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**2015**



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## **ON THE COVER**

Photograph by Paul V. Walters, refugees along the Somalia/Eritrean and Sudanese border.

# Blowing the Roof-Off the Twenty-First Century

## Media, Politics, and the Struggle for Post-Capitalist Democracy

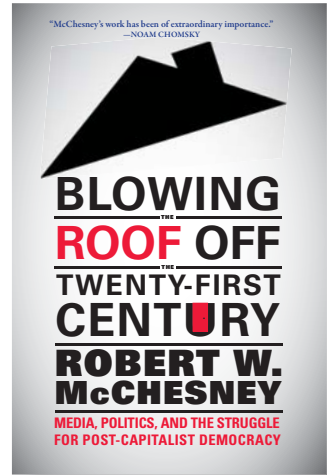
Robert W. McChesney

In the United States and much of the world there is a palpable depression about the prospect of overcoming the downward spiral created by the tyranny of wealth and privilege and establishing a truly democratic and sustainable society. In this incisive new book, award-winning author Robert W. McChesney argues that the weight of the present is blinding people to the changing nature, and the tremendous possibilities, of the historical moment we inhabit.

In *Blowing the Roof Off the Twenty-First Century*, McChesney uses a sophisticated political economic analysis to delineate the recent trajectory of capitalism and its ongoing degeneration. McChesney reveals how notions of democratic media are becoming central to activists around the world seeking to establish post-capitalist democracies. *Blowing the Roof Off the Twenty-First Century* also takes a fresh look at recent progressive political campaigns in the United States. While conveying complex ideas in a lively and accessible manner, McChesney demonstrates that a very different and far superior world is not only necessary, but possible.

**ROBERT W. MCCHESNEY** is the Gutsell Endowed Professor in the department of communication at the University of Illinois. He is the author of *Digital Disconnect: How Capitalism Is Turning the Internet Against Democracy* and, with John Nichols, *Dollarocracy: How the Money and Media Election Complex is Destroying America*, among other titles.

*“Robert McChesney reveals once again why he is one of the thinkers who really matters to American society.”* —SENATOR BERNIE SANDERS



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**The Crisis This Time (2011)**  
**Morbid Symptoms (2010)**

# Transforming Classes

**Socialist Register 2015**

Edited by Leo Panitch and Greg Albo

For more than half a century, the *Socialist Register* has brought together some of the sharpest thinkers from around the globe to address the pressing issues of our time. *Transforming Classes* offers a clarifying account of class struggle in the early twenty-first century, from China to the United States.

Precarious Migrants: Gender, Race and the Social Reproduction of a Global Working Class, SUSAN FERGUSON & DAVID McNALLY | The Language of Class in China, LIN CHUN | India's Landmark Election, ACHIN VANAIK | Bringing Class Back In: Informality in Bangalore, SUPRIYA ROYCHOWDHURY NUMSA | The Working Class and Socialist Politics in South Africa, SAM ASHMAN & NICOLAS PONS-VIGNON | From Gezi Resistance To Soma Massacre: Capital Accumulation and Class Struggle in Turkey, FUAT ERCAN & SEBNEM OGUZ | The Egyptian Workers' Movement Before and After the 2011 Popular Uprising, JOEL BEININ & MARIE DUBOC | Transnational Solidarity? The European Working Class in the Eurozone Crisis, ANDREAS BIELER & ROLAND ERNE | The New Morphology of the Working Class in Contemporary Brazil, RICARDO ANTUNES | Class Transformations in Chile's Capitalist Revolution, TIMOTHY DAVID CLARK | The Olympic Ruling Class, GEORGE WRIGHT | The Middle Class in Hollywood: Anxieties of the American Dream, JOHN McCULLOUGH | What Has Become of the Professional Managerial Class? RANDY MARTIN | Class Theory And Class Politics Today, HUGO RADICE | The Politics of U.S. Labour: Paralysis and Possibilities, KIM MOODY & CHARLES POST | Forging New Class Solidarities: Organizing Hospital Workers, JANE McALEVEY | New Working-Class Organization and the Social Movement Left, STEVE WILLIAMS & RISHI AWATRAMANI | The Crisis of Labour and the Left in the United States, MARK DUDZIC & ADOLPH REED

**LEO PANITCH** and **GREG ALBO** are Professors in the department of political science at York University, Toronto.

# Labor in the Global Digital Economy

## The Cybertariat Comes of Age

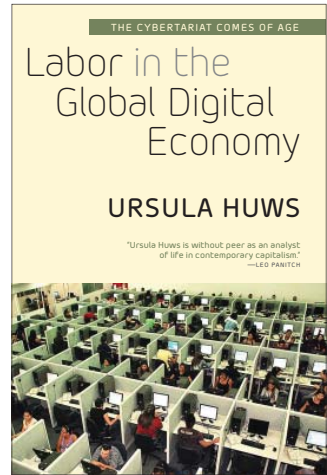
Ursula Huws

For every person who reads this text on the printed page, many more will read it on a computer screen or mobile device. It's a situation that we increasingly take for granted in our digital era, and while it is indicative of the novelty of twenty-first century capitalism, it is also the key to understanding its driving force: the relentless impulse to commodify our lives in every aspect.

Ursula Huws ties together disparate economic, cultural, and political phenomena to form a provocative narrative about the shape of the global capitalist economy as it is today. She examines the way that advanced information and communications technology has opened up new fields of capital accumulation: in culture, in the privatization of public services, and in the commodification of human sociality by way of mobile devices and social networking. These trends are in turn accompanied by the dramatic restructuring of work arrangements, opening the way for new contradictions and new forms of labor solidarity and struggle. This book is a forceful critique of our dizzying contemporary moment, one that goes beyond notions of mere connectedness or free-flowing information to illuminate the entrenched mechanisms of exploitation and control at the core of capitalism.

**URSULA HUWS** is Professor of Labour and Globalisation at the University of Hertfordshire in the UK, and founder of Analytica Social and Economic Research. She is the author of *The Making of a Cybertariat: Virtual Work in a Real World*.

*“Ursula Huws is a global treasure: her essays collected here continue her several decades of scholarship analyzing the impact of technological change on women and workers.”—GINA NEFF, author, **Venture Labor: Work and the Burden of Risk in Innovative Industries***



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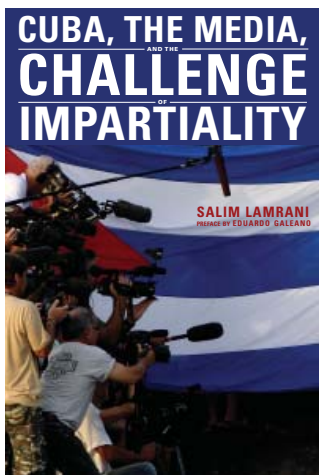
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# Cuba, the Media, and the Challenge of Impartiality

Salim Lamrani, translated by Larry R. Oberg

Foreword by Eduardo Galeano

In this concise and detailed work, Salim Lamrani addresses questions of media concentration and corporate bias by examining a perennially controversial topic: Cuba. Lamrani argues that the tiny island nation is forced to contend not only with economic isolation and a U.S. blockade, but with misleading or downright hostile media coverage. He takes as his case study *El País*, the most widely distributed Spanish daily. *El País* (a property of Grupo Prisa, the largest Spanish media conglomerate), has editions aimed at Europe, Latin America, and the United States, making it a global opinion leader.

Lamrani wades through a swamp of reporting and uses the paper as an example of how media conglomerates distort and misrepresent life in Cuba and the activities of its government. By focusing on eight key areas, including human development, internal opposition, and migration, Lamrani shows how the media systematically shapes our understanding of Cuban reality. This book provides an alternative view, combining a scholar's eye for complexity with a journalist's hunger for the facts.

**SALIM LAMRANI** is Docteur ès Études Ibériques et Latino-américaines at the University of Paris–Sorbonne Paris IV, and associate professor at the University of La Réunion. He is also a widely published French journalist specializing in Cuban–American relations. He is the author of *The Economic War Against Cuba: A Historical and Legal Perspective on the U.S. Blockade*.

