross Schneider. "Política industrial e empresas estatais no Brasil: BNDES e Petrobras." Text for discussion TD2013. Brasília: IPEA, 2014.
- Almeida, Paulo Roberto de. "Monteiro Lobato e a emergência da política do petróleo no Brasil." In *Potência Brasil: Gás natural, energia limpa para um futuro sustentável*, edited by Omar L. de Barros Filho and Sylvia Bojunga, 12–33. Porto Alegre, BR: Laser Press, 2008.
- Altmeyer, George. "Three Ideas of Nature in Canada, 1893–1914." In *Consuming Canada: Readings in Environmental History*, edited by Chad Gaffield and Pam Gaffield, 96–118. Toronto: Copp Clark, 1995.
- Álvarez de la Borda, Joel. *Los orígenes de la industria petrolera en México, 1900–1925*. Mexico City: Archivo Histórico de Petróleos Mexicanos, 2005.
- Alveal Contreras, Edelmira del Carmen. *Os desbravadores: A Petrobrás e a construção do Brasil industrial*. Rio de Janeiro: Relume Dumará-ANPOCS, 1993.
- American Association of Petroleum Geologists. "Digital Revolutionaries: Technical Advances Reverberated through the Industry." In *AAPG Explorer—A Century*. Tulsa, OK: American Association of Petroleum Geologists, 2000.
- Amsden, Alice. "Diffusion of Development: The Late-Industrializing Model and Greater East Asia." *American Economic Review* 81, no. 2 (May 1991): 282–6.
- Anastakis, Dimitry. "Multilateralism, Nationalism and Bilateral Free Trade: Competing Visions of Canadian Economic and Trade Policy, 1945–70." In *Creating Postwar Canada: Community, Diversity, and Dissent, 1945–75*, edited by Magda Fahrni and Robert Rutherford, 137–61. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008.
- Archila Neira, Mauricio, and Mauricio Pardo, eds. *Movimientos sociales, Estado y democracia en Colombia*. Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia-Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia, 2001.
- Armstrong, Christopher, and H. V. Nelles. *Monopoly's Moment: The Organization and Regulation of Canadian Utilities, 1830–1930*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986.
- Atabaki, Elisabetta Bini, and Kaveh Ehsani, eds. *Working for Oil: Comparative Social Histories of Labour in the Global Oil Industry*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.
- Baer, Werner. *The Brazilian Economy: Growth and Development*. 4th ed. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1995.
- Bakke, Gretchen. *The Grid: The Fraying Wires between Americans and Our Energy Future*. New York: Bloomsbury USA, 2016.
- Bamberg, James. *British Petroleum and Global Oil, 1950–1975: The Challenge of Nationalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Barr, John J. "The Impact of Oil on Alberta: Retrospect and Prospect." In *The Making of the Modern West: Western Canada since 1945*, edited by A. W. Rasporich, 97–103. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1984.
- Barrera, Mariano. "Subexploración y sobreexplotación: La lógica de acumulación del sector hidrocarburífero en Argentina." *Apuntes para el cambio*, no. 2 (March–April 2012): 19–35.

- Barrera, Mariano, Ignacio Sabbatella, and Esteban Serrani. *Historia de una privatización: Cómo y por qué se perdió YPF*. Buenos Aires: Capital Intelectual, 2012.
- Barton, D. C. "Petroleum Potentialities of Gulf Coast Petroleum Province of Texas and Louisiana." *Bulletin of the American Association of Petroleum Geologists* 14, no. 1 (1930): 1380j.
- Beaubouef, Bruce. "Seismic Survey Contractors Hoping for Turnaround." *Offshore* 78, no. 3 (March 2018). <https://www.offshore-mag.com/articles/print/volume-78/issue-3/seismic-survey-market-outlook/seismic-survey-contractors-hoping-for-turnaround.html>.
- Bebbington, Anthony, ed. *Social Conflict, Economic Development and the Extractive Industry: Evidence from South America*. London: Routledge, 2012.
- Bebbington, Anthony, and Jeffrey Bury, eds. *Subterranean Struggles: New Dynamics of Mining, Oil, and Gas in Latin America*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2013.
- Beck, Gregory G., and Bruce Littlejohn. *Voices for the Watershed: Environmental Issues in the Great Lakes–St. Lawrence Drainage Basin*. Montreal: McGill–Queen's University Press, 2000.
- Bednar, J. Bee. "A Brief History of Seismic Migration." *Geophysics* 70, no. 3 (May–June 2005): 3MJ–20MJ.
- Behrends, Andrea, Stephen P. Reyna, and Günther Schlee, eds. *Crude Domination: An Anthropology of Oil*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2011.
- Benton, Allyson Lucinda. "Political Institutions, Hydrocarbons Resources and Economic Policy Divergence in Latin America." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, 28–31 August 2008.
- Bercovici, Gilberto. *Direito econômico do petróleo e dos recursos minerais*. São Paulo: Editora Quartier Latin do Brasil, 2011.
- Berrios, Rubén, Andrae Marak, and Scott Morgenstern. "Explaining Hydrocarbon Nationalization in Latin America: Economics and Political Ideology." *Review of International Political Economy* 18, no. 5 (2010): 673–97.
- Bértola, Luis. "Bolivia (Estado Plurinacional de), Chile y Perú desde la Independencia: Una historia de conflictos, transformaciones, inercias y desigualdad." In *Institucionalidad y Desarrollo en América Latina*, edited by Luis Bértola and Pablo Gerchunoff, 221–85. Santiago: CEPAL, 2011.
- Betancourt, Rómulo. *Venezuela's Oil*. Translated by Donald Peck. London: Allen & Unwin, 1978.
- Binnema, Theodore. "Making Way for Canadian Oil: United States Policy, 1947–1959." *Alberta History* 45, no. 3 (1997): 15–23.
- Biro, Andrew. "Half-Empty or Half-Full? Water Politics and the Canadian National Imaginary." In *Eau Canada: The Future of Canada's Water*, edited by Karen Bakker. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007.
- Blades, Bryan W. "Production, Politics, and Pre-salt: Transitioning to a PSC Regime in Brazil." *Texas Journal of Oil, Gas and Energy Law* 7, no. 1 (2011): 31–57.
- Bliss, Michael. *Northern Enterprise: Five Centuries of Canadian Business*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1987.

- Bohórquez Montoya, Juan Pablo. *Concepciones políticas en la Constitución de 1991*. Medellín: Cooimpresos, 2001.
- Bohórquez Montoya, Juan Pablo, and Dermot O'Connor. "Indígenas y territorios para los proyectos minero-energéticos en Colombia." *Revista Javeriana—Economía* 151, no. 813 (April 2015): 62–71.
- . "Movimientos sociales rurales colombianos: De la resistencia a una cultura política alternativa en un mundo transnacional." *Suma de negocios* 3, no. 1 (2012): 65–87.
- Bothwell, Robert, Ian Drummond, and John English. *Canada since 1945*. Rev. ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.
- Boué, Juan Carlos. *Venezuela: The Political Economy of Oil*. Oxford: Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, 1993.
- Bower, Shannon Stunden. *Wet Prairie: People, Land, and Water in Agricultural Manitoba*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011.
- Bowser, Sarah. "The Planner's Part." *Canadian Architect* 3, no. 2 (February 1958): 38–40.
- Braga, Luciana, and Alexandre S. Szklo. "The Recent Regulatory Changes in Brazilian Petroleum Exploration and Exploitation Activities." *Journal of World Energy Law and Business* 7, no. 2 (2014): 120–39.
- Brantly, J. E. *History of Oil Well Drilling*. Houston: Gulf Publishing, 1971.
- Brazil. Agência Nacional de Petróleo. *Anuário Estatístico*. Rio de Janeiro: Agência Nacional de Petróleo, various years.
- . "Constituição da República Federativa do Brasil," 5 October 1988. <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Constitutions/Brazil/brazil88.html>.
- . Congresso Nacional. "Coleção das Leis e Decretos." Rio de Janeiro/Brasília: Imprensa Nacional, various dates.
- . Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística and Conselho Nacional de Estatística. *Anuário estatístico do Brasil*. Brasília: Imprensa Nacional, various years.
- . Ministério das Minas e Energia. "Novo Marco Regulatório: Pré-sal e áreas estratégicas." Rio de Janeiro, 2009.
- Breen, David H. *Alberta's Petroleum Industry and the Conservation Board*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1993.
- Bremmer, Ian, and Robert Johnston. "The Rise and Fall of Resource Nationalism." *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy* 51, no. 2 (2009) 149–58.
- Bresser-Pereira, Luiz Carlos. "Taxa de câmbio, doença holandesa, e industrialização." Paper presented at Seminário patrocinado por FGV Projetos e pela Escola de Economia de São Paulo da Fundação Getúlio Vargas, São Paulo, March 2010.
- British Petroleum. *Statistical Review of World Energy*. London: British Petroleum, various years.
- Broitman, Claudio, and Pablo Kreimer. "Knowledge Production, Mobilization and Standardization in Chile's HidroAysén Case." *Minerva* 56, no. 2 (2018): 209–29.
- Brossard, Emma. *Petroleum Research and Venezuela's INTEVEP: The Clash of the Giants*. Houston: PennWell Books/INTEVEP, 1993.
- Browitt, Jeff. "Capital Punishment: The Fragmentation of Colombia and the Crisis of the Nation-State." *Third World Quarterly* 22, no. 6 (2001): 1063–78.

- Brown, David. "Wide Azimuths Combat Salt 'Blur': Resolution Undergoing Revolution." *AAPG Explorer* 29, no. 3 (March 2008): 16–18.
- Bulmer-Thomas, Victor. *The Economic History of Latin America since Independence*. 3rd ed. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Bunker, Stephen G. "The Poverty of Resource Extraction." In *New Directions in the Sociology of Global Development*, edited by Frederick H. Buttel and Philip McMichael, 211–26. Amsterdam: Elsevier JAI, 2005.
- Calleja, Gonzalo. "La política energética del gobierno de Alfonsín (II)." *Realidad Económica*, no. 214 (2005): 105–28.
- Camp, Michael. *Unnatural Resources: Energy and Environmental Politics in Appalachia after the 1973 Oil Embargo*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2019.
- Campbell-Kelly, Martin, and William Aspray. *Computer: A History of the Information Machine*. New York: Basic Books, 1996.
- Canada. Bank of Canada, "Selected Historical Interest Rates, 1935–." [https://www.bankofcanada.ca/wp-content/uploads/2010/09/selected\\_historical\\_v122530.pdf](https://www.bankofcanada.ca/wp-content/uploads/2010/09/selected_historical_v122530.pdf).
- . Department of Energy, Mines and Resources (DEMR). *An Energy Strategy for Canada: Policies for Self-Reliance*. Ottawa: Energy, Mines and Resources Canada, 1976.
- . *National Energy Program 1980*. Ottawa: Energy, Mines and Resources Canada, 1980.
- . *National Energy Program Update 1982*. Ottawa: Energy, Mines and Resources Canada, 1982.
- . Privy Council Office. *Royal Commission on Energy: Second Report*. Ottawa: Privy Council Office, 1959.
- . Statistics Canada. "G227-243 Foreign Direct Investment in Canada All Countries and by Major Areas, By Industry, Selected Year Ends, 1926–1974." [https://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/section/G227\\_243b-eng.csv](https://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/section/G227_243b-eng.csv).
- Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers. *Statistical Handbook for Canada's Upstream Petroleum Industry*. Calgary: CAPP, 2020. [https://www.capp.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/Statistical-Handbook-2019-Data\\_357106.pdf](https://www.capp.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/Statistical-Handbook-2019-Data_357106.pdf).
- . "Annual Statistical Review." Calgary: CAPP, various years.
- Carignan, Richard. "Dynamiques écologiques/Ecosystem Dynamics, Panel: Rivières & Fleuves/Rivers." Paper presented to the Positionner le Québec dans l'histoire environnementale mondiale/Positioning Quebec in Global Environmental History conference, Montreal, 3 September 2005.
- Carmignani, Fabrizio. "Development Outcomes, Resource Abundance, and the Transmission through Inequality." *Resource and Energy Economics* 35, no. 3 (2013): 412–28.
- Carvalho, Getúlio. *Petrobras: Do monopólio aos contratos de risco*. Rio de Janeiro: Forense-Universitária, 1977.
- Caselli, Francesco, and Guy Michaels. "Do Oil Windfalls Improve Living Standards? Evidence from Brazil." Working paper, London School of Economics, 2012.