*“Thoroughly demonstrates how Spain’s prestigious newspaper of record consistently misinforms about Cuba, vilifying its leaders and praising its most transparent detractors. . . . brilliant and important—for understanding Cuba and for understanding the challenges to truth in information.”*

—MARGARET RANDALL, author, *Che On My Mind*

# A World To Build

## New Paths toward Twenty-First Century Socialism

Marta Harnecker, translated by Fred Fuentes

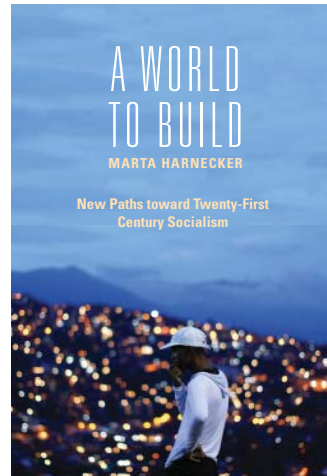
**Winner of Venezuela’s prestigious  
“Liberator’s Prize for Critical Thought”**

One of Latin America’s most incisive socialist thinkers, Marta Harnecker, grapples with the question that has bedeviled every movement for radical social change: how do you construct a new world within the framework of the old? Harnecker draws on lessons from socialist movements in Latin America, especially Venezuela, where she served as an advisor to the Chávez administration and was a director of the Centro Internacional Miranda.

*A World To Build* begins with the struggle for socialism today. Harnecker offers a useful overview of the changing political map in Latin America, examining the trajectories of several progressive Latin American governments as they work to develop alternative models to capitalism. She combines analysis of concrete events with a refined theoretical understanding of grassroots democracy, the state, and the barriers imposed by capital. For Harnecker, twenty-first century socialism is a historical process as well as a theoretical project, one that requires imagination no less than courage. She is a lucid guide to the movements that are fighting to build a better world, and an important voice for those who wish to follow that path.

**MARTA HARNECKER** is the author of over eighty books and monographs in several languages. She has been director of the Memoria Popular Latinoamericana research center in Havana, Cuba and the Centro Internacional Miranda in Caracas, Venezuela. Harnecker was born in Chile, studied with Louis Althusser in the 1960s, and edited the magazine *Chile Hoy* (Chile Today) during Salvador Allende’s Popular Unity government.

***“Marta Harnecker has provided us with an essential guide for both assessing Latin America’s left turn—its groundbreaking accomplishments and often overwhelming impediments—and more importantly for charting a path forward. This book is of global importance.”—GEORGE CICCARIELLO-MAHER, author, We Created Chávez: A People’s History of the Venezuelan Revolution***



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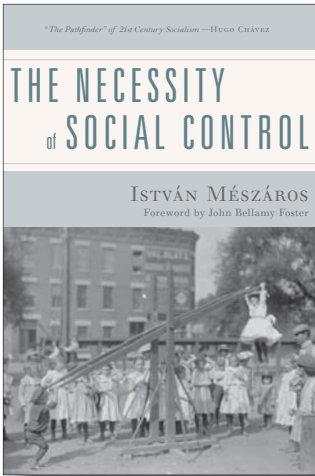
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# The Necessity of Social Control

István Mészáros

Foreword by John Bellamy Foster

As John Bellamy Foster writes in his foreword, “István Mészáros is one of the greatest philosophers that the historical materialist tradition has yet produced. His work stands practically alone today in the depth of its analysis of Marx’s theory of alienation, the structural crisis of capital, the demise of Soviet-style post-revolutionary societies, and the necessary conditions of the transition to socialism. His dialectical inquiry into social structure and forms of consciousness—a systematic critique of the prevailing forms of thought—is unequalled in our time.”

Mészáros is the author of magisterial works like *Beyond Capital* and *Social Structures and Forms of Consciousness*, but his work can seem daunting to those unacquainted with his thought. Here, for the first time, is a concise and accessible overview of Mészáros’s ideas, selected by the author himself and covering the broad scope of his work, from the shortcomings of bourgeois economics to the degeneration of the capital system to the transition to socialism.

**ISTVÁN MÉSZÁROS** is a world-renowned philosopher and critic. He left his native Hungary after the Soviet invasion of 1956. He is professor emeritus at the University of Sussex, where he held the chair of philosophy for fifteen years. Among his many books are *Social Structure and Forms of Consciousness*, *The Work of Sartre*, *The Challenge and Burden of Historical Time*, *Beyond Capital*, and *Marx’s Theory of Alienation*.

**“No living Marxist philosopher has done more to clarify and to show the continuing relevance of Marx’s most important theories.”**

**—BERTELL OLLMAN, New York University;  
author, *Dance of the Dialectic: Steps in Marx’s Method***



# In Walt We Trust

## How a Queer Socialist Poet Can Save America from Itself

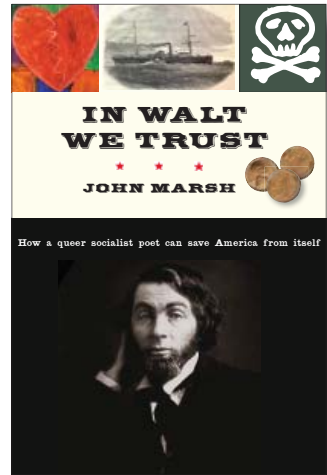
John Marsh

Life in the United States today is rife with uncertainty: about our jobs, our mortgaged houses, our retirement accounts, our health, our marriages, and the future that awaits our children. For many, our lives, public and private, have come to feel like the discomfort and unease you experience the day or two before you get really sick. Our life is a scratchy throat. John Marsh offers an unlikely remedy for this widespread malaise: the poetry of Walt Whitman. Mired in personal and political depression, Marsh turned to Whitman—and it saved his life. *In Walt We Trust* is a book about how Walt Whitman can save America's life, too.

Marsh identifies four sources for our malaise—death, money, sex, democracy—and then looks to a particular Whitman poem for relief from it. He makes plain what Whitman wrote and what he believed by showing how they emerged from Whitman's life and times, and by recreating the places and incidents that inspired Whitman to write the poems. Whitman, Marsh argues, can show us how to die, how to accept and even celebrate our (relatively speaking) imminent death. Just as important, though, he can show us how to live: how to have better sex, what to do about money, and, best of all, how to survive our fetid democracy without coming away stinking ourselves. The result is a unique blend of biography, literary criticism, manifesto, and a kind of self-help.

**JOHN MARSH** is associate professor of English at Pennsylvania State University. He is the author of two previous books: *Class Dismissed: Why We Cannot Teach or Learn Our Way out of Inequality* and *Hog Butchers, Beggars, and Busboys: Poverty, Labor, and the Making of Modern American Poetry*. He lives in State College, Pennsylvania, with his wife and daughter.

***“Once every generation or so, we need a book like this one to remind us why, in the twenty-first century, it is still so essential to keep Whitman close at hand.”***  
—ED FOLSOM, Professor of English, The University of Iowa; editor, *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review*; co-director, *Walt Whitman Archive*



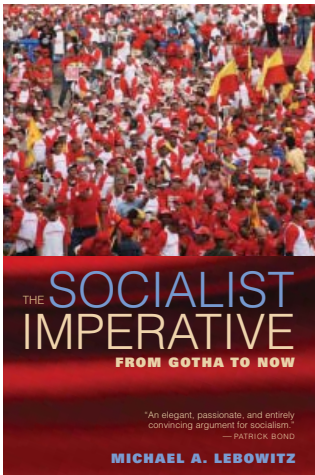
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# The Socialist Imperative

From Gotha to Now

Michael A. Lebowitz

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In a little more than a decade, economist Michael A. Lebowitz has written several major works about the transition from socialism to capitalism. Here, he develops and deepens his analysis by tracing major issues in socialist thought from the nineteenth century through the twenty-first.

Lebowitz explores the obvious but almost universally ignored fact that as human beings work together to produce society's goods and services, we also "produce" something else: namely, ourselves. Human beings are shaped by circumstances, and any vision of socialism that ignores this fact is bound to fail, or, at best, reproduce the alienation of labor that is endemic to capitalism. But how can people transform their circumstances in a way that allows them to reorganize production and, at the same time, fulfill their human potential? Lebowitz sets out to answer this question first by examining *Marx's Critique of the Gotha Programme*, and from there investigates the experiences of the Soviet Union and more recent efforts to build socialism in Venezuela. These essays repay careful reading and reflection, and prove Lebowitz to be one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of this era.

**MICHAEL A. LEBOWITZ** is professor emeritus of economics at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, Canada, and the author of *The Contradictions of "Real Socialism,"* *The Socialist Alternative,* *Beyond Capital,* *Build It Now,* and *Following Marx.* He was Director, Program in Transformative Practice and Human Development, Centro Internacional Miranda, in Caracas, Venezuela, from 2006–11.

*"An elegant, passionate, and entirely convincing argument for socialism."*

—PATRICK BOND

# The Hidden Structure of Violence

## Who Benefits from Global Violence and War

Marc Pilisuk and Jennifer Achord Rountree

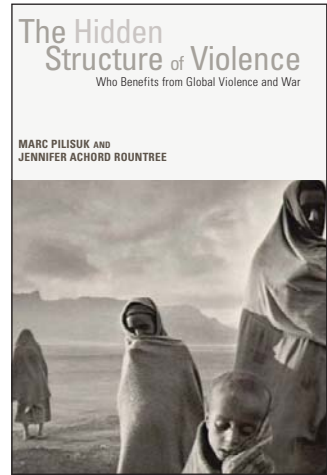
The all-pervasiveness of violence makes it seem like an unavoidable, and ultimately incomprehensible, aspect of the modern world. But, in this detailed and expansive book, Marc Pilisuk and Jennifer Rountree demonstrate otherwise. Widespread violence, they argue, is in fact an expression of the underlying social order, and whether it is carried out by military forces or by patterns of investment, the aim is to strengthen that order for the benefit of the powerful.

*The Hidden Structure of Violence* examines the costs of direct violence, including military preparedness and the social reverberations of war, alongside the costs of structural violence, expressed as poverty and chronic illness. It also documents the relatively small number of people and corporations responsible for facilitating the violent status quo, whether by setting the range of permissible discussion or benefiting directly as financiers and manufacturers. The result is an indictment of our violent world and a powerful critique of the ways in which violence is reproduced every day, whether at the highest levels of the state or in the deepest recesses of the mind.

**MARC PILISUK** teaches at Saybrook University and is professor emeritus at UC Davis. He is a former president of the Society for the Study of Peace, Conflict, and Violence and a steering committee member of Psychologists for Social Responsibility. He has published ten books and more than 140 articles over an academic career spanning five decades.

**JENNIFER ACHORD ROUNTREE** is research manager at the National Indian Child Welfare Association in Portland, Oregon. She has a PhD. in psychology from Saybrook Graduate School and Research Center in San Francisco, California, and supports American Indian/Alaska Native tribes and urban Indian communities in community based participatory research.

*“One of the most comprehensive discussions of the sources and nature of global violence in years.”—TOM HAYDEN*



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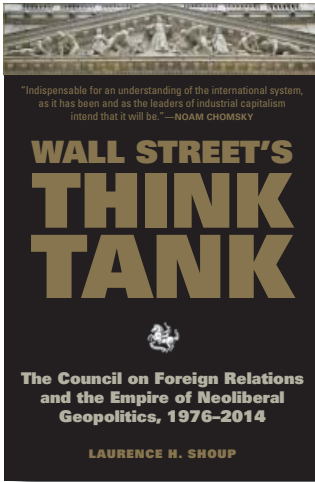
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# Wall Street's Think Tank

## The Council on Foreign Relations and the Empire of Neoliberal Geopolitics, 1975–2014

Laurence H. Shoup

The Council on Foreign Relations is the most influential foreign-policy think tank in the United States. For decades it kept a low profile even while it shaped policy, advised presidents, and helped shore up U.S. hegemony following the Second World War. In 1977, Laurence H. Shoup and William Minter published the first in-depth study of the CFR, *Imperial Brain Trust*, an explosive work that traced the activities and influence of the CFR from its origins in the 1920s through the Cold War.

Now, Shoup returns with this long-awaited sequel, which brings the story up to date. *Wall Street's Think Tank* explains how members responded to rapid changes in the world scene: globalization, the rise of China, wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the launch of a “War on Terror,” among other major developments. Shoup argues that the CFR now operates in an era of “Neoliberal Geopolitics,” a worldwide paradigm that its members helped to establish and that reflects the interests of the U.S. ruling class, but is not without challengers. *Wall Street's Think Tank* is an essential guide to understanding the Council on Foreign Relations and the shadow it casts over recent history and current events.

**LAURENCE H. SHOUP** received his Ph.D. in history from Northwestern University in 1974. He is the author of several books, including *Imperial Brain Trust* (with William Minter) and *Rebels: A People's History of Early California, 1769–1901*. He has taught U.S. history at the University of Illinois, San Francisco State University, Sonoma State University, and elsewhere, and has been active in the anti-war and social justice movements since the 1960s.

*Praise for Imperial Brain Trust: “The first in-depth analysis of the activities and influence of the most important private institution in the formulation of U.S. foreign policy. . . . This work will stand as a milestone.”—LIBRARY JOURNAL*

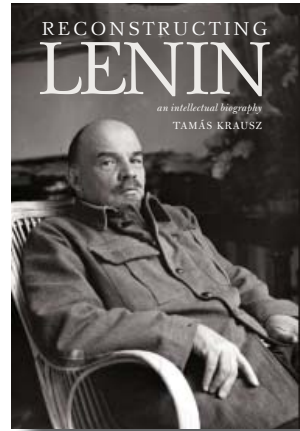
# Reconstructing Lenin

## An Intellectual Biography

Tamás Krausz

In this rich and penetrating account, Krausz reveals Lenin busy at the work of revolution, his thought shaped by immediate political events but never straying far from a coherent theoretical perspective. He balances detailed descriptions of Lenin's time and place with lucid explications of his intellectual development. *Reconstructing Lenin* will change the way you look at a man and a movement.

**TAMÁS KRAUSZ** is professor of Russian history at the Eötvös Loránd University of Sciences in Budapest, and head of the department of eastern European studies. One of the best-known radical intellectuals and political activists in Hungary, he has published widely throughout the world.



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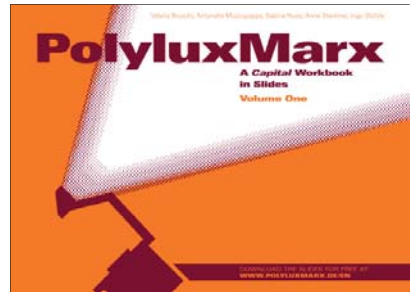
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# PolyluxMarx

## An Illustrated Guide to Studying Capital

Developed by scholars and political activists associated with the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, one of the leading political education institutions in Germany, this book has been field tested with groups studying Marx's masterpiece over several years. Each page illustrates a central argument from *Capital*, provides helpful introductory texts, and supplies notes on methodology and teaching tips. *PolyluxMarx* is an ingeniously devised illustrated workbook that will help readers grasp the key arguments of *Capital*.

**VALERIA BRUSCHI, ANTONELLA MUZZUPAPPA, SABINE NUSS, ANNE STECKLNER, and INGO STÜTZLE** are prominent German scholars and political activists associated with the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung (Foundation). They have developed this book as part of a long-term project of teaching Marx's *Capital*.

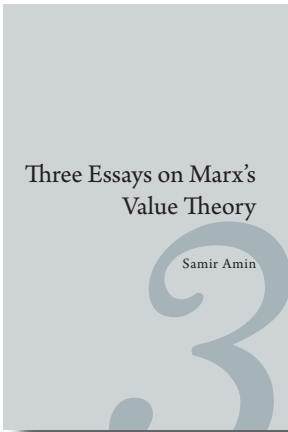


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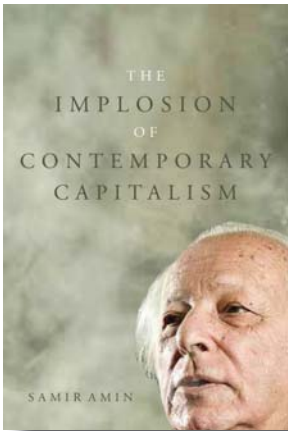
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## Three Essays on Marx's Value Theory

Samir Amin

Amin extends Marx's theory and applies it to capitalism's current trajectory in a way that is unencumbered by the weight of orthodoxy and unafraid of its own radical conclusions. He examines the relationship between Marx's abstract concepts—such as “socially necessary labor time”—and how they are manifested in the capitalist marketplace as prices, wages, rents, etc. He also explains how variations in price are affected by the development of “monopoly-capitalism,” the abandonment of the gold standard, and the deepening of capitalism as a global system.

**SAMIR AMIN** was born in Egypt in 1931 and received his PhD. in economics in Paris in 1957. He is director of the Third World Forum in Dakar, Senegal.