- Castellani, Ana, and Esteban Serrani. "La persistencia de los ámbitos privilegiados de acumulación en la economía argentina. El caso del mercado de hidrocarburos entre 1977 y 1999." *H-Industri@* 4, no. 2 (January–June 2010): 2–31.
- Castonguay, Stephane, and Darin Kinsey. "The Nature of the Liberal Order: State Formation, Conservation, and the Government of Non-humans in Canada." In *Liberalism and Hegemony: Debating the Canadian Liberal Revolution*, edited by Jean-Francois Constant and Michel Ducharme, 221–45. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.
- Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular (CINEP). *Sistema de Información General*. Bogotá: Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular, 2003.
- Cepek, Michael. *Life in Oil: Cofán Survival in the Petroleum Fields of Amazonia*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018.
- Cerda Toro, Hernán. "Evolución de la inversión pública en infraestructuras productivas, 1853–2010." In *Chile y América en su historia económica*, edited by César Yáñez, 179–94. Valparaíso: Asociación Chilena de Historia Económica/Universidad de Valparaíso, 2013.
- . "Inversión Pública, infraestructuras y crecimiento económico chileno, 1853–2010." PhD diss., Universidad de Barcelona, 2013.
- Chastko, Paul. *Developing Alberta's Oil Sands: From Karl Clark to Kyoto*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004.
- Chile. Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile. "Informe: Comparación de precios de electricidad en Chile y países de la OCDE y América Latina." 6 November 2017. <http://bcn.cl/13vae>.
- . Corporación de Fomento de la Producción. *Fomento de la Producción de Energía Eléctrica*. Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1939.
- . *Geografía Económica de Chile*. Vol. 3. Santiago: Talleres Gráficos La Nación, 1962.
- Christy, Jamie C. "Somos Petroleros: Mexican Petroleum Workers' Challenge to the El Águila Oil Company, 1900–1938." PhD diss., University of Houston, 2011.
- Cisneros-Lavaller, Alberto. "Latin American Geopolitics vs. Energy Patterns: Ideology, Energy Production Sustainability, and U.S. Security." *Journal of Energy and Development* 32, no. 1 (2007): 23–44.
- Claerbout, Jon F. "Coarse Grid Calculations of Waves in Inhomogeneous Media with Application to Delineation of Complicated Seismic Structure." *Geophysics* 35, no. 3 (1970): 407–18.
- . "Toward a Unified Theory of Reflector Mapping." *Geophysics* 36, no. 3 (1971): 467–81.
- Clark, Timothy David. "Reclaiming Karl Polanyi, Socialist Intellectual." *Studies in Political Economy* 94, no. 1 (2015): 61–84.
- Clark, Timothy David, and Liisa North. "Mining in Latin America: Lessons from the Past, Issues for the Future." In *Community Rights and Corporate Social Responsibility: Canadian Mining Companies in Latin America*, edited by Liisa North, Timothy David Clark, and Viviana Patroni, 1–17. Toronto: Between the Lines Press, 2006.

- Clayton, Blake. "The Case for Allowing U.S. Crude Oil Exports." Policy Innovation Memorandum No. 34, Council on Foreign Relations, 8 July 2013.
- Coatsworth, John. "Structures, Endowments, and Institutions in the Economic History of Latin America." *Latin American Research Review* 40, no. 3 (2005): 126–44.
- Cohn, Julie A. *The Grid: Biography of an American Technology*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2017.
- Colombia. Banco de la República. "Inversión extranjera directa en Colombia." <http://www.banrep.gov.co/es/inversion-directa>.
- . Departamento Nacional de Planeación. *Plan Nacional de Desarrollo 2010–2014: Prosperidad para Todos. Más empleo, menos pobreza y más seguridad*. Vol. 1. Bogotá: Departamento Nacional de Planeación, 2011.
- . *Plan Nacional de Desarrollo 2014–2018: Todos por un nuevo país. Paz, equidad y educación (Ley 200 de 2015)*. Bogotá: Departamento Nacional de Planeación, 2015.
- . Unidad para la Atención y Reparación Integral a las Víctimas. "Registro Único de Víctimas." <https://www.unidadvictimas.gov.co/es/registro-unico-de-victimas-ruv/37394>.
- Corbo, Vittorio ed. *Growth Opportunities for Chile*. Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 2014.
- Coronil, Fernando. *The Magical State: Nature, Money, and Modernity in Venezuela*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Costa, Hirdan Katarina de Medeiros, and Edmilson dos Santos. "Institutional Analysis and the 'Resource Curse' in Developing Countries." *Energy Policy*, no. 63 (2013): 788–95.
- Cote, Stephen C. *Oil and Nation: A History of Bolivia's Petroleum Sector*. Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2016.
- Cumbre Agraria. *Pliego de exigencias: Mandatos para el buen-vivir, la democracia y la paz*. Bogotá: Cumbre Agraria, 2014.
- Cupertino, Fausto. *Os contratos de risco e a Petrobrás: O petróleo é nosso e o risco deles?* Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1976.
- Dabène, Olivier. *La région Amérique Latine: Interdépendance et changement politique*. Paris: Presses de Science Po, 1997.
- Dahm, C. G. and R. J. Graebner. "Field Development with Three-Dimensional Seismic Methods in the Gulf of Thailand—A Case History." *Geophysics* 47, no. 2 (February 1982): 149–76.
- Delgado, Elvin. "Spaces of Socio-ecological Distress: Fossil Fuels, Solar Salt, and Fishing Communities in Lake Maracaibo, Venezuela." PhD diss., Syracuse University, 2012.
- Deonandan, Kalowatie, and Michael L. Dougherty, eds. *Mining in Latin America: Critical Approaches to the New Extraction*. London: Routledge, 2016.
- Desbiens, Caroline. *Power from the North: Territory, Identity, and the Culture of Hydro-electricity in Quebec*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014.
- Deterding, Sir Henri. *An International Oilman*. London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson, 1934.



- Dias, José Luciano de Mattos, and Maria Ana Quaglino. *A questão do petróleo no Brasil: Uma história da Petrobrás*. Rio de Janeiro: CPDOC/SERINST Fundação Getúlio Vargas/Petrobras, 1993.
- Di Bella, Gabriel, Lawrence Norton, Joseph Ntamungiro, Sumiko Ogawa, Issouf Samaké, and Marika Santoro. “Energy Subsidies in Latin America and the Caribbean: Stocktaking and Policy Challenges.” IMF Working Paper WP/15/30, International Monetary Fund, Washington, DC, 2015.
- Diebold, William, Jr. “Oil Import Quotas and ‘Equal Treatment.’” *American Economic Review* 30, no. 3 (1940): 569–73.
- Doern, G. Bruce, ed. *How Ottawa Spends: The Liberals, the Opposition, and Federal Priorities, 1983*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1983.
- Doern, G. Bruce, and Glen B. Toner. *The Politics of Energy: The Development and Implementation of the NEP*. Toronto: Methuen, 1985.
- Dondurur, Derman. *Acquisition and Processing of Marine Seismic Data*. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2018.
- Drinot, Paulo, and Alan Knight, eds. *The Great Depression in Latin America*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014.
- Dunning, Thad. *Crude Democracy: Natural Resource Wealth and Political Regimes*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Earle, Rebecca. *Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810–1930*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007.
- Eayrs, James. *The Art of the Possible: Government and Foreign Policy in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961.
- Ellsworth, Chris, and Eric Gibbs. *Brazil’s Natural Gas Industry: Missed Opportunities on the Road to Liberalizing Markets*. Houston: Baker Institute for Public Policy, Rice University, 2004.
- English, John. *Just Watch Me: The Life of Pierre Elliott Trudeau, 1968–2000*. Toronto: Knopf Canada, 2009.
- Ernst & Young. *Global Oil and Gas Tax Guide 2014*. London: EY, 2014.
- Evans, Paul. *Dependent Development: The Alliance of Multinational, State, and Local Capital in Brazil*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979.
- Evenden, Matthew. *Allied Power: Mobilizing Hydro-Electricity during Canada’s Second World War*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015.
- . *Fish versus Power: An Environmental History of the Fraser River*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Farnsworth, Eric. *Energy Security Opportunities in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Washington, DC: Council of the Americas, 2013.
- Ferreira, Antônio Luís de Miranda. “Problemas e inconsistências jurídicas de novo marco regulatório: A ótica dos princípios constitucionais da livre iniciativa, da economia de mercado e do direito comercial.” In *Petróleo: Reforma e contrarreforma do setor petrolífero brasileiro*, edited by Fabio Giambiagi and Luiz Paulo Vellozo Lucas, 179–99. Rio de Janeiro: Elsevier, 2013.
- The Financial Post Survey of Oils, 1949*. Montreal: Maclean-Hunter Publishing, 1949.

- Finch, David. *Pumped: Everyone's Guide to the Oil Patch*. Calgary: Fifth House, 2008.
- Finkel, Alvin. *The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989.
- Fishlow, Albert. "Lessons from the Past: Capital Markets during the Nineteenth Century and the Interwar Period." *International Organizations* 39, no. 3 (1985): 381–439.
- Folchi Donoso, Mauricio. "La insustentabilidad de la industria del cobre en Chile. Los hornos y los bosques durante el siglo XIX." *Revista Mapocho*, no. 49 (2001): 149–75.
- Fort McKay First Nation. *Moose Lake: Home and Refuge*. Online documentary, 20:49. 20 August 2013. <https://vimeo.com/72715280>.
- Foster, Peter. *Other People's Money: The Banks, the Government and Dome*. Toronto: Collins, 1983.
- . *The Sorcerer's Apprentices: Canada's Superbureaucrats and the Energy Mess*. Toronto: Collins, 1982.
- Foxley, Alejandro. *La trampa del ingreso medio. El desafío de esta década para América Latina*. Santiago: Cieplan, 2012.
- Francis, R. Douglas. *The Technological Imperative in Canada: An Intellectual History*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009.
- Franko, Patrice. *The Puzzle of Latin American Economic Development*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007.
- Freire, William. *Comentários ao Código de Mineração*. Rio de Janeiro: Aide Editora/ Comércio de Livros, 1995.
- French-Davis, Ricardo, Óscar Muñoz Gomá, José Miguel Benavente, and Gustavo Crespi. "La industrialización chilena durante el proteccionismo (1940–1982)." In *Industrialización y Estado en la América Latina. La leyenda negra de la posguerra*, edited by Enrique Cárdenas, José Antonio Ocampo, and Rosemary Thorp, 159–209. Mexico City: El Trimestre Económico/Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2003.
- Frieden, Jeffrey A. *Global Capitalism: Its Fall and Rise in the Twentieth Century*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2006.
- Froschauer, Karl. *White Gold: Hydroelectric Power in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999.
- Fundação Getúlio Vargas, Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil. "Memória do setor petrolífero no Brasil: A história da Petrobras." In *Interviews undertaken for Dias & Quaglino, A questão do petróleo no Brasil: Uma história da Petrobras*. Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 1987–8. <http://cpdoc.fgv.br/acervo/historiaoral/entrevistas>.
- Gadano, Nicolás, and Federico Sturzenegger. "La privatización de reservas en el sector hidrocarburífero. El caso de Argentina." *Revista de Análisis Económico* 13, no. 1 (June 1998): 75–115.
- Gallagher, J. P. *Proposals for a More Prosperous Canada: Excerpts from an Address to the Canadian Society of New York, January 18, 1979*. New York: Dome Petroleum, 1979.
- Gama Coutinho, Edna Maria B., Antonio Claret Silva Gomes, Eliada A. S. Teixeira Faria, and Heloísa Helena de Oliveira Fernandes. "O que mudou na indústria