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## The Implosion of Contemporary Capitalism

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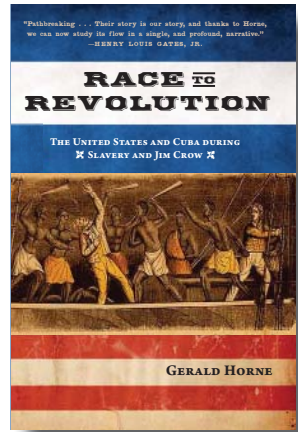
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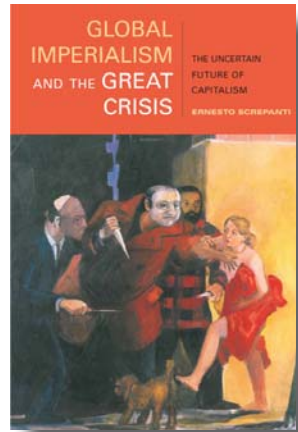
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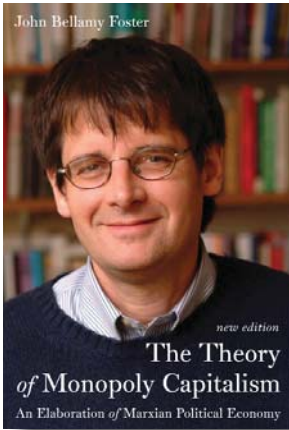
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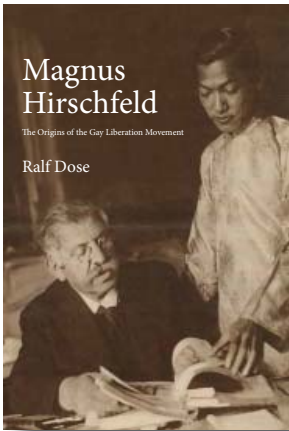
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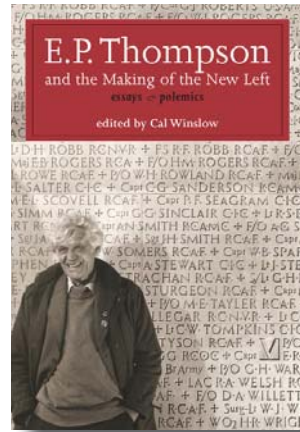
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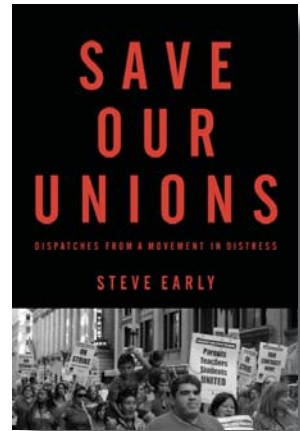
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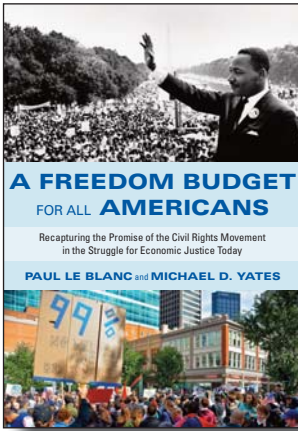
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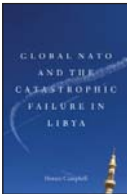
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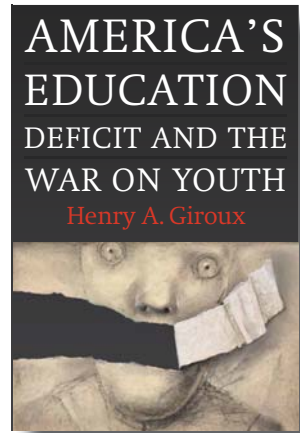
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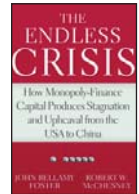
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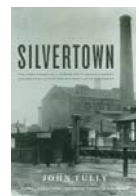
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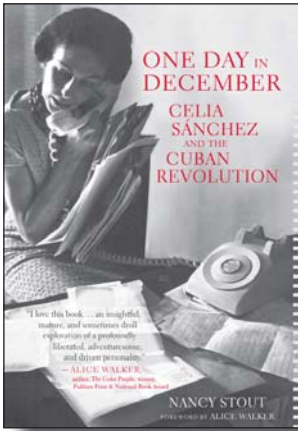
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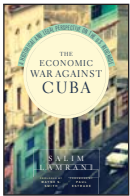
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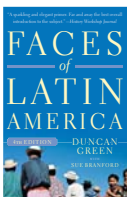
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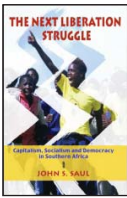
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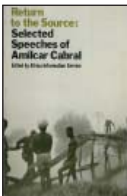
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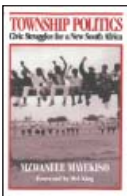
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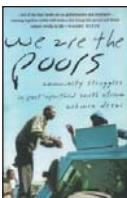
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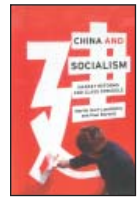


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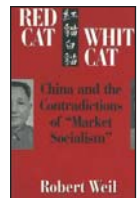
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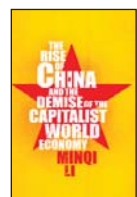
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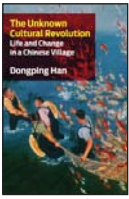


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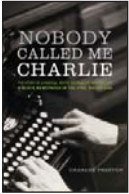
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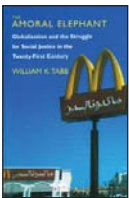
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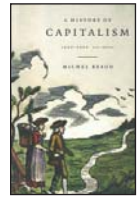


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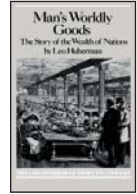


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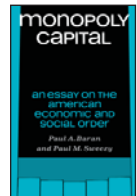
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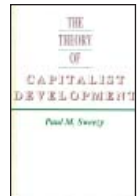
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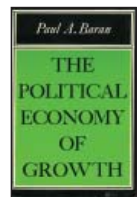
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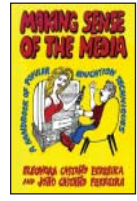
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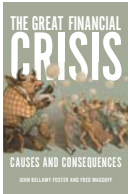




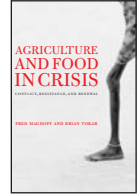
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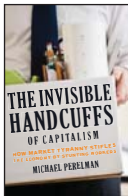
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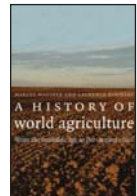
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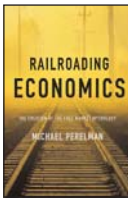
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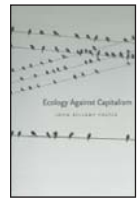
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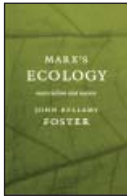
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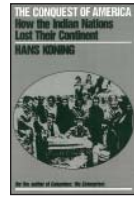


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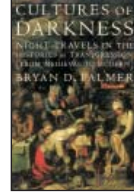


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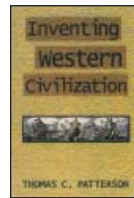
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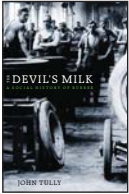
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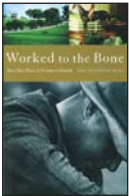
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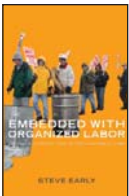
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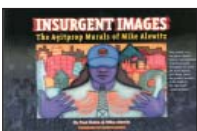
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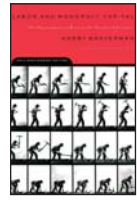


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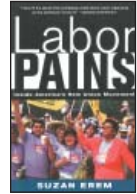
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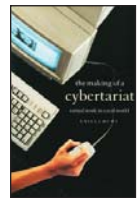
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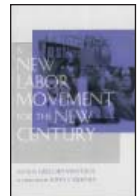
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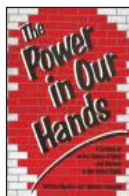
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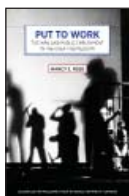




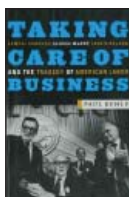
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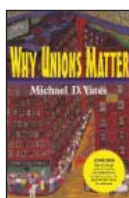
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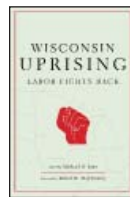


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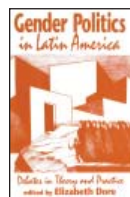
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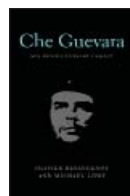
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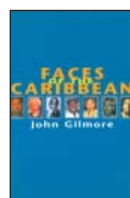
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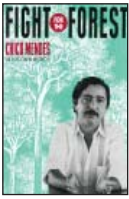
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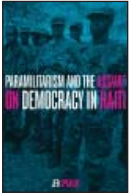
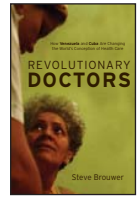


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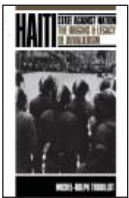
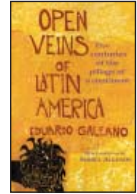


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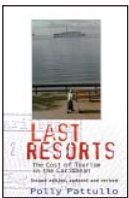
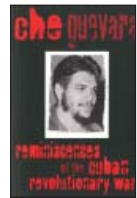


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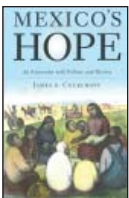
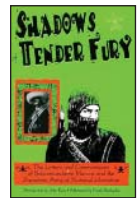


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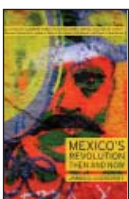
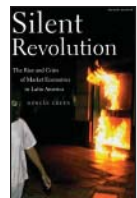


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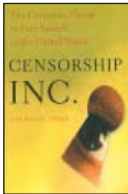
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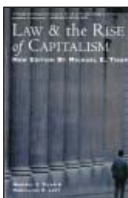
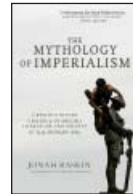
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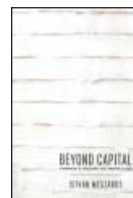
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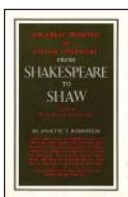
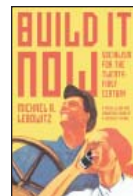
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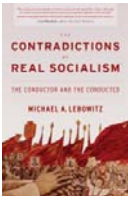
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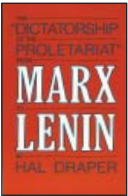
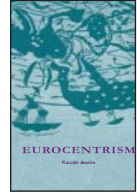
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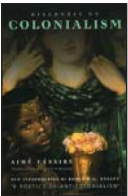
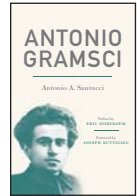
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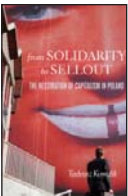
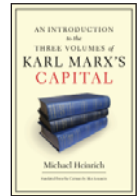
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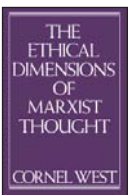
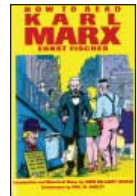
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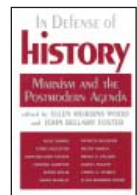
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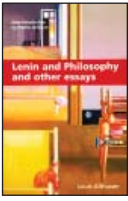
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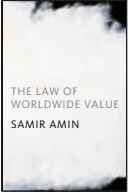
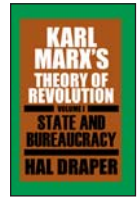






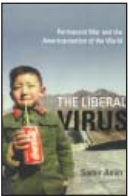
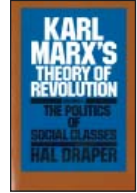
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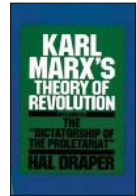
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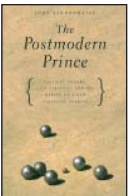
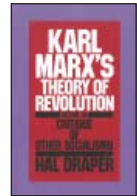
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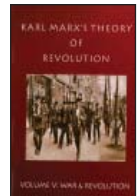
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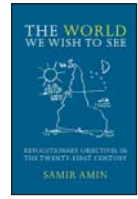
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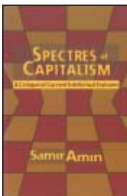
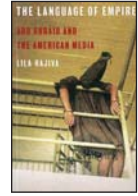
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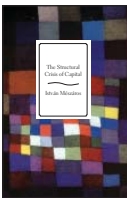
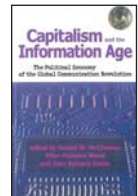
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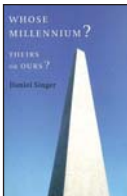
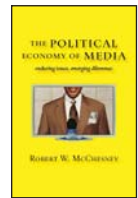
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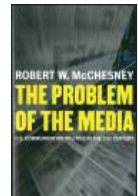
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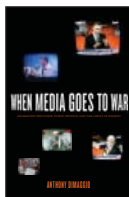
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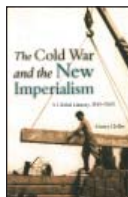
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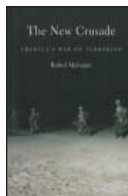
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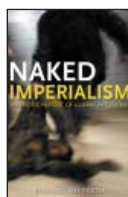
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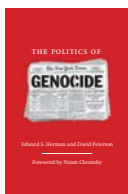
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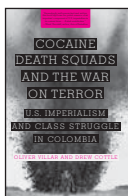
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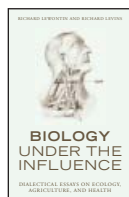
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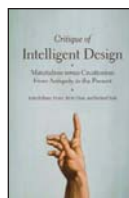
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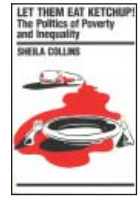


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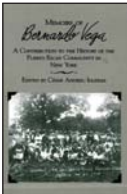
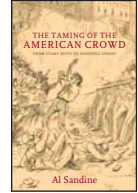


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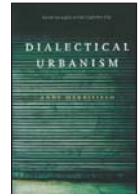


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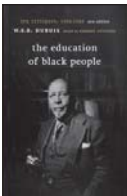
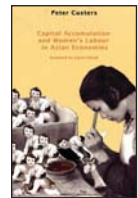


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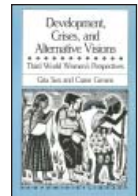


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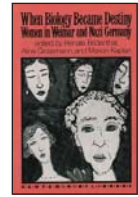


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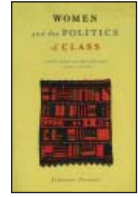
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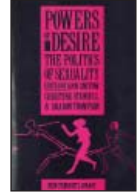
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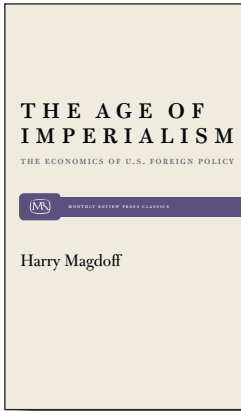


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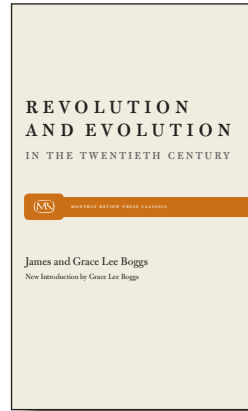
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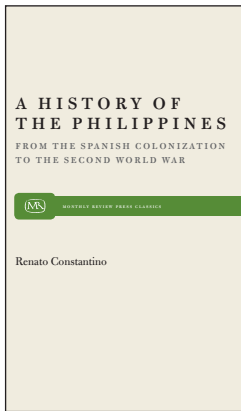
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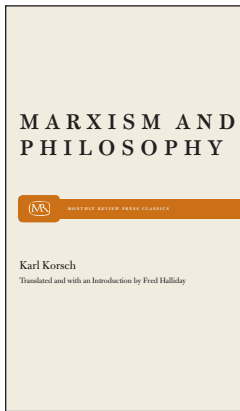
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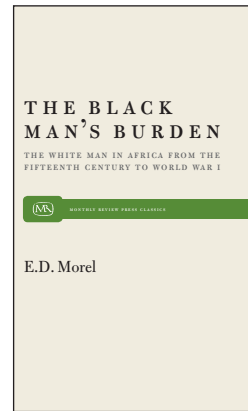
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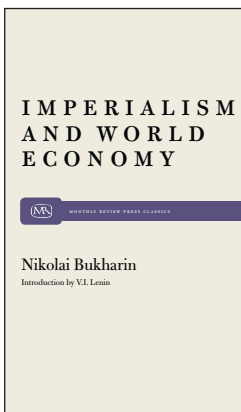
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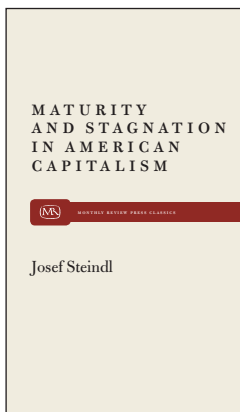
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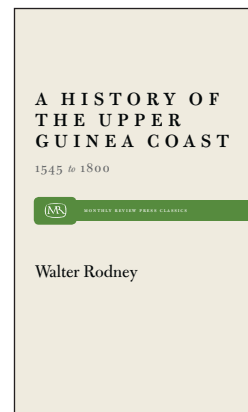
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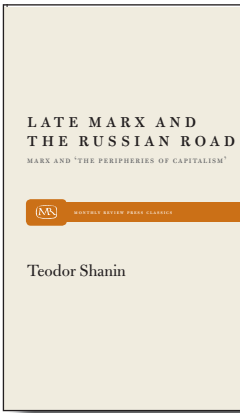