- do petróleo?" *Informe Infra-estructura: Área de proyectos de infra-estructura*, no. 29 (December 1998): 1–7.
- García, Fabio, and Pablo Garcés. *La industrialización del petróleo en América Latina y el Caribe*. Quito: Organización Latinoamericana de Energía, 2013.
- García-Durán, Mauricio. *Movimiento por la paz en Colombia 1978–2003*. Bogotá: UNDP/CINEP/COLCIENCIAS, 2006.
- Garrido Lepe, Martín. "El consumo de carbón en Chile, 1933 a 1960." In *Chile y América en su historia económica*, edited by César Yáñez, 329–452. Valparaíso: Asociación Chilena de Historia Económica/Universidad de Valparaíso, 2013.
- Gattinger, Monica. "Canada-United States Energy Relations: From Domestic to North American Energy Policies." In *Policy: From Ideas to Implementation, in Honour of Professor G. Bruce Doern*, edited by Glen Toner, Leslie A. Pal, and Michael J. Prince, 207–31. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2010.
- Gettig, Eric T. "Oil and Revolution in Cuba: Development, Nationalism, and the U.S. Energy Empire, 1902–1961." PhD diss., Georgetown University, 2017.
- Gibb, George Sweet, and Evelyn H. Knowlton. *The Resurgent Years, 1911–1927*. Vol. 2 of *History of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey)*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956.
- Gill, Stephen. "Constitutionalizing Inequality and the Clash of Globalizations." *International Studies Review* 4, no. 3 (2002): 47–65.
- Gobetti, Sérgio Wulff. *Federalismo fiscal e petróleo no Brasil e no mundo*. Texto para discussão #1669. Brasília: Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada, 2011.
- Goodermote, Dean, and Richard B. Mancke. "Nationalizing Oil in the 1970s." *Energy Journal* 4, no. 4 (October 1983): 67–80.
- Gordon, Todd, and Jeffrey Webber. "Imperialism and Resistance: Canadian Mining Companies in Latin America." *Third World Quarterly* 29, no. 1 (2008): 63–87.
- Gow, Sandy. *Roughnecks, Rock Bits, and Rigs: The Evolution of Oil Well Drilling Technology in Alberta, 1883–1970*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006.
- Graebner, R. J., G. Steel, and C. B. Wason. "Evolution of Seismic Technology into the 1980s, Pt. 1." *Australian Petroleum Exploration Association (APEA) Journal*, no. 20 (1980): 110–20.
- Grauer, A. E. D. "The Export of Electricity from Canada." In *Canadian Issues: Essays in Honour of Henry F. Angus*, edited by R. M. Clark, 248–85. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961.
- Gray, Earle. *The Great Canadian Oil Patch*. 2nd ed. Toronto: June Warren Publishing, 2005.
- Grueso Castelblanco, Libia Rosario. *El derecho de las comunidades afrocolombianas a la consulta previa, libre e informada*. Bogotá: Oficina del Alto Comisionado de las Naciones Unidas para los Derechos Humanos Colombia, 2010.
- Haarstad, Håvad, ed. *New Political Spaces in Latin American Natural Resource Governance*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Hall, Linda B. *Alvaro Obregón: Power and Revolution in Mexico, 1911–1920*. College Station: Texas A&M Press, 1981.

- . *Oil, Banks, and Politics: The United States and Postrevolutionary Mexico, 1917–1924*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995.
- Hargrove, Erwin C. *Prisoners of Myth: The Leadership of the Tennessee Valley Authority, 1933–1990*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Hart, Michael. *A Trading Nation: Canadian Trade Policy from Colonialism to Globalization*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003.
- Harvey, David. *The Limits to Capital*. New York: Verso, 2006.
- . “The New Imperialism: Accumulation by Dispossession.” *Socialist Register*, no. 40 (2004): 63–87.
- Haselip, James, and Clive Potter. “Post-neoliberal Electricity Market ‘Re-reforms’ in Argentina: Diverging from Market Prescriptions?” *Energy Policy* 38, no. 2 (2010): 1168–76.
- Hays, Samuel P. *Beauty, Health, and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955–1985*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Heasley, Lynne, and Daniel Macfarlane, eds. *Border Flows: A Century of the Canadian-American Water Relationship*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2016.
- Herrera Canales, Inés. “Trabajadores y técnicas mineras andinas en las fiebres del oro del mundo en el siglo XIX.” *Nuevo Mundo/Mundos Nuevos* (Online, 10 March 2015). <https://doi.org/10.4000/nuevomundo.67746>.
- Hidy, Ralph W., and Muriel Hidy. *Pioneering in Big Business, 1882–1911*. Vol. 1 of *History of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey)*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955.
- Hillmer Nornan, and J. L. Granatstein. *Empire to Umpire: Canada and the World to the 1990s*. Toronto: Copp-Clark Longman, 1994.
- Hindery, Derrick. *From Enron to Evo: Pipeline Politics, Global Environmentalism, and Indigenous Rights in Bolivia*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2013.
- Hirt, Paul. *The Wired Northwest: The History of Electric Power, 1870s–1970s*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2012.
- Hotelling, Harold. “The Economics of Exhaustible Resources.” *Journal of Political Economy* 39, no. 2 (1931): 137–75.
- House, J. D. “The Social organization of Multinational Corporations: Canadian Subsidiaries in the Oil Industry.” *Canadian Review of Social Anthropology* 14, no. 1 (January 1977): 1–14.
- Howarth, Stephen, and Joost Jonker, *Powering the Hydrocarbon Revolution, 1939–1973*. Vol. 2 of *A History of Royal Dutch Shell*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Huber, Matthew T. *Lifeblood: Oil, Freedom, and the Forces of Capital*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013.
- Hughes, Thomas Park. *Networks of Power: Electrification in Western Society, 1880–1930*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.
- Idárraga Franco, Andrés, Diego Andrés Muñoz Casallas, and Hildebrando Vélez Galeano. *Conflictos socio-ambientales por la extracción minera en Colombia: Caso de la inversión británica*. Bogotá: CENSAT Agua Viva/Amigos de la Tierra Colombia, 2010.

- International Association of Geophysical Contractors. "Industry at a Crossroads: A Message from the Geophysical Industry." *Leading Edge* 22, no. 3 (January 2003): 14–17.
- International Energy Agency. *World Energy Outlook*. Paris: IEA, various years.
- Jack, Marian. "The Purchase of the British Government's Shares in the British Petroleum Company, 1912–1914." *Past & Present*, no. 39 (April 1968): 139–69.
- Jackson, John N., with John Burtniak and Gregory P. Stein. *The Mighty Niagara. One River—Two Frontiers*. Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2003.
- Jacobs, Meg. *Panic at the Pump: The Energy Crisis and the Transformation of American Politics in the 1970s*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2016.
- Jones, Christopher F. *Routes of Power: Energy and Modern America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014.
- Jordan, Dale. "Evolution of Alberta's Petroleum and Natural Gas Land Regulations." *Journal of Canadian Petroleum Technology* 20, no. 2 (1981): 101–3.
- Karl, Terry Lynn. *The Paradox of Plenty: Oil Booms and Petro-States*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Kenny, James L., and Andrew G. Secord. "Engineering Modernity: Hydroelectric Development in New Brunswick, 1945–1970." *Acadiensis* 39, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 2010): 3–26.
- Kerr, Aubrey. *Leduc*. Altona, AB: Friesen Printers, 1991.
- . *Redwater*. Winnipeg: Kromar Printing, 1994.
- Klotz, J. A. "Geophysical Exploration Methods." *Journal of Petroleum Technology* 4, no. 6 (June 1952): 20–1.
- Knight, Oliver. "Oil: Canada's New Wealth." *Business History Review* 30, no. 3 (1956): 297–328.
- Kobrin, Stephen. "Foreign Enterprise and Forced Divestment in LDCs." *International Organization* 34, no. 1 (1980): 65–88.
- Kohler, Larry. "Canadian/American Oil Diplomacy: The Adjustment of Conflicting National Oil Policies, 1955–1973." PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1983.
- Kozulj, Roberto. *Balance de la privatización de la industria petrolera en Argentina y su impacto sobre las inversiones y la competencia en los mercados minoristas*. Santiago: CEPAL, 2002.
- . *The Quest for Energy Security in Argentina*. Winnipeg: International Institute for Sustainable Development, 2010.
- Kozulj, Roberto, and Víctor Bravo. *La política de desregulación petrolera argentina. Antecedentes e impactos*. Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina, 1993.
- Larson, Henrietta M., Evelyn H. Knowlton, and Charles S. Pople. *New Horizons, 1927–1950*. Vol. 3 of *History of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey)*. New York: Harper and Row, 1971.
- Larson, Henrietta M., and Kenneth Wiggins Porter. *History of Humble Oil & Refining Company: A Study in Industrial Growth*. New York: Harper, 1959.

- Lawyer, L. C., Charles C. Bates and Robert B. Rice. *Geophysics in the Affairs of Mankind: A Personalized History of Exploration Geophysics*. Tulsa, OK: Society of Exploration Geophysicists, 2001.
- Lazzarini, Sérgio G., and Aldo Musacchio. *Reinventing State Capitalism: Leviathan in Business, Brazil and Beyond*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014.
- Leopoldi, Maria Antonieta P. “O difícil caminho do meio: Estado, burguesia e industrialização no segundo governo Vargas (1951–1954).” In *Vargas e a crise dos anos 50*, edited by Angela de Castro Gomes, 161–203. Rio de Janeiro: Relume Dumaná, 1994.
- Lieuwen, Edwin. *Petroleum in Venezuela: A History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954.
- Lima, Paulo César Ribeiro. *Pré-Sal: O novo marco legal e a capitalização da Petrobras*. Rio de Janeiro: Synergia Editora, 2011.
- Lloyd-Jones, Chester. “Oil in the Caribbean and Elsewhere.” *North American Review* 202, no. 719 (October 1915): 536–43.
- Loo, Tina. “High Modernism, Conflict, and the Nature of Change in Canada.” *Canadian Historical Review* 97, no. 1 (Spring 2016): 34–58.
- . “People in the Way: Modernity, Environment, and Society on the Arrow Lakes,” *BC Studies* 142–3 (Summer/Autumn 2004): 169–71.
- Loo, Tina, and Meg Stanley. “An Environmental History of Progress: Damming the Peace and Columbia Rivers.” *Canadian Historical Review* 92, no. 3 (September 2011): 399–427.
- “Looking Ahead in Marine and Land Geophysics—A Conversation with Woody Nestvold and Ian Jack.” *Leading Edge* 14, no. 10 (October 1995): 1061–7.
- Lora, Eduardo. “Structural Reforms in Latin America: What Has Been Reformed and How to Measure It.” Working Paper No. 466, Inter-American Development Bank, Washington, DC, 2001.
- Luby, Brittany. “From Milk-Medicine to Public (Re)Education Programs: An Examination of Anishinabek Mothers’ Responses to Hydro-Electric Flooding in the Treaty #3 District, 1900–1975.” *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 32, no. 2 (2015): 363–89.
- Luong, Pauline Jones, and Erika Weinthal. *Oil Is Not a Curse: Ownership Structure and Institutions in Soviet Successor States*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- MacEachen, Alan. “The Budget.” Ottawa: Department of Finance, 28 June 1982. [http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection\\_2016/fin/F1-23-3-1982-eng.pdf](http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2016/fin/F1-23-3-1982-eng.pdf).
- MacFadyen, Alan, and G. Campbell Watkins. *Petropolitics: Petroleum Development, Markets and Regulations, Alberta as an Illustrative History*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2014.
- MacFadyen, Joshua. “Hewers of Wood: A History of Wood Energy in Canada.” In *Powering Up Canada: The History of Power, Fuel, and Energy from 1600*, edited by R. W. Sandwell, 129–61. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2016.
- Macfarlane, Daniel. “Dam the Consequences: Hydropolitics, Nationalism, and the Niagara–St. Lawrence Projects.” In *Border Flows: A Century of the Canadian-*