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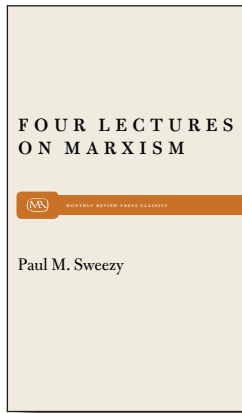


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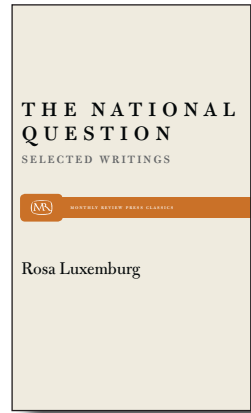




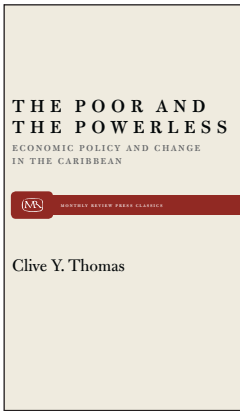
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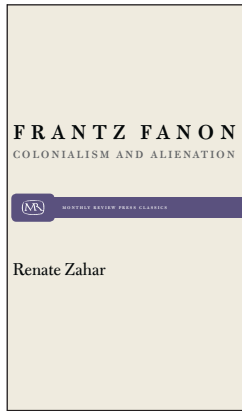
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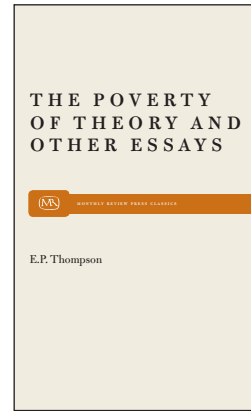
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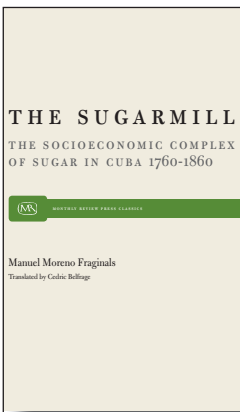
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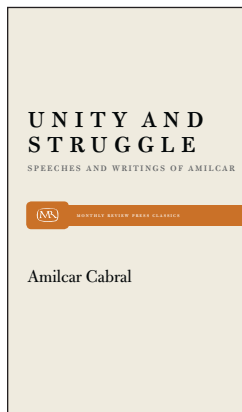
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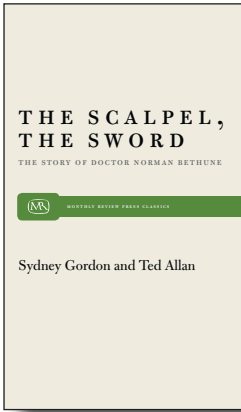
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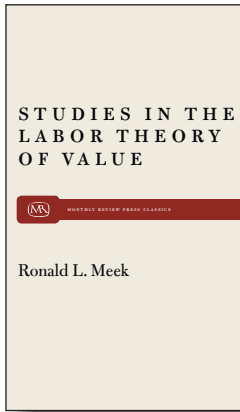
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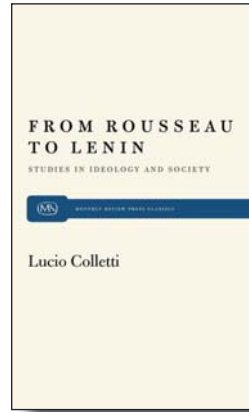
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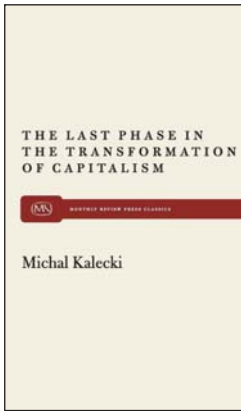
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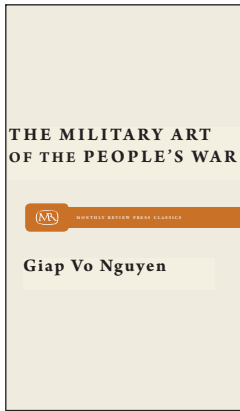
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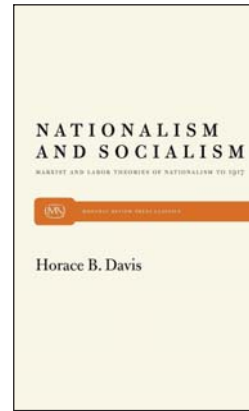
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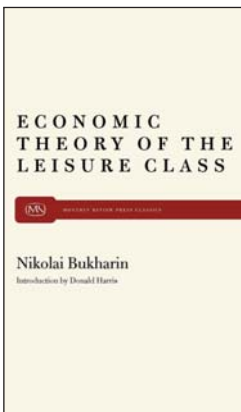
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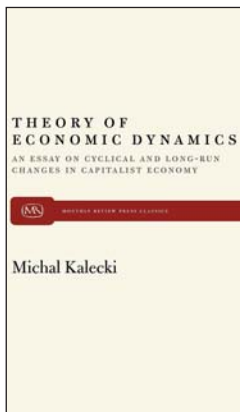
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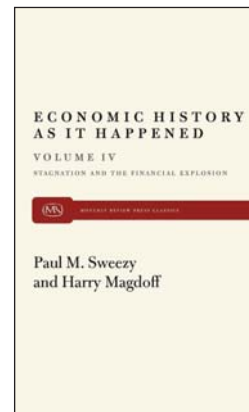
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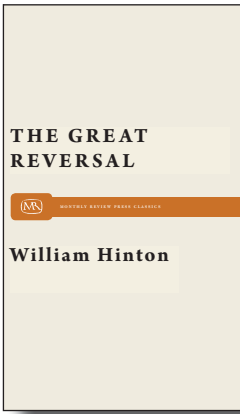
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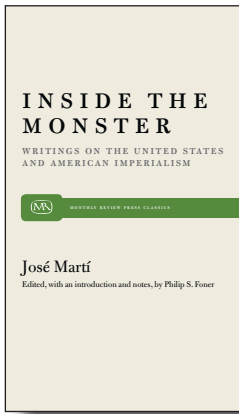
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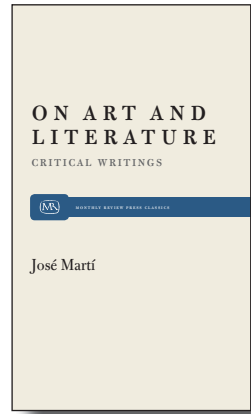
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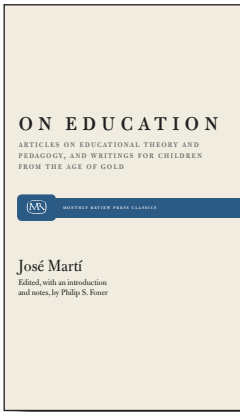
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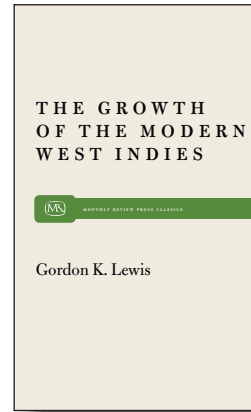
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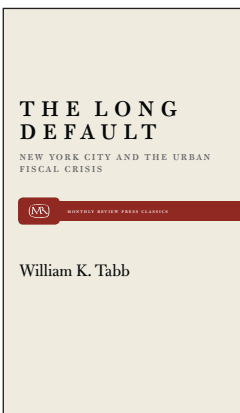
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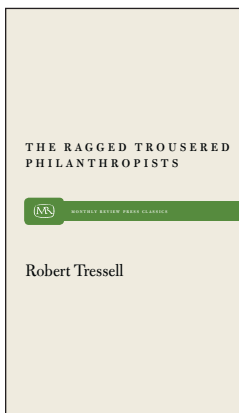
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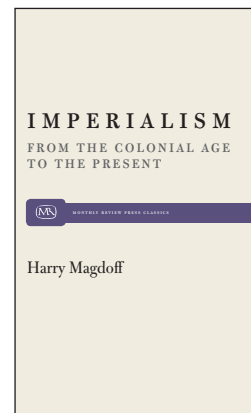
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JOHN BELLAMY FOSTER & MICHAEL D. YATES