- American Water Relationship*, edited by Lynne Heasley and Daniel Macfarlane, 123–50. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2016.
- . *Fixing Niagara Falls: Environment, Energy, and Engineers at the World’s Most Famous Waterfall*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2020.
- . “Natural Security: Canada-US Environmental Diplomacy.” In *Undiplomatic History: The New Study of Canada and the World*, edited by Asa McKercher and Philip Van Huizen, 107–36. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2019.
- . *Negotiating a River: Canada, the US, and the Creation of the St. Lawrence Seaway*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014.
- Macfarlane, Daniel, and Peter Kitay. “Hydraulic Imperialism: Hydro-electric Development and Treaty 9 in the Abitibi Region.” *American Review of Canadian Studies* 46, no. 3 (2016): 380–97.
- Macfarlane, Daniel, and Andrew Watson. “Hydro Democracy: Water Power and Political Power in Ontario,” *Scientia Canadensis* 40, no. 1 (2018): 1–18.
- Macpherson, C. B. “The Meaning of Property.” In *Property, Mainstream and Critical Positions*, edited by C. B. Macpherson, 1–13. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978.
- Maia, Fernanda Fernandes, Denise Cunha Tavares Terra, and Ludmila Gonçalves da Matta. “O nova sistema de partilha dos royalties do petróleo: Avaliando o debate na mídia.” *Petróleo Royalties & Região* 12, no. 45 (2014): 4–7.
- Malm, Andreas. *Fossil Capital: The Rise of Steam Power and the Roots of Global Warming*. New York: Verso, 2016.
- Mann, Charles C., and Mark L. Plummer. *Noah’s Choice: The Future of Endangered Species*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995.
- Mann, Michael. “¿Ha terminado la globalización con el imparable ascenso del Estado nacional?” *Zona Abierta*, nos. 92–3 (2000): 175–212.
- Manore, Jean. “Rivers as Text: From Pre-modern to Post-modern Understandings of Development, Technology and the Environment in Canada and Abroad.” In *A History of Water*. Vol. 3, *The World of Water*, edited by Terje Tvedt and Eva Jakobsson, 229–53. London: I. B. Tauris, 2006.
- Mares, David. *The Geopolitics of Natural Gas: Political Economy of Shale Gas in Argentina*. Houston: Baker Institute for Public Policy, Rice University, 2013.
- . *Oil Policy Reform in Resource Nationalist States: Lessons from Mexico*. Houston: Baker Institute for Public Policy, Rice University, 2011.
- . *Resource Nationalism and Energy Security in Latin America*. Houston: Baker Institute for Public Policy, Rice University, 2010.
- . “Sector energético latinoamericano: Integración a todo gas.” *Contrapunto* (Mexico City) (April–June 2006): 90–6.
- Marinho, Ilmar Penna, Jr. *Petróleo: Política e poder—um novo choque do petróleo?* Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio Editora, 1989.
- Martin-Nielsen, Janet. “South over the Wires: Hydroelectricity Exports from Canada, 1900–1925.” *Water History* 1, no. 2 (2009): 109–29.

- Matus, Mario. *Crecimiento sin desarrollo. Precios y salarios reales durante el Ciclo Salitrero en Chile (1880–1930)*. Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 2012.
- Mau, Mark, and Henry Edmundson. *Groundbreakers: The Story of Oilfield Technology and the People Who Made It Happen*. Peterborough, UK: Fast-Print Publishing, 2015.
- Mayne, W. Harry. *50 Years of Geophysical Ideas*. Tulsa, OK: SEG, 1989.
- Mayorga-Alba, Eleodoro. “Revisiting Energy Policies in Latin America and Africa: A Redefinition of the Private and Public Sector Roles.” *Energy Policy* 20, no. 10 (1992): 995–1004.
- Mazabel Pineda, Katherin Andrea, and Constanza Flores Ruiz. “Nociones y repercusiones de las políticas públicas relacionadas con la naturaleza en Colombia.” *Revista Pluriverso*, no. 7 (2016): 79–93.
- McBeth, Brian S. *British Oil Policy, 1919–1939*. London: Frank Cass & Co., 1985.
- . *Dictatorship & Politics: Intrigue, Betrayal, and Survival in Venezuela, 1908–1935*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008.
- . *Juan Vicente Gómez and the Oil Companies in Venezuela, 1908–1935*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- McDougall, John N. *Fuels and the National Policy*. Toronto: Butterworths, 1982.
- McGreevy, Patrick. *Imagining Niagara: The Meaning and Making of Niagara Falls*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994.
- . *The Wall of Mirrors: Nationalism and Perceptions of the Border at Niagara Falls*. Orono, ME: Canadian-American Center, University of Maine, 1991.
- McKay, Ian. “The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for a Reconnaissance of Canadian History.” *Canadian Historical Review* 81, no. 4 (2000): 617–45.
- McMahon, Robert J., William F. Sanford, and Sherrill B. Wells, eds. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955–1957*. Vol. 10, *Foreign Aid and Economic Defense Policy*. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1989.
- McNally, Robert. *Crude Volatility: The History and Future of Boom-Bust Oil Prices*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2017.
- McNeish, John-Andrew, Axel Borchgrevnik, and Owen Logan, eds. *Contested Powers: The Politics of Energy and Development in Latin America*. London: Zed Books, 2015.
- McRae, Robert N. “A Survey of Canadian Energy Policy, 1974–1983.” *Energy Journal* 6, no. 4 (1985): 49–64.
- Melgarejo Moreno, Joaquín, M<sup>a</sup> Immaculada López Ortiz, and Borja Montaña Sanz. “From Privatisation to Nationalisation: Repsol-YPF, 1999–2012.” *Utilities Policy*, no. 26 (2013): 45–55.
- Meller, Patricio. *Un siglo de economía política chilena (1890–1990)*. Santiago: Editorial Andrés Bello, 1996.
- Melo, Jorge Orlando. “The Drug Trade, Politics and the Economy: The Colombian Experience.” In *Latin America and the Multinational Drug Trade*, edited by Elizabeth Joyce and Carlos Malamud, 63–96. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998.
- Miranda, Maria Augusta Tibiriçá. *O petróleo é nosso: A luta contra o “entreguismo,” pelo monopólio estatal, 1947–1953, 1953–1981*. Petrópolis, BR: Vozes, 1983.



- Mitchell, Timothy. *Carbon Democracy: Political Power in the Age of Oil*. New York: Verso, 2011.
- Molburg, J. C., J. A. Kavicky, and K. C. Picel. *The Design, Construction, and Operation of Long-Distance High Voltage Electricity Transmission Technologies*. Lemont, IL: Argonne National Laboratory, 2007.
- Monaldi, Fernando. *Is Resource Nationalism Fading in Latin America? The Case of the Oil Industry*. Houston: Baker Institute for Public Policy, Rice University, 2014.
- Montamat, Daniel. *La energía argentina. Otra víctima del desarrollo ausente*. Buenos Aires: Editorial El Ateneo, 2005.
- Montenegro Lancheros, Hernán Camilo. “Ampliaciones y quiebres del reconocimiento político del campesinado colombiano: Un análisis a la luz de la Cumbre Agraria, Campesina, Étnica y Popular (Cacep).” *Revista Colombiana de Antropología* 52, no. 1 (2016): 169–95.
- Montero Ferreira, Rafael Alfonso. “Los pueblos indígenas de Colombia y su inmersión en el proceso censal.” *Revista de la Información Básica* 1, no. 1 (2006): 70–82.
- Morales, Isidro. *The Twilight of Mexico’s State Oil Monopolism: Policy, Economic and Political Trends in Mexico’s Natural Gas Industry*. Houston: Baker Institute for Public Policy, Rice University, 2013.
- Moran, Theodore. *Multinational Corporations: The Political Economy of Foreign Direct Investment*. New York: Lexington Books, 1985.
- Murchison, Kenneth M. *The Snail Darter Case: TVA versus the Endangered Species Act*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007.
- Murton, James. *Creating a Modern Countryside: Liberalism and Land Resettlement in British Columbia*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007.
- Nash, Gerald D. *United States Oil Policy, 1890–1964: Business and Government in Twentieth-Century America*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1968.
- National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls. *A Legal Analysis of Genocide: Supplementary Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls*. Ottawa: National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019. [https://www.mmiwg-ffada.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Supplementary-Report\\_Genocide.pdf](https://www.mmiwg-ffada.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Supplementary-Report_Genocide.pdf).
- . *Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls*. Ottawa: National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019. <https://www.mmiwg-ffada.ca/final-report>.
- Nelles, H. V. *The Politics of Development: Forests, Mines and Hydro-Electric Power in Ontario, 1849–1941*. 2nd ed. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2005.
- Nelson, Kerry, Michael DeJesus, Alex Chakhmakhchev, and Melissa Manning. “Deepwater Operators Look to New Frontiers.” *Offshore* 73, no. 5 (May 2013). <https://www.offshore-mag.com/articles/print/volume-73/issue-5/international-report/deepwater-operators-look-to-new-frontiers.html>.
- Nemeth, Tammy Lynn. “Canada-U.S. Oil and Gas Relations 1958 to 1974.” PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 2007.

- . “Pat Carney and the Dismantling of the National Energy Program.” MA thesis, University of Alberta, 1997.
- Ngoasong, Michael Zisuh. “How International Oil and Gas Companies Respond to Local Content Policies in Petroleum-Producing Developing Countries: A Narrative Enquiry.” *Energy Policy*, no. 73 (2014): 471–9.
- Nickle, Carl. “Western Canada’s Oil and Gas: Part of Canada’s Progress, and North America’s Security.” Address to Society of Petroleum Engineers Annual Meeting, San Francisco, 16 February 1959. In Paul Chastko’s possession.
- Noggle, Burl. *Teapot Dome: Oil and Politics in the 1920s*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1962.
- Norrie, Kenneth H. “A Regional Economic Overview of the West since 1945.” In *The Making of the Modern West: Western Canada since 1945*, edited by A. W. Rasporich, 63–78. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1984.
- Norrie, Kenneth, Douglas Owsram, and J. C. Herbert Emery. *A History of the Canadian Economy*. 4th ed. Toronto: Nelson, 2008.
- Nye, David E. *American Technological Sublime*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996.
- . *Electrifying America: Social Meanings of a New Technology, 1880–1940*. New ed. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992.
- O’Connor, Dermot, and Juan Pablo Bohórquez Montoya. “Neoliberal Transformation in Colombia’s Goldfields: Development Strategy or Capitalist Imperialism?” *Labour, Capital and Society/Travail, capital et société* 43, no. 2 (2010): 85–118.
- Oddone da Costa, Décio Fabrício, Renato Sanches Rodrigues, and Álvaro Felipe Negrão. “The Evolution of Deepwater Drilling in Brazil.” Paper Presented at the Society of Petroleum Engineers Latin American Petroleum Engineering Conference, Rio de Janeiro, October 14–19, 1990.
- O’Keefe, Hsu Yuet Heung. *A crise do petróleo e a economia brasileira*. São Paulo: Instituto de Pesquisas Econômicas, 1984.
- Oliveira, Adilson de. *Energy Security in South America: The Role of Brazil*. Winnipeg: International Institute for Sustainable Development, 2010.
- Olsson, Tore C. *Agrarian Crossings: Reformers and the Remaking of the US and Mexican Countryside*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017.
- Organización Nacional Indígena de Colombia. “Política minero energética del país.” Paper presented at the Cumbre Agraria: Campesina, étnica y popular, en el marco de la negociación del pliego único, exactamente del punto sobre minería, Bogotá, March 2014.
- Ortega Martínez, Luis. *Chile en ruta al capitalismo. Cambio, euforia y depresión 1850–1880*. Santiago: DIBAM-LOM/Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana, 2006.
- Owen, Edgar Wesley. *Trek of the Oil Finders: A History of Exploration for Petroleum*. Tulsa, OK: American Association of Petroleum Geologists, 1975.
- Owsram, Doug. “1951: Oil’s Magic Wand.” In *Alberta Formed: Alberta Transformed*. Vol. 2, edited by Michael Payne, Donald Wetherell, and Catherine Cavanaugh, 567–86. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006.