- ABCs of the Economic Crisis*, 21  
Abramovitz, Mimi, 33  
Achar, Gilbert, 30  
*Agriculture and Food in Crisis*, 21  
Albo, Greg, 2  
Alewitz, Mike, 23  
Althusser, Louis, 28  
*America's Educational Deficit and the War on Youth*, 17  
*American Revolution*, 23  
Amin, Samir, 12, 27, 28, 29  
*Amoral Elephant*, 20  
*Anarchism*, 26  
Anderson, Kevin B., 29  
*Antonio Gramsci*, 27  
Aptheker, Herbert,  
*Art of Democracy*, 22
- Babouk*, 26  
Baran, Paul, 20  
Barrios de Chungara, Domitila,  
Beaud, Michel, 20  
Becker, Marc, 27  
*Behind the Invasion of Iraq*, 30  
Berry, Joe, 24  
Besancenot, Olivier,  
*Beyond Capital*, 26  
Bigelow, William, 24  
*Biology under the Influence*, 31  
*Blowing the Roof Off the Twenty-First Century*, 1  
*Blues for America*,  
Boggs, Grace Lee, 23  
Boggs, James, 23  
Braverman, Harry, 23  
Brenner, Johanna, 33  
Bricmont, Jean, 30  
Bridenthal, Renate, 32  
Brouwer, Steve, 25  
Brown, Michael E., 22  
Bruschi, Valeria, 11  
Buck, Pem Davidson, 23  
Buhle, Paul, 23, 24  
*Build It Now*, 26  
Bukharin, Nikolai, 28  
Burkett, Paul, 19  
*Bush Versus Chávez*, 26  
Buttel, Frederick H.,  
Buttigieg, Joseph,
- Cabral, Amílcar, 19  
Campbell, Horace, 16  
*Capital Crimes*, 32  
*Capitalism and the Information Age*, 29  
*Capitalist Accumulation and Women's Labour in Asian Economies*, 32  
*Capitalist Globalization*, 17  
Castaño Ferreira, Eleonora, 21  
Castaño Ferreira, João, 21  
*Censorship, Inc.*, 26
- Césaire, Aimé, 27  
*Challenge and Burden of Historical Time*, 26  
Chávez, Hugo, 25  
*Che Guevara: His Revolutionary Legacy*, 24  
*Cheap Motels and a Hot Plate*, 20  
*China and Socialism*, 19  
Chomsky, Carol, 30  
Chomsky, Noam, 30  
Chung, Clairmont, 29  
Chungara, Domitila Barrios de, 32  
Cisneros, Sandra,  
Clark, Brett, 31  
*Class Dismissed*, 21  
*Cocaine, Death Squads, and the War on Terror*, 31  
Cockcroft, James D., 25  
*Cold War and the New Imperialism*, 30  
Collins, Sheila, 32  
*Columbus: His Enterprise, 22 Coming to Terms with Nature: Socialist Register 2007*,  
*Communist Manifesto*, 27  
*Conquest of America*, 22  
*Consciencism*, 19  
*Contradictions of Real Socialism*, 27  
Cottle, Drew, 31  
*Crisis and the Left, Socialist Register 2012*,  
*Crisis This Time: Socialist Register 2011*,  
*Critique of Intelligent Design*, 31  
*Cuba, the Media, and the Challenge of Impartiality*, 4  
Cullen, Jim, 22  
*Cultures of Darkness*, 22  
Custers, Peter, 32
- Days and Nights of Love and War*, 24  
*Debt, the IMF, and the World Bank*, 20  
Desai, Ashwin, 19  
*Development, Crises, and Alternative Visions*, 32  
*Devil's Milk*, 23  
*Dialectical Urbanism*, 32  
Diamond, Norman, 24  
*"Dictatorship of the Proletariat" From Marx to Lenin*, 27  
*Digital Diploma Mills*, 21  
DiMaggio, Anthony, 29, 30  
*Discourse on Colonialism*, 27  
*Disinherited*, 30  
Dobkowski, Michael N., 28  
Dollinger, Genora Johnson, 23  
Dollinger, Sol, 23  
Dominguez, Esteban  
Morales, 18
- Dore, Elizabeth, 24  
Dose, Ralf, 14  
Draper, Hal, 27, 28  
Du Bois, W.E.B., 32  
Durrenberger, E. Paul, 24
- Early, Steve, 15, 23  
*Eastern Cauldron*, 30  
*Ecological Revolution*, 21  
*Ecological Rift*, 21  
*Ecology against Capitalism*, 21  
*Economic War against Cuba*, 18  
*Education of Black People*, 32  
*E.P. Thompson and the Making of the New Left*, 15  
*Embedded With Organized Labor*, 23  
*Endless Crisis*, 17  
Endore, Guy, 26  
Engels, Friedrich, 27  
Erem, Suzan, 23, 24  
*Ethical Dimensions of Marxist Thought*, 27  
*Eurocentrism*, 27  
Ewen, Elizabeth, 33
- Faces of Latin America*, 18  
*Faces of the Caribbean*, 24  
*Fanshen*, 19  
*Fiction of a Thinkable World*, 31  
*Fight for the Forest*, 25  
Finkel, Alvin, 22  
Fischer, Ernst, 27  
*Fools' Crusade*, 30  
Foster, John Bellamy, 14, 17, 21, 22, 27, 29, 30, 31  
*Freedom Budget for All Americans*, 16  
*From Solidarity to Sellout*, 27
- Galeano, Eduardo, 24, 25  
*Gender Politics in Latin America*, 24  
Gilmore, John, 24  
Girdner, Eddie J., 22  
Giroux, Henry, 17  
*Global Imperialism and the Great Crisis*, 13  
Global NATO and the  
Catastrophic Failure in  
Libya, 16  
*God Market*, 19  
Golinger, Eva, 26  
*Great Financial Crisis*, 21  
*Great Tradition in English Literature*, 26  
Green, Duncan, 18, 25  
Greenbaum, Joan, 24  
Grossmann, Atina, 32  
Grown, Caren, 32  
Guerin, Daniel, 26  
Guevara, Che, 25  
Guskin, Jane, 31
- Haberkern, E., 28  
*Haiti, State against Nation*, 25  
Han, Dongping, 20  
Harnecker, Marta, 5, 25  
Hart-Landsberg, Martin, 17, 19  
Heinrich, Michael, 27  
Heller, Henry, 30  
*Hell's Kitchen and the Battle for Urban Space*, 16  
Herman, Edward S., 31  
*Hidden Structure of Violence*, 9  
Hinton, William, 19  
*History of Capitalism*, 20  
*History of World Agriculture*, 21  
Holmstrom, Nancy, 33  
Horne, Gerald, 13  
*How to Read Karl Marx*, 27  
Huberman, Leo, 20, 23  
Hudis, Peter, 29  
*Humanitarian Imperialism*, 30  
*Hungry for Profit*, 22  
Huws, Ursula, 3, 23
- Iglesias, Cesarr Andreu, 32  
Immigrant Women in the  
Land of Dollars, 33  
*Imperialism without Colonies*, 30  
*Implosion of Contemporary Capitalism*, 12  
*In Defense of History*, 27  
*In Our Time*, 22  
*In Walt We Trust*, 7  
*Inside Lebanon*, 30  
*Insurgent Images*, 23  
*Introduction to the Three Volumes of Karl Marx's Capital*, 27  
*Inventing Western Civilization*, 22  
*Invisible Handcuffs of Capitalism*, 21
- Jameson, Frederic,  
Johnstone, Diana, 30  
*José Carlos Mariátegui*, 27
- Kaplan, Marion, 32  
*Karl Marx's Theory of Revolution, Vol. 1-5*, 28  
Kasrils, Ronnie, 19  
Kelley, Robin D. G.,  
Kfoury, Assaf, 30  
*Killing Me Softly*, 22  
Kincaid, Jamaica,  
Koning, Hans, 22  
*Korea: Division, Reunification, and U.S. Foreign Policy*, 19  
Kowalik, Tadeusz, 27  
Krausz, Tamás, 11
- Labor and Monopoly Capital*, 23

- Labor in the Global Digital Economy*, 3  
*Labor Pains*, 23  
 Lamrani, Salim, 4, 18  
*Language of Empire*, 29  
*Last Resorts*, 25  
*Law and the Rise of Capitalism*, 26  
*Law of Worldwide Value*, 28  
 Le Blanc, Paul, 16  
 Lebowitz, Michael A., 8, 26, 27, 28  
 Leibovitz, Clement, 22  
*Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, 28  
*Let Me Speak!*, 32  
*Let Them Eat Ketchup!*, 32  
*Lettuce Wars*, 23  
 Levins, Richard, 31  
 Levy, Madeleine R., 26  
 Lewontin, Richard, 31  
 Li, Minqi, 19  
*Liberal Virus*, 28  
 Löwy, Michael, 24
- Magdoff, Fred, 21, 22  
 Magdoff, Harry, 30  
 Magnus Hirschfeld, 14  
 Mahajan, Rahul, 30  
*Making of a Cybertariat*, 23  
*Making Sense of the Media*, 21  
*Man's Worldly Goods*, 20  
 Mantsios, Gregory, 23  
 Marcos, Subcomandante, 25  
 Marek, Franz,  
 Markels, Julian, 26  
 Marsh, John, 7, 21  
 Martin, Randy, 22  
 Marx, Karl, 27  
*Marx's Ecology*, 22  
*Marxian Imagination*, 26  
 Mayekiso, Mzwanele, 19  
 Mazoyer, Marcel, 21  
 McChesney, Robert W., 1, 17, 29, 31  
*Memoirs of Bernardo Vega*, 32  
 Mendes, Chico, 25  
 Merrifield, Andy, 32  
 Mészáros, István, 26, 29, 31  
*Mexico's Hope*, 25  
*Mexico's Revolution Then and Now*, 25  
 Millet, Damien, 20  
*Monopoly Capital*, 20  
*More Unequal*, 32  
 Muzzupappa, Antonella, 11  
*Mythology of Imperialism*, 26
- Naked Imperialism*, 30  
*Naming the System*, 20  
 Nanda, Meera, 19  
 Neuburger, Bruce, 23  
*Necessity of Social Control*, 6  
*New Crusade*, 30  
*New Labor Movement for the New Century*, 23  
*New Studies in the Politics and Culture of U.S. Communism*, 22  
 Newman, Michael, 20  
*Next Liberation Struggle*, 19  
 Nkrumah, Kwame, 19  
 Noble, David, 21  
*Nobody Called Me Charlie*, 20  
*Not Automatic*, 23  
 Nuss, Sabine, 11
- On the Global Waterfront*, 24  
*One Day in December*, 18  
*Open Veins of Latin America*, 25
- Palmer, Bryan D., 22  
 Panitch, Leo, 2  
*Paramilitarism and the Assault on Democracy in Haiti*, 25  
 Patterson, Thomas C., 22  
 Pattullo, Polly, 25  
*People's Lawyer*, 26  
 Perelman, Michael, 21  
 Peterson, David, 31  
*Philosophical Arabesques*, 28  
 Pilisuk, Marc, 9  
*Political Economy of Growth*, 20  
*Political Economy of Media*, 29  
*Politics of Genocide*, 31  
*Politics of Immigration*, 31  
*PolyluxMarx*, 11  
*Postmodern Prince*, 28  
*Power in Our Hands*, 24  
*Powers of Desire*, 33  
*Pox Americana*, 31  
 Preston, Charles, 20  
*Problem of the Media*, 29  
*Puerto Rico*,  
*Put to Work*, 24
- Race in Cuba*, 18  
*Race to Revolution*, 13  
*Radical Perspectives on the Rise of Fascism in Germany*, 28  
*Rag-Tags, Scum, Riff-Raff, and Commies*, 31  
*Railroading Economics*, 21  
 Rajiva, Lila, 29  
*Ralph Miliband and the Politics of the New Left*, 20  
 Raskin, Jonah, 26  
*Reclaiming the Ivory Tower*, 24  
*Reconstructing Lenin*, 11  
*Red Cat, White Cat*, 19  
 Reiter, Ranya R., 33  
*Religion and the Human Prospect*, 32  
*Reminiscences of the Cuban Revolutionary War*, 25
- Research Unit for Political Economy, 30  
*Return to the Source*, 19  
*Revolution and Evolution in the Twentieth Century*,  
*Revolutionary Doctors*, 25  
*Rise of China*, 19  
*Rise of the Tea Party*, 29  
 Rolph-Trouillot, Michel, 25  
*Rosa Luxemburg Reader*, 29  
 Rose, Nancy E., 24  
 Rosengarten, Frank, 22  
 Roudart, Laurence, 21  
 Rountree, Jennifer Achord, 9  
 Ruben, Albert, 26  
 Rubinstein, Annette T., 26  
*Ruth First and Joe Slovo in the War against Apartheid*, 16
- Sanbonmatsu, John,  
 Sandine, Al, 32  
 Santucci, Antonio A., 27  
 Saul, John S., 19  
*Save Our Unions*, 15  
 Saxton, Alexander, 32  
*Science and Humanism of Stephen Jay Gould*, 31  
 Screpanti, Ernesto, 13  
 Sen, Gita, 32  
*Shadows of Tender Fury*, 25  
 Shoup, Laurence H., 10  
*Silent Revolution*, 25  
*Silvertown*, 17  
 Singer, Daniel, 29  
 Smith, Jack, 22  
 Snedeker, George, 22  
 Snitow, Ann, 33  
*Social Structure and Forms of Consciousness*, 31  
*Socialism or Barbarism*, 29  
*Socialist Alternative*, 28  
*Socialist Imperative*, 8  
*Socialist Feminist Project*, 33  
*Socialist Register 2010–2014*, 2  
 Soley, Lawrence, 26  
 Sonbonmatsu, John, 28  
*Spectres of Capitalism*, 29  
 Sprague, Jeb, 25  
 Stansell, Christine, 33  
 Stecklner, Anne, 11  
 Steinberg, Michael, 31  
 Stout, Nancy, 18  
 Stütze, Ingo, 11  
*Structural Crisis of Capital*, 29  
 Sweezy, Paul M., 20
- Tabb, William K., 20  
*Taking Care of Business*, 24  
*Taming of the American Crowd*, 32  
*Theory of Capitalist Development*, 20  
*Theory of Monopoly Capitalism*, 14
- Thomas, Eric Chester, 31  
 Thompson, E. P., 15  
 Thompson, Sharon, 33  
*Three Essays on Marx's Value Theory*, 12  
 Tigar, Michael E., 26  
 Tokar, Brian, 21  
 Toussaint, Éric, 20  
*Toward an Anthropology of Women*, 33  
*Toward an Open Tomb*, 30  
*Township Politics*, 19  
*Transforming Classes*, 2  
 Tully, John, 17, 23  
 Turki, Fawaz, 30
- Under Attack, Fighting Back*, 33  
*Understanding the Venezuelan Revolution*, 25  
*Unknown Cultural Revolution*, 20  
*Unlikely Secret Agent*, 19
- Vandenberg, Harry E., 27  
 Varga, Joseph J., 16  
 Vega, Bernardo, 32  
 Villar, Oliver, 31  
*Vulnerable Planet*, 22
- Walliman, Isidor, 28  
*Wall Street's Think Tank*, 10  
*Walter A. Rodney*, 29  
 Warschawski, Michel, 30  
*We are the Poors*, 19  
*We, the People*, 23  
 Weil, Robert, 19  
 West, Cornel, 27  
*What Every Environmentalist Needs to Know About Capitalism*, 22  
*When Biology Became Destiny*, 32  
*When Media Goes to War*, 30  
*Whose Millennium*, 29  
*Why Unions Matter*, 24  
 Wieder, Alan, 16  
 Wilson, David, 31  
*Windows on the Workplace*, 24  
 Winslow, Cal, 15  
 Winslow, George, 32  
*Wisconsin Uprising*, 24  
*Women and the Politics of Class*, 33  
 Wood, Ellen Meiksins, 27, 29  
*Work of Sartre*, 31  
*Worked to the Bone*, 23  
*World to Build*, 5  
*World We Wish to See*, 29
- Yates, Michael D., 16, 20, 21, 24, 32  
 York, Richard, 31



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