- Palermo, Hernán. *Cadenas de oro negro en el esplendor y ocaso de YPF*. Buenos Aires: Antropofagia, 2012.
- Para, Francisco. *Oil Politics: A Modern History of Petroleum*. London: I. B. Taurus, 2003.
- Paz Antolín, María José, and Juan Manuel Ramírez Cendrero. "How Important Are National Companies for Oil and Gas Sector Performance? Lessons from the Bolivia and Brazil Case Studies." *Energy Policy*, no. 61 (2013): 707–16.
- Paz, José. "Oil and Development in Brazil: Between an Extractive and an Industrialization Strategy." *Energy Policy*, no. 73 (2014): 501–11.
- Pearce, Scott. "Tackling Corporate Complicity: Canadian Oil Investment in Colombia." In *Community Rights and Corporate Social Responsibility: Canadian Mining Companies in Latin America*, edited by Liisa North, Timothy David Clark, and Viviana Patroni, 160–80. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006.
- Perlgut, Mark. *Electricity across the Border: The U.S.-Canadian Experience*. New York: C. D. Howe Research Institute, 1978.
- Perron, Dominique. "'On est Hydro-Québécois': Consommateur, producteur ou citoyen? Analyse de la nationalisation symbolique d'Hydro-Québec." *Globe: Revue internationale d'études québécoises* 6, no. 2 (2003): 73–97.
- Petersen, Shannon. *Acting for Endangered Species: The Statutory Ark*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2002.
- Petras, James, and Henry Veltmeyer. *Social Movements and State Power: Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Ecuador*. London: Pluto Press, 2005.
- Petrobras. "Relatório Anual/Annual Report." Rio de Janeiro: Petrobras, various years. <http://www.investidorpetrobras.com.br>.
- Phillips, Sarah T. *This Land, This Nation: Conservation, Rural America, and the New Deal*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Pinheiro, Armando Castelar, and Fabio Giambiagi. "The Macroeconomic Background and Institutional Framework of Brazilian Privatization." Paper presented at the conference Privatization in Brazil: The Case of Public Utilities, Rio de Janeiro, April 1999.
- Pinheiro, Ricardo Pinto. *Abastecimento nacional de combustíveis no ambiente de flexibilização do monopólio de petróleo*. Rio de Janeiro: Ministério de Minas e Energia, 1996.
- Pinho, Cláudio A. *Pré-sal: História, doutrina e comentários às leis*. Belo Horizonte: Editora Legal, 2010.
- Pires, Adriano, and Rafael Schechtman. "Os resultados da reforma: uma estratégia vencedora." In *Petróleo: Reforma e contrarreforma do setor petrolífero brasileiro*, edited by Fabio Giambiagi and Luiz Paulo Vellozo Lucas, 81–103. Rio de Janeiro: Elsevier, 2013.
- Pires, Paulo Valois. *A evolução do monopólio estatal do petróleo*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Lumen Juris, 2000.
- Pirtle, Caleb III. *Engineering the World: Stories from the First 75 Years of Texas Instruments*. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 2005.

- Plater, Zygmunt J. B. *The Snail Darter and the Dam: How Pork-Barrel Politics Endangered a Little Fish and Killed a River*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013.
- Platt, Harold L. *The Electric City: Energy and the Growth of the Chicago Area, 1880–1930*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Plourde, André. “The Changing Nature of National and Continental Energy Markets.” In *Canadian Energy Policy and the Struggle for Sustainable Development*, edited by G. Bruce Doern, 51–82. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005.
- Polanyi, Karl. *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2001.
- Pollock, David, and Grant Manuge. “The Mulroneo Doctrine.” *International Perspectives* (January/February 1985): 5–8.
- Pomeranz, Kenneth. *The Great Divergence: Europe, China, and the Making of the Modern World Economy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Pratt, Joseph A. “Exxon and the Control of Oil.” *Journal of American History* 99, no. 1 (2012): 145–54.
- Pratt, Joseph A., with William E. Hale. *Exxon: Transforming Energy, 1973–2005*. Austin: Dolph Briscoe Center for American History/University of Texas Press, 2013.
- Priest, Tyler. “Extraction Not Creation: The History of Offshore Petroleum in the Gulf of Mexico.” *Enterprise & Society* 8, no. 2 (June 2007): 227–67.
- . “Hubbert’s Peak: The Great Debate Over the End of Oil.” *Historical Studies in the Natural Sciences* 44, no. 1 (February 2014): 37–79.
- . *The Offshore Imperative: Shell Oil’s Search for Petroleum in Postwar America*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2007.
- . “Petrobras in the History of Offshore Oil.” In *New Order and Progress: Development and Democracy in Brazil*, edited by Ben Ross Schneider, 53–77. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Pritchard, Sara B. *Confluence: The Nature of Technology and the Remaking of the Rhône*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011.
- Pritchard, Sara B., and Thomas Zeller. “The Nature of Industrialization.” In *The Illusory Boundary: Environment and Technology in History*, edited by Stephen H. Cutcliffe and Martin Reuss, 69–100. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010.
- Proceedings of the United States-Mexican Commission Convened in Mexico City, May 14, 1923*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1925.
- Proffitt, Jack M. “A History of Innovation in Marine Seismic Data Acquisition.” *Geophysics: The Leading Edge of Exploration* 10, no. 3 (March 1991): 24–30.
- Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo. *Informe Nacional de Desarrollo Humano 2011. Colombia rural. Razones para la esperanza*. Bogotá: PNUD, 2011.
- Proubasta, Delores. “Henry Salvatori.” *Geophysics: The Leading Edge of Exploration* 2, no. 8 (August 1983): 14–22.
- Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Jimmy Carter: 1979*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1979.
- Quintas, Humberto, and Luiz Cezar P. Quintans. *A história do petróleo no Brasil e no mundo*. Rio de Janeiro: IBP/Freitas Bastos Editora, 2009.

- Quintans, Luiz Cezar P. *Contratos de petróleo: Concessão e partilha—propostas e leis para o pré-sal*. Rio de Janeiro: Benício Biz/IBP, 2011.
- . *Direito do petróleo: Conteúdo local—a evolução do modelo de contrato e o conteúdo local nas atividades de E&P no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: IBP/Freitas Bastos Editora, 2011.
- Raibmon, Paige. *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005.
- Ramírez Cuéllar, Francisco. *The Profits of Extermination: How US Corporate Power Is Destroying Colombia*. Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 2005.
- Randall, Laura. *The Political Economy of Brazilian Oil*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993.
- Randall, Stephen J. *United States Foreign Oil Policy since World War I: For Profits and Security*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005.
- Reyes Posada, Alejandro. *Guerreros y campesinos: El despojo de la tierra en Colombia*. Bogotá: Norma, 2009.
- Reynolds, F. and Robert H. Ray. "Binary-Gain Recording and Processing." *AAPG Bulletin* 51, no. 5 (May 1967): 814.
- Riordan, Michael, and Lillian Hoddeson. *Crystal Fire: The Birth of the Information Age*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1997.
- Robinson, Enders A. "Geophysical Exploration: Past and Future." *Leading Edge* 25, no. 1 (January 2006): 96–99.
- . "The MIT Geophysical Analysis Group (GAG) from Inception to 1954." *Geophysics* 70, no. 4 (July–August 2005): 7JA–30JA.
- Rodríguez Weber, Javier. *Desarrollo y desigualdad en Chile (1850–2009). Historia de su economía política*. Santiago: Centro de Investigaciones Barros Arana/DIBAM, 2017.
- . "La economía política de la desigualdad del ingreso en Chile, 1850–2009." PhD diss., Universidad de la República (Uruguay), 2014.
- . "De Manuel Montt a Michelle Bachelet. 160 años de distribución del ingreso en Chile." In *Chile y América en su historia económica*, edited by César Yáñez, 455–73. Valparaíso: Asociación Chilena de Historia Económica/Universidad de Valparaíso, 2013.
- Rodríguez, José Santiago. *Informes ante el Tribunal de Primera Instancia en lo Civil del Distrito Federal en representación de la compañía inglesa 'The Venezuelan Oil Concessions Limited' en el juicio promovido contra ella y contra el señor Antonio Aranguren por el señor Lorenzo Mercado y sentencia recaída en el asunto*. Caracas: Lit. y Tip. del Comercio, 1916.
- . *Informes leídos ante la Corte Superior del Distrito Federal en representación de la compañía inglesa 'The Venezuelan Oil Concessions Ltd.' en el juicio seguido contra ellos y contra el señor Antonio Aranguren por el señor Lorenzo Mercado y sentencia recaída en el asunto*. Caracas: Lit y Tip, del Comercio, 1917.
- Rodríguez, Luis Ernesto. "Are the Characteristics of the New Colombian Mining Code Sufficiently Competitive in Attracting Investment to the Mineral Sector?" *Minerals & Energy* 19, no. 1 (2004): 32–43.

- Rodríguez Garavito, César A., and Luis Carlos Arenas. "Derechos indígenas, activismo transnacional y movilización legal: La lucha del pueblo U'wa en Colombia." In *El derecho y la globalización desde abajo: Hacia una legalidad cosmopolita*, edited by Boaventura de Sousa Santos and César A. Rodríguez Garavito; translated by Carlos Morales de Setién Ravina, 217–39. Barcelona: Anthropos/UAM Cuajimalpa, 2007.
- Rodriguez, Karyna, Neil Hodgson, and Richie Miller. "Hydrocarbon Prospectivity in Brazil." *GeoExpro* 15, no. 3 (2018). <https://www.geoexpro.com/articles/2018/08/hydrocarbon-prospectivity-in-brazil>.
- Ross, Michael L. *The Oil Curse: How Petroleum Wealth Shapes the Development of Nations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012.
- Rubio, María del Mar, César Yáñez, Mauricio Folchi, and Albert Carreras. "Energy as an Indicator of Modernization in Latin America, 1890–1925." *Economic History Review* 63, no. 3 (2010): 769–804.
- Ruiz Caro, Ariela. *La seguridad energética de América Latina y el Caribe en el contexto mundial*. Santiago: CEPAL, 2007.
- Runte, Alfred. "Beyond the Spectacular: The Niagara Falls Preservation Campaign." *New York Historical Society Quarterly*, no. 57 (January 1973): 30–50.
- Sabbatella, Ignacio. "La política petrolera de la posconvertibilidad: De la herencia neoliberal a la expropiación de YPF." *Argumentos*, no. 14 (January–June 2012): 149–80.
- Sabbatella, Ignacio, and Esteban Serrani. "A 20 años de la privatización de YPF. Balance y perspectivas." *Voces en el Fénix* 2, no. 10 (July–December 2011): 7–15.
- Sachs, Jeffrey D., and Andrew M. Warner. "Natural Resource Abundance and Economic Growth." NBER Working Paper No. 5398, National Bureau of Economic Research, Cambridge, MA, December 1995.
- Sáenz, Aarón. *La política internacional de la Revolución: Estudios y documentos*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1961.
- Salazar-Carrillo, Jorge, and Bernadette West. *Oil and Development in Venezuela during the 20th Century*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004.
- Sampson, Anthony. *The Seven Sisters: The Great Oil Companies and the World They Shaped*. New York: Viking Press, 1975.
- Sandwell, R. W. *Canada's Rural Majority: Households, Environments, and Economies, 1870–1940*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016.
- . "Mapping Fuel Use in Canada: Exploring the Social History of Canadians' Great Fuel Transformation." In *Historical GIS in Canada*, edited by Jennifer Bonnell and Marcel Fortin, 239–70. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2014.
- . "Pedagogies of the Unimpressed: Re-educating Ontario Women for the Modern Energy Regime, 1900–1940." *Ontario History* 107, no. 1 (Spring 2015): 36–59.
- . "People, Place and Power: Rural Electrification in Canada, 1890–1950." In *Transforming the Countryside: The Electrification of Rural Britain*, edited by Paul Brassley, Jeremy Burchardt, and Karen Sayer, 178–204. New York: Routledge, 2017.
- , ed. *Powering Up Canada: The History of Power, Fuel, and Energy from 1600*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016.

- Santiago, Myrna I. *The Ecology of Oil: Environment, Labor, and the Mexican Revolution, 1900–1938*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Sarbu, Bianca. *Ownership and Control of Oil: Explaining Policy Choices across Producing Countries*. London: Routledge, 2014.
- Sawyer, Suzana. *Crude Chronicles: Indigenous Politics, Multinational Oil, and Neoliberalism in Ecuador*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004.
- Scaff, Fernando Facury. “Impasses regulatórios do pré-sal e o plano de negócios da Petrobras.” *Petróleo Royalties & Região* 12, no. 46 (2014): 6–7.
- Schneider, William A. “3-D Seismic: A Historical Note.” *Leading Edge* 17, no. 3 (March 1998): 375–80.
- Schneiderman, David. “Constitutional Approaches to Privatization: An Inquiry into the Magnitude of Neo-liberal Constitutionalism.” *Law and Contemporary Problems* 63, no. 4 (2000): 83–109.
- Schurr, Sam H., and Bruce C. Netchert. *Energy in the American Economy, 1850–1922*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1960.
- Scott, James C. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998.
- “Seismic Technology: Evolution of a Vital Tool for Reservoir Engineers.” *Journal of Petroleum Technology* 51, no. 2 (February 1999): 22–8.
- Serrani, Esteban. “América Latina y su política petrolera frente a las últimas tendencias internacionales. Perspectivas regionales a partir del análisis de Brasil y Argentina.” *Foro Internacional* 53, no. 1 (January–March 2013): 182–213.
- . “Estado, empresarios y acumulación de privilegio. Análisis de la industria petrolera argentina, 1988–2008.” PhD diss., Universidad de Buenos Aires, 2012.
- Shever, Elana. *Resources for Reform: Oil and Neoliberalism in Argentina*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012.
- Shrivastava, Meenal, and Lorna Stefanick, eds. *Alberta Oil and the Decline of Democracy in Canada*. Edmonton: Athabasca University Press, 2015.
- Shrock, Robert R. *A Cooperative Plan in Geophysical Education: The GSI Student Cooperative Plan, the First Fifteen Summers, 1951–1965*. Dallas: Geophysical Service, 1966.
- Sickles, Robin C., Patrik Hultberg, Fernando Orozco Ruiz, and Joya Mukerjee. *Convergence, Regulatory Distortions, Deregulatory Dynamics and Growth Experiences of the Latin American and Brazilian Economies*. Houston: Baker Institute for Public Policy, Rice University, 2004.
- Singh, Jewellord Tolentino Nem. “Towards Post-neoliberal Resource Politics? The International Political Economy of Oil and Copper in Brazil and Chile.” *New Political Economy* 19, no. 3 (2014): 329–58.
- Smil, Vaclav. *Creating the Twentieth Century: Technical Innovations of 1876–1914 and Their Lasting Impact*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- . *Energías. Una guía ilustrada de la biósfera y la civilización*. Translated by Ignacio Zúñiga. Barcelona: Crítica, 2001.

- . *Energy at the Crossroads: Global Perspectives and Uncertainties*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003.
- . *Energy in Nature and Society. General Energetics of Complex Systems*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008.
- . *Energy in World History*. Boulder, CA: Westview Press, 1994.
- . *Energy Transitions: Global and National Perspectives*. 2nd ed. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2017.
- Smith, Benjamin B. *Hard Times in the Lands of Plenty: Oil Politics in Iran and Indonesia*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007.
- Smith, Mark. “The Seismic Digital Revolution.” Unpublished manuscript provided by Smith to Tyler Priest.
- Smith, Peter Seaborn. *Oil and Politics in Modern Brazil*. Toronto: MacMillan, 1976.
- . “Petrobrás: The Politicizing of a State Company, 1953–1964.” *Business History Review* 46, no. 2 (1972): 183–201.
- Smith, Sherry, and Brian Frehner, eds. *Indians and Energy: Exploitation and Opportunity in the American Southwest*. Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press, 2010.
- Solberg, Carl E. *Oil and Nationalism in Argentina*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1979.
- Solnick, Steven Lee. *Stealing the State: Control and Collapse in Soviet Institutions*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998.
- Souza, Amaury de, and Carlos Pereira. “A flexibilização do monopólio do petróleo no contexto das reformas dos anos 1990.” In *Petróleo: Reforma e contrarreforma do setor petrolífero brasileiro*, edited by Fabio Giambiagi and Luiz Paulo Vellozo Lucas, 39–54. Rio de Janeiro: Elsevier, 2013.
- Sroule-Jones, Mark, Carolyn Johns, and B. Timothy Heinmiller, eds., *Canadian Water Politics: Conflicts and Institutions*. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2008.
- Stairs, Denis. “Architects or Engineers? The Conservatives and Foreign Policy.” In *Diplomatic Departures: The Conservative Era in Canadian Foreign Policy, 1984–1993*, edited by Nelson Michaud and Kim Richard Nossal, 25–42. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2001.
- Stevens, Paul. “National Oil Companies and International Oil Companies in the Middle East: Under the Shadow of Government and the Resource Nationalism Cycle.” *Journal of World Energy Law and Business* 1, no. 1 (2008): 5–30.
- Stevens, Paul, and Evelyn Dietsche. “Resource Curse: An Analysis of Causes, Experiences and Possible Ways Forward.” *Energy Policy* 36, no. 1 (2008): 56–65.
- Stokes, Peter. “St. Lawrence, a Criticism.” *Canadian Architect* 3, no. 2 (February 1958): 43–8.
- Strand, Ginger. *Inventing Niagara: Beauty, Power, and Lies*. Toronto: Simon & Schuster, 2008.



- Stuven, Ana María. *La seducción de un orden. Las elites y la construcción de Chile en las polémicas culturales y políticas del siglo XIX*. Santiago: Ediciones de la Universidad Católica de Chile, 2000.
- Sweet, George Elliott. *The History of Geophysical Prospecting*. Los Angeles: Science Press, 1966.
- Távora, Juez. "O Código de Minas e o desenvolvimento da mineração no Brasil." *Geologia e Metallurgia*, no. 14 (1956): 156–67.
- Taylor, Graham. "From Branch Operation to Integrated Subsidiary: The Reorganization of Imperial Oil under Walter Teagle, 1911–1917." *Business History* 34, no. 3 (1992): 49–67.
- Thompson, John Herd, and Stephen J. Randall. *Canada and the United States: Ambivalent Allies*. 4th ed. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008.
- Thorp, Rosemary. *Progress, Poverty and Exclusion: An Economic History of Latin America*. Washington, DC: Inter-American Development Bank, 1998.
- Tinker Salas, Miguel. *The Enduring Legacy: Oil, Culture, and Society in Venezuela*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009.
- Tissot, Richard. "Latin America's Energy Future." Discussion Paper IDB-DP-252, Inter-American Development Bank, Washington, DC, 2012.
- Toner, Glen, Leslie A. Pal, and Michael J. Prince, eds. *Policy: From Ideas to Implementation, in Honour of Professor G. Bruce Doern*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010.
- Trebat, Thomas J. *Brazil's State-Owned Enterprises: A Case Study of the State as Entrepreneur*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Trim, Henry. "Planning for the Future: The Conserver Society and Canadian Sustainability." *The Canadian Historical Review* 96, no. 3 (September 2015): 375–404.
- Triner, Gail D. "From Regulatory State to Entrepreneurial State? Brazilian Political Economy in the Wake of Privatization." Conference paper, XVIII World Economic History Congress, Cambridge, MA, 1 August 2018.
- . *Mining and the State in Brazilian Development*. London: Pickering and Chatto, 2011.
- . "Regulatory Regimes for Petroleum Production in Brazil." In *The Political Economy of Resource Regulation: An International and Comparative History, 1850–2015*, edited by Andreas R. D. Sanders, Pål Thonstad Sandvik, and Espen Storli. Vancouver: UBC Press, forthcoming.
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*. Winnipeg: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015. [http://www.trc.ca/assets/pdf/Honouring\\_the\\_Truth\\_Reconciling\\_for\\_the\\_Future\\_July\\_23\\_2015.pdf](http://www.trc.ca/assets/pdf/Honouring_the_Truth_Reconciling_for_the_Future_July_23_2015.pdf).
- Unger, Richard W., and John Thistle. *Energy Consumption in Canada in the 19th and 20th Centuries: A Statistical Outline, Series on Energy Consumption*. Naples: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, Istituto di Studi sulle Società del Mediterraneo, 2013.

- United Nations Statistical Office. *International Trade Statistics Yearbook*. New York: United Nations, various years.
- United States. Congressional Research Service. "Cross-Border Energy Trade in North America: Present and Potential." EveryCRSReport.com, 30 January 2017. [https://www.everycrsreport.com/reports/R44747.html#\\_Toc473645486](https://www.everycrsreport.com/reports/R44747.html#_Toc473645486).
- . Department of the Interior. Bureau of Ocean Energy Management. Gulf of Mexico OCS Region. Office of Resource Evaluation. *Deepwater Gulf of Mexico December 31, 2014*. OCS Report BOEM 2016-057, New Orleans, August 2016.
- . Department of the Interior. Minerals Management Service. *History of the Offshore Oil and Gas Industry in Southern Louisiana*. 6 Vols. OCS Study MMS 2008-042, New Orleans, September 2008. <https://www.boem.gov/epis>.
- . House of Representatives. "Production Costs of Crude Petroleum and of Refined Petroleum Products." House Document No. 195, 72 Cong. 1 Sess., Washington, DC, 1932.
- . Tennessee Valley Authority. *Environmental Statement: Tellico Project*. Chattanooga, TN: TVA Office of Health and Environmental Science, 1972.
- Urrea-Giraldo, Fernando. "La población afrodescendiente en Colombia." Paper presented at the Seminario Internacional. Pueblos indígenas y afrodescendientes de América Latina y el Caribe: Relevancia y pertinencia de la información sociodemográfica para políticas y programas, CEPAL, Santiago, 2005. <http://www.cepal.org/mujer/noticias/noticias/5/27905/FUrrea.pdf>.
- Vargas, Getúlio. "Discurso em Leopoldina, Minas, 24 Outubro 1939." In *A política nacionalista do petróleo no Brasil*, 54–5. Rio de Janeiro: Tempo Brasileiro, 1964.
- Vellozo Lucas, Luiz Paulo. "A derrota de um modelo de sucesso." In *Petróleo: Reforma e contrarreforma do setor petrolífero brasileiro*, edited by Fabio Giambiagi and Luiz Paulo Vellozo Lucas, 125–52. Rio de Janeiro: Elsevier, 2013.
- Venezuela. *Recopilación de leyes y decretos de Venezuela*. Vol. 36. Caracas: Imprenta Bolívar, 1913.
- . *Recopilación de leyes y decretos de Venezuela*. Vol. 38. Caracas: Imprenta Bolívar, 1915.
- . Distrito Federal, Juzgado de la Primera Instancia en lo Civil. *Juicio seguido por Lorenzo Mercado contra Antonio Aranguren y la Compañía Venezuelan Oil Concessions Limited. Informes de los Doctores L. Herrera Mendoza y F. Arroyo Parejo en Primera y Segundas Instancias*. Caracas: Empresa El Cojo, 1916.
- . Ministerio de Minas e Hidrocarburos. *Petróleo y otros datos estadísticos, 1964*. Caracas: Central de Evaluaciones, 1964.
- Verma, Rajni K. *Offshore Seismic Exploration: Data Acquisition, Processing, Interpretation*. Houston: Gulf Publishing, 1986.
- Vernon, Raymond. *Sovereignty at Bay: The Multinational Spread of U.S. Enterprises*. New York: Basic Books, 1971.
- Vietor, Richard H. K. *Energy Policy in America since 1945: A Study of Business-Government Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

- Vitz, Matthew. "‘To Save the Forests’: Power, Narrative, and Environment in Mexico City’s Cooking Fuel Transition." *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 31, no. 1 (Winter 2015): 125–55.
- Wade, Robert. *El mercado dirigido: A teoría económica y la función del gobierno en la industrialización del este de Asia*. Translated by Mónica Utrilla de Neira. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1999.
- Wall, Bennett H. *Growth in a Changing Environment: A History of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), Exxon Corporation, 1950–1975*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1988.
- Walton, G. G. "Three-Dimensional Seismic Method." *Geophysics* 37, no. 3 (June 1972): 417–30.
- Ward, Halina. "Resource Nationalism and Sustainable Development: A Primer and Key Issues." Working paper, International Institute for Environment and Development, London, 2009.
- Waterhouse, Benjamin C. *Lobbying America: The Politics of Business from Nixon to NAFTA*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014.
- Weintraub, Sidney, ed. *Energy Cooperation in the Western Hemisphere: Benefits and Impediments*. Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2007.
- Weitzner, Viviane. *Holding Extractive Companies to Account in Colombia: An Evaluation of CSR Instruments through the Lens of Indigenous and Afro-Descendant Rights*. Ottawa: North-South Institute/Proceso de Comunidades Negras/Resguardo Indígena Cañamomo Lomaprieta, 2012.
- Weyland, Kurt. "Neopopulism and Neoliberalism in Latin America: Unexpected Affinities." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 31, no. 3 (1996): 3–31.
- Wheeler, William Bruce, and Michael McDonald. *TVA and the Tellico Dam, 1936–1979: A Bureaucratic Crisis in Post-industrial America*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986.
- White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815*. 20th anniv. ed. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Whitham, W. B. "Les investissements américains et les origines de l’industrie pétrolière canadienne." *Actualité économique* 44, no. 4 (January/March 1969): 689–710.
- Wilentz, Sean. *The Age of Reagan: A History, 1974–2008*. New York: HarperCollins, 2008.
- Wilson, Jeffrey. "Resource Powers? Minerals, Energy and the Rise of the BRICS." *Third World Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (2015): 223–39.
- . "Understanding Resource Nationalism: Economic Dynamics and Political Institutions." *Contemporary Politics* 21, no. 4 (2015): 399–416.
- Williams, Peggy. "Deep Water Delivers." *Oil & Gas Investor* 26, no. 5 (May 2006): 32.
- Williamson, Jeffrey G. *Trade and Poverty: When the Third World Fell Behind*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011.
- World Bank. *World Development Report 1987*. New York: World Bank/Oxford University Press, 1987.

- Worster, Donald. "Wild, Tame, and Free: Comparing Canadian and U.S. Views of Nature." In *Parallel Destinies: Canadian American Relations West of the Rockies*, edited by John M. Findlay and Kenneth S. Coates, 246–75. Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 2002.
- Wrigley, Edward A. *Continuity, Chance and Change: The Character of the Industrial Revolution in England*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- . *Energy and the English Industrial Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- . *The Path to Sustained Growth: England's Transition from an Organic Economy to an Industrial Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Yáñez, César. "Economic Modernization in Adverse Institutional Environments: The Cases of Cuba and Chile." In *The Economies of Latin America: New Cliometric Data*, edited by César Yáñez and Albert Carreras, 105–17. London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012.
- . "El tercer ciclo del carbón en Chile de 1973 a 2013: Del climaterio al rejuvenecimiento." *América Latina en la historia económica* 24, no. 3 (September–December 2017): 224–58.
- Yáñez, César, and Albert Carreras, eds. *The Economies of Latin America: New Cliometric Data*. London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012.
- Yáñez, César, and Martín Garrido Lepe. "El consumo de carbón en Chile entre 1933–1960. Transición energética y cambio estructural." *Revista Uruguaya de Historia Económica* 5, no. 8 (2015): 76–95.
- Yáñez, César, and José Jofré. "Modernización económica y consumo energético en Chile, 1844–1930." *Historia* 396 1, no. 1 (2011): 127–56.
- Yáñez, César, María del Mar Rubio, José Jofré, and Albert Carreras. "El consumo aparente de carbón mineral en América Latina, 1841–2000. Una historia de progreso y frustración." *Revista de Historia Industrial* 53, no. 21 (2013): 25–77.
- Yáñez, Juan Carlos. *La intervención social en Chile, 1907–1932*. Santiago: RIL Editores, 2008.
- Yergin, Daniel. *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money and Power*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992.
- Young, Kevin A. *Blood of the Earth: Resource Nationalism, Revolution, and Empire in Bolivia*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017.
- . "From Open Door to Nationalization: Oil and Development Visions in Bolivia, 1952–1969." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 97, no. 1 (2017): 95–129.
- YPF. *Memoria de YPF 1993*. Buenos Aires: Library of the Ministry of Economy, 1994.
- Zeiler, Thomas W. "Opening Doors in the World Economy." In *Global Interdependence: The World after 1945*, edited by Akira Iriye, 203–361. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2014.

# Index

## A

Acción Democrática (AD) (Venezuela), 104, 108–110. *See also* Pérez, Carlos Andrés  
Afro-Colombians, 324–325, 328–329, 331–333, 335, 339, 342  
Agência Nacional de Petróleo (ANP) (Brazil), 258, 264  
Agrarian Summit (Cumbre-Agraria), 334, 339–341  
ALBA (Alianza Bolivariana para los Pueblos de Nuestra América), 3  
Alberta Energy Company, 226  
Alfonsín, Raúl, 275, 276  
Alliance for Progress, 9  
Aluminum Company of America (ALCOA), 126, 140  
asphalt mining, 84, 88

## B

Beaufort Sea oil field, 227, 230  
Betancourt, Rómulo, 105, 108. *See also* Acción Democrática  
Boeing Corporation, 154, 160  
Bolsonaro, Jair, 3, 7  
Boundary Waters Treaty, (1909) 127, 131. *See also* International Joint Commission  
Bretton Woods system, 214, 224  
British Controlled Oilfields Ltd. (BCO), 71, 80, 82  
British-American Oil, 218  
Bucareli agreements, 299–301

## C

Calderón, Felipe, 303, 305  
campesinos, 329–332, 339. *See also* ejidos  
Canada Oil and Gas Lands Administration. *See* National Energy Program  
Canada-US Free Trade Agreement (CUFTA), 212, 234. *See also* Canada-USA-Mexico Agreement; North American Free Trade Agreement

Canada-USA-Mexico Agreement (CUSMA), 316. *See also* Canada-US Free Trade Agreement; North American Free Trade Agreement  
Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers (CAPP), 218, 228  
Canadian Ownership Account. *See* National Energy Program  
Cárdenas, Cuauhtémoc, 306, 308  
Cárdenas, Lázaro, 9, 296, 301, 306  
Cardoso, Fernando Henrique, 36–37  
Carib Syndicate Ltd. (CS), 78, 80, 83  
Caribbean Petroleum Company (CPC), 70–71, 76–77, 84–90  
Carranza, Venustiano, 296–297  
Carter, Jimmy, 152, 161, 163–164, 169, 174  
Castro, Cipriano, 74  
Chávez, Hugo, 2, 17, 101, 115–119  
Chevron, 6, 35, 197, 214, 275, 303, 313. *See also* Texaco  
climate change, 2–3. *See also* environmental impact  
coal: in Brazil 245; in Canada 125, 127, 129–130, 133, 143; in Chile 8, 43–47, 51–53, 55–62; in Colombia 323, 326, 330, 334; in US 152, 158, 171  
Cold War, 9, 119, 124, 133, 156  
Colon Development Company (CDC), 70, 78–84, 87, 90  
Conoco Inc., 118, 231. *See also* Phillips Petroleum Co.  
Constitution of 1917 (Mexico), 3, 296–297, 299, 301–302, 317  
Constitution of 1988 (Brazil), 252–253, 255, 263, 265  
Constitution of 1991 (Colombia), 323, 324, 328–329, 331–332, 336  
corporate social responsibility (CSR), 119, 324, 333, 336–338  
Creole Petroleum Corp., 101, 105–112

## D

Democratic Party (US), 162–163  
deregulation of energy industry, 22, 23, 32, 36,  
144, 174–175, 233, 274, 276–277, 286, 289  
Díaz, Porfirio, 296, 309, 315  
Dickey Dam, 9, 12, 151, 153–154, 164–172, 175  
direct hydrocarbon indicators (DHI), 194, 201  
Dome Petroleum, 220–221, 227–228, 231–233  
Dormer, Cecil, 78–84  
Duhalde, Eduardo, 33; 280  
Dutch disease. *See* resource curse

## E

Ecopetrol (Empresa Colombiana de Petróleos),  
324, 326, 329  
Eisenhower, Dwight, 137, 156, 221, 223  
ejidos, 302, 309. *See also* campesinos  
embargo, oil, 151, 154–155, 164–165, 175, 211,  
223, 225–226, 246, 252. *See also* Middle  
East, conflict; OPEC  
Endangered Species Act (1973), 152, 154–155,  
160–164, 168–169, 173, 175. *See also*  
environmental impact; Environmental  
Protection Agency  
ENARSA (Energía Argentina S.A.), 34, 282  
energy as common good (ECG), 11–12, 24,  
26–38, 124, 280, 316, 323, 326–327, 332,  
340–342  
energy as market good (EMG), 11, 25–26, 28, 30,  
32–34, 38, 175, 276, 280, 324, 326–327, 332,  
335, 342  
energy as political good (EPG), 11, 18, 22–24,  
28–32, 38, 124, 280, 325–327, 332, 341  
environmental impact: climate change 2, 3; in  
Argentina 3; in Brazil 254, 256; in Canada  
12, 130, 139–144, 235; in Colombia 324,  
327, 333, 336, 338–341; in Mexico 298,  
307, 309–310; in Venezuela 7; in US  
9, 12, 140–144, 151–175, 180. *See also*  
Endangered Species Act; Environmental  
Protection Agency  
Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), 162  
Esso. *See* Exxon  
expropriation of oil producers: in Argentina,  
273–274, 287–289; in Mexico, 10, 100,  
105, 296, 301. *See also* deregulation;  
nationalization; privatization  
Exxon: in Argentina 275; in Canada 212; in  
Guyana 203; in US 196; in Venezuela, 12,  
69, 71, 79–80, 89, 99, 101–113, 114–119. *See  
also* Mobil; Imperial Oil

## F

FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of  
Colombia), 325  
Fernández de Kirchner, Cristina, 34, 280  
firewood, 7, 47, 50–54, 61–62, 129, 133  
First World War, 46, 53, 55–56, 69, 76, 127, 181  
foreign direct investment (FDI), 23, 25, 32, 36,  
213, 221, 329–330  
Foreign Investment Review Agency (FIRA), 225,  
230, 234  
Fox, Vicente, 303, 305  
Frondizi, Arturo, 274–275  
Furbish lousewort, 151, 154, 168–169, 173

## G

Gallagher, Jack, 220, 227–228, 233  
General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade  
(GATT), 215, 223  
General Asphalt Company (GAC), 70, 80, 86–88  
Geophysical Analysis Group (GAG), 189–190  
Geophysical Research Corporation (GRC), 182,  
186  
Geophysical Service Inc. (GSI), 182–183, 186,  
188, 190–193, 196–197, 200, 204. *See also*  
Texas Instruments  
Gil Borges, Esteban, 78–79, 81–82, 86  
Global Positioning System (GPS), 199  
Gómez, Juan Vicente, 67–68, 73, 75–90,  
102–104–106, 295  
Gómez, Juancho, 73, 75, 80, 82, 84–85, 88, 90  
Great Depression, 10, 55–57, 62, 68, 211  
Gulf Oil, 69, 111, 295

## H

Halliburton, 197–198, 200  
Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario  
(HEPCO). *See* Ontario Hydro  
Hydroelectricity, 7, 35, 129; in Argentina 34;  
in Brazil 35–36; in Chile 8–9, 43, 47, 55,  
58–62; in Canada 5–6, 8–9, 12, 123–144;  
in Colombia 324; in Mexico 128; in Brazil  
130; in US 9, 12, 125, 127–133, 141–144,  
151–158, 164, 169–170, 172

## I

IBM, 191, 193  
Imperial Oil (Canada), 211, 212, 214–216, 218.  
*See also* Exxon  
imperialism, 125, 130, 144, 328

import substitution industrialization (ISI), 8, 10, 22, 32, 35, 246, 251–252, 258, 274, 327, 342.  
*See also* resource nationalism

Indigenous peoples: Cofán 6; consent for resource development, 2, 7, 130, 332–335, 337, 340–341; Colombian, 324–325, 328–342; Fort McKay First Nation (Cree, Dene, and Métis), 7; Hunkpapa Lakota, 6; Motilone, 71; Sihasapa Lakota, 6; Yanktonai Dakota, 7. *See also* ONIC; United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

Instituto Brasileiro de Petróleo, 260

International Bank of Settlements, 328

International Joint Commission, 123, 127, 134.

*See also* Boundary Waters Treaty

International Labour Organization, 7, 331–332, 335

International Monetary Fund (IMF), 214, 328

## K

Kirchner, Néstor, 33, 280, 285

## L

Lagoven. *See* Creole Petroleum Corp.

Lake St. Lawrence, 137–140

Leduc oil strike, 216–217

Liberal Party (Canada), 126, 132, 234

Lincoln School Dam, 170, 172

López Obrador, Andrés Manuel, 1, 304–306, 308, 316. *See also* Morena

Lost Villages, 139–140

Lougheed, Peter, 225, 231

Lula da Silva, Luiz Inácio, 3, 36–37

## M

Mackenzie King, William Lyon, 127, 217

Maduro, Nicolás, 2–3

Malthusian trap. *See* resource curse

Manning, Ernest, 217, 219, 223

Maraven. *See* Shell Oil in Venezuela

McColl-Frontenac Oil Co. *See* Texaco

McGoodwin, Preston, 79, 82–83, 85–86, 90

Menem, Carlos, 32, 277, 279

Meneven. *See* Gulf Oil

Middle East: oil producers, 35, 69, 109, 114, 152, 211, 220, 224; conflict, 60, 164, 170, 221–222, 228. *See also* embargo, oil; OPEC

Ministry of Mines and Energy (Brazil), 37

Mobil, 115–116, 192, 194, 197. *See also* Exxon

Morales, Evo, 5, 7, 17

Morena (Movimiento Regeneración Nacional) (Mexico), 306–308, 310. *See also* López Obrador, Andrés Manuel

Moreno, Lenin, 3

Mosquera, Bernardino, 76, 85

Mulroney, Brian, 233

Muskie, Edmund, 164, 169–170

## N

National Development Bank (Brazil) (BNDES), 259, 261, 263–264

National Energy Board (NEB) (Canada), 223–225

National Energy Fund (Argentina), 276

National Energy Program (NEP) (Canada), 212, 228–234

National Oil Policy (NOP) (Canada), 223–224  
nationalization of energy, 29, 211; in Argentina, 11, 273–274; in Bolivia, 5; in Brazil, 216; in Canada, 9; 228, 232–233; in Venezuela, 101, 106, 108–115, 119, 152, 216, 226. *See also* deregulation; expropriation; privatization  
natural gas: in Argentina, 284, 288; in Bolivia, 5; in Brazil, 253; in Canada, 211, 213–216, 230, 234; in Chile, 43, 55, 60, 62; in Colombia, 326; in Mexico, 303–306, 310, 316; in Venezuela, 100, 110

New Deal, 9, 155

New Democratic Party (Alberta), 3

Niagara Falls: as scenery, 124–125, 127, 134, 136, 142; hydroelectric projects, 123–126, 131–132, 134, 140–142, 144

Nixon, Richard, 152, 224–226

North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), 11, 296, 302, 315–316. *See also* Canada-US Free Trade Agreement; Canada-USA-Mexico Agreement

North Venezuelan Petroleum Company (NVPC), 82

## O

Obama, Barack, 7, 310

Obregón, Álvaro, 297–299, 301

Occidental Petroleum, 334

ONIC (Organización Nacional Indígena de Colombia), 334. *See also* Indigenous peoples: Colombia

Ontario Hydro (formerly HEPCO), 9, 126–127, 131, 134, 139–140

OPEC (Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries), 101, 108, 114, 118, 225, 231–232. *See also* embargo, oil; Middle East

Operation Car Wash, 3, 8

Orinoco basin oil fields, 100, 114–115, 117–118

## P

Partido de Acción Nacional (PAN) (Mexico), 303, 305, 307–310

Partido de la Revolución Democrática (PRD) (Mexico), 304–310

Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) (Mexico), 303, 305, 307–310

PDVSA (Petróleos de Venezuela), 101, 111, 113, 115–117, 226, 230

Pemex (Petróleos Mexicanos), 11, 230, 301, 303–317; corruption, 304–305, 308–309; reforms, 307–311

Peña Nieto, Enrique, 3, 305–306, 308–310, 313

Pequiven, 116

Pérez, Carlos Andrés, 109–111, 114–116. *See also* Acción Democrática

Perón, Juan, 274; Peronism 274, 280

Petrobras (Petróleo Brasileiro S.A.), 3, 5, 7–8, 11, 35–37, 101, 195, 202, 245–254, 258–264, 276, 284, 304, 311; Campos Basin oil fields, 35, 195, 252, 256; corruption, 260–261; pre-salt deposits, 3, 11, 202, 243, 249, 254–255, 259–260, 263–265, 317; Santos basin, 37, 202, 204

Petro-Canada, 4, 226, 230–231, 234

Petroleum Administration for Defense (PAD), 220

Petroleum Gas and Revenue Tax (PGRT). *See* National Energy Program

Petroleum Incentives Payments (PIP). *See* National Energy Program

Phillips Petroleum Co., 197. *See also* Conoco Inc.

pipelines, 3, 20, 25, 27, 30, 33, 70, 217, 220, 253, 259–260, 323–326; Dakota Access, 7; in Colombia, 323; Interprovincial, 219, 223; Keystone XL, 126; Trans-Andean, 284; Trans Mountain, 219, 221–223

Power Authority of the State of New York (PASNY), 131, 134, 136, 140

Pré-Sal Petróleo S.A. (PPSA), 258, 264

privatization of energy industry, 30, 33, 144, 233–234, 252–253, 261, 273–279, 286, 289, 301, 324, 326, 329, 337. *See*

*also* deregulation; expropriation; nationalization

profit-sharing, 101, 254–255, 258, 264

Progressive Conservative Party: Alberta, 3; Canada, 223, 228, 233

protectionism, 221, 224–225, 243

## R

rail transport, 51, 53, 61, 132, 139, 175, 217, 312

Reagan, Ronald, 170–172, 175, 233

regulation of energy industry, 4, 11, 13, 19–20–23, 25–29, 34, 36; in Brazil, 260, 264; in Canada, 126, 218, 228, 230, 233; in Colombia, 336–342; in Mexico, 298; in US, 154, 162–164, 171, 174–175, 180; in Venezuela, 74, 76

rents and rent-seeking, 3, 11, 19–20, 26–32, 38, 130, 225, 244–245, 254–255, 264, 281, 298, 324. *See also* royalties; taxes and duties

Repsol, 34–35, 274, 279, 283–285, 287–289, 317

Republican Party (US), 169, 221, 316

resource curse, 2, 8, 51, 53, 100, 129, 243–244

resource nationalism, 3, 5, 8, 12, 17–24, 29, 31, 37, 124, 179; in Brazil, 245–246; in Canada, 124, 143–144, 224; in Colombia, 325; in Mexico, 296; in Venezuela, 99, 108–110, 114, 116–117. *See also* import substitution industrialization

Roosevelt, Franklin, 9, 131–132, 155

Rousseff, Dilma, 3, 37

royalties, 5, 19, 25–31, 103–105, 115–117, 221, 254–258, 264, 277, 297–298, 326. *See also* rents and rent-seeking; taxes and duties

## S

Salinas de Gortari, Carlos, 302, 306

Santos, Juan Manuel, 333

Schlumberger, 197–198, 200, 204

Second World War, 10, 55, 70, 106, 108, 119, 132–134, 183, 190, 211, 213

seismology, 181, 218; refraction, 181, 183–184; digital analysis, 188–195; three-dimensional, 195–201; AVO analysis, 201–202; FWI, 202

Shell Oil (Royal Dutch/Shell Group): in Argentina, 275; in Canada, 215; in Mexico, 71, 316; in US, 71, 194, 199; in Venezuela, 67–74, 78–79, 82, 86–87, 89–90, 111, 295

snail darter, 154, 161, 163–164, 173

Social Credit Party (Alberta), 217–218



St. Laurent, Louis, 132–133, 217  
St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project, 123–  
124, 126, 131–133, 136–144; displacement  
by, 137–142  
Standard Oil of California. *See* Chevron  
Standard Oil of New Jersey. *See* Exxon; Imperial  
Oil  
steam power, 43–45, 51, 53, 56, 61, 158,  
subsalt oil deposits, 201–202  
subsidies, 156; to industry, 20, 25–30, 33–35,  
227–228, 277, 326; to state, 110  
Sun Oil Co. (Sunoco), 80  
Syncrude, 227  
  
taxes and duties, 10, 19–38; in Argentina, 277,  
281–282, 286; in Canada, 127–128, 212,  
215, 220–221, 224–234; in Colombia,  
326–327, 337; in Mexico 297–301, 310; in  
Venezuela, 77–84, 89, 103–107, 112–117. *See*  
*also* rents and rent-seeking; royalties  
Tellico Dam, 151, 153–155, 157–164, 168,  
172–173, 175  
Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), 9, 154–161,  
165, 172  
Texaco, 6, 192, 197, 212, 303. *See also* Chevron  
Texas Instruments (TI), 190–192; TIAC, 192. *See*  
*also* Geophysical Service Inc.  
Torres, Gumersindo, 77–79, 81–83  
Trudeau, Pierre Elliott, 212, 225, 227–228, 231,  
233–234

## U

United Nations Declaration on the Rights of  
Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), 337. *See*  
*also* Indigenous peoples  
US Army Corps of Engineers, 134, 151, 154, 164,  
166–169, 172  
US Fish and Wildlife Service, 161–162

## V

Vargas, Getúlio, 245  
VEB Company, 84–90  
Venezuelan Oil Concessions Ltd. (VOC), 71,  
74–76, 80, 82–84  
Vía Campesina, 335  
Villegas Pulido, Guillermo Tell, 79, 82, 84

## W

Wartime Oils Ltd., 213  
Western Canadian Petroleum Association.  
*See* Canadian Association of Petroleum  
Producers  
Western Canadian Sedimentary Basin (WCSB),  
211, 216, 221, 225–227  
Western Geophysical Company, 183, 186–187,  
193, 200, 204  
World Bank, 214, 328  
WTO (World Trade Organization), 328, 333

## Y

YPF (Yacimientos Petrolíferos Fiscales), 3, 5,  
33–35, 273–289, 317; Comodoro Rivadavia  
oil fields, 274; Vaca Muerta oil field, 3. *See*  
*also* Kirchner, Nestor; Repsol



*This impressive collection encourages us to rethink the history of energy in all of its varieties: petroleum, hydro, coal, nuclear, solar, thermal, and more. Its timeliness and necessity cannot be underestimated in the era of climate change.*

—DR. MYRNA SANTIAGO, Professor of History, Saint Mary's College of California

*Drawing on a truly unique hemispheric perspective, this book showcases research by many leading energy historians studying North and South America today. Documenting the tumultuous history of energy production, policies, and politics, it shows how systems were shaped by distinctive national factors while revealing previously hidden continuities in the Western Hemisphere's energy history.*

—JEFFREY T. MANUEL, author of *Taconite Dreams: The Struggle to Sustain Mining on Minnesota's Iron Range, 1915-2000*

---

Understanding the history of energy and the evolving place of energy in society is essential to facing the changing future of energy production. *Energy in the Americas* brings the diverse energy histories of North and South American nations into dialogue with one another, presenting an integrated hemispheric framework for understanding the historical constructions of contemporary debates on the role of energy in society.

Breaking down assumptions about the evolution of national energy histories, *Energy in the Americas* broadens and opens the conversation. De-emphasizing the traditional focus on national peculiarities, it favours an international, integrated approach that brings together the work of established and emerging scholars. This is an essential step in understanding the circumstances that have created current energy policy and practice, and the historical narratives that underpin how energy production is conceptualized and understood.

**AMELIA M. KIDDLE** is Associate Professor of History and Latin American Studies at the University of Calgary and a specialist in the history of Mexican foreign relations. She is the co-editor of *Populism in Twentieth Century Mexico* and author of *Mexico's Relations with Latin America during the Cárdenas Era*.



UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY  
Press

[press.ucalgary.ca](http://press.ucalgary.ca)