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ON THE COVER

Los Caprichos 5 (2006), oil and acrylic on canvas, Gottfried Helnwein.

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America's Addiction to Terrorism

Henry A. Giroux

In the United States today, the term “terrorism” conjures up images of dangerous, outside threats: religious extremists and suicide bombers in particular. Harder to see but all the more pervasive is the terrorism perpetrated by the United States itself, whether through military force overseas or woven into the very fabric of society at home. In this passionate and incisive book, Giroux turns the conventional wisdom on terrorism upside down, demonstrating how fear and lawlessness have become organizing principles of life in the United States, and violence an acceptable form of social mediation. He addresses the most pressing issues of the moment, from officially sanctioned torture to militarized police forces to austerity politics. Giroux also examines the ongoing degradation of the education system and how young people in particular suffer its more nefarious outcomes.

Against this grim picture, Giroux posits a politics of hope and a commitment to accurate—and radical—historical memory. He draws on a long, distinguished career developing the tenets of critical pedagogy to propose a cure for our addiction to terrorism: a kind of “public pedagogy” that challenges the poisoned narratives of “America’s disimagination machine.”

HENRY A. GIROUX currently holds the McMaster University Chair for Scholarship in the Public Interest in the English and Cultural Studies Department and a Distinguished Visiting Professorship at Ryerson University. A founding figure in the movement for critical pedagogy and author of more than sixty books, he is one of North America’s most influential public intellectuals. He recently received a Lifetime Achievement Award from the American Educational Research Association.

“Giroux has outdone himself. More than in any other book, he chronicles the death spiral of contemporary U.S. capitalist society, and why young people are on the verge of a revolt the likes of which has not been seen for generations. We are very fortunate to have this book.”—ROBERT W. MCCHESENEY



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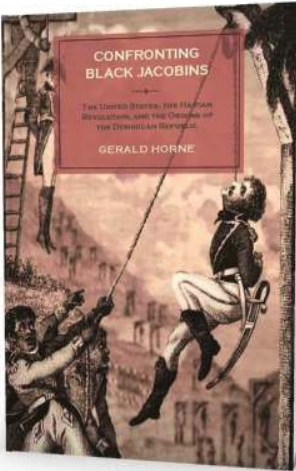
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Confronting Black Jacobins

The United States, the Haitian Revolution, and the Origins of the Dominican Republic

Gerald Horne

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The Haitian Revolution, the product of the first successful slave revolt, was truly world-historic in its impact. When Haiti declared independence in 1804, the leading powers—France, Great Britain, and Spain—suffered an ignominious defeat and the New World was remade. The island revolution also had a profound impact on Haiti’s mainland neighbor, the United States. Inspiring the enslaved and partisans of emancipation while striking terror throughout the Southern slaveocracy, it propelled the fledgling nation one step closer to civil war. Gerald Horne’s pathbreaking new work explores the complex and often fraught relationship between the United States and the island of Hispaniola. Giving particular attention to the responses of African Americans, Horne surveys the reaction in the United States to the revolutionary process in the nation that became Haiti, the splitting of the island in 1844, which led to the formation of the Dominican Republic, and the failed attempt by the United States to annex both in the 1870s.

Horne deftly weaves together a disparate array of voices to illuminate the tangled conflicts of the colonial powers, the commercial interests and imperial ambitions of U.S. elites, and the brutality and tenacity of the American slaveholding class. Throughout, he never loses sight of the freedom struggles of Africans, both on the island and on the mainland, who sought the fulfillment of the emancipatory promise of 18th century republicanism.

GERALD HORNE is John J. and Rebecca Moores Professor of African American History at the University of Houston. He is the author of more than two dozen books, including *Race to Revolution* and *The Counter-Revolution of 1776*.

“By tracing the lethal spread of white supremacy, and its courageous confrontation by a rebellious black republic, Horne helps us to see the powerful blow for justice struck by a militantly resistant population of black citizens who more nobly embodied the ideals of freedom and equality than the European and North American powers that sought to defeat them.”—MICHAEL ERIC DYSON

Imperialism in the Twenty-First Century

Globalization, Super-Exploitation and Capitalism's Final Crisis

WINNER PAUL A. BARAN—PAUL M. SWEETZ MEMORIAL AWARD

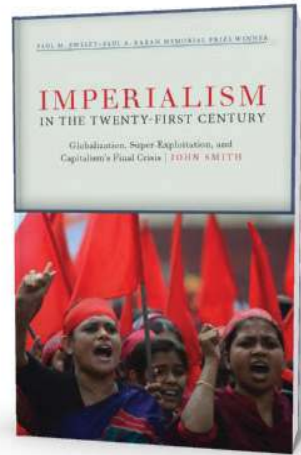
John Smith

Imperialism in the Twenty-First Century is a seminal examination of the relationship between the core capitalist countries and the rest of the world in the age of neoliberal globalization. Deploying a sophisticated Marxist methodology, Smith begins by tracing the production of certain iconic commodities—the T-shirt, the cup of coffee, and the iPhone—and demonstrates how these generate enormous outflows of money from the countries of the Global South to transnational corporations headquartered in the core capitalist nations of the Global North. From there, Smith draws on his empirical findings to powerfully theorize the current shape of imperialism. He argues that the core capitalist countries need no longer rely on military force and colonialism (although these still occur) but increasingly are able to extract profits from workers in the Global South through market mechanisms and, by aggressively favoring places with lower wages, the phenomenon of labor arbitrage.

Meticulously researched and forcefully argued, *Imperialism in the Twenty-First Century* is a major contribution to the theorization and critique of global capitalism.

JOHN SMITH received his Ph.D. from the University of Sheffield and is currently self-employed as a researcher and writer. He has been an oil rig worker, bus driver, and telecommunications engineer, and is a longtime activist in the antiwar and Latin American solidarity movements.

“Provides a searing analysis of the global shifts in production that have marked the neoliberal phase of capitalism. His analysis is essential to understanding contemporary capitalism.”
—**JAYATI GHOSH**, Professor of Economics at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi



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The Politics of the Right

Socialist Register 2016

Edited by Leo Panitch and Greg Albo



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The Left faces new challenges from political forces amassing on the radical right. The fifty-second volume of the *Socialist Register* presents a serious calibration and a careful political mapping of these forces. It addresses pivotal questions on the reordering of the New Right that speak to the global challenges the new right poses for the left.

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LEO PANITCH and **GREG ALBO** are Professors in the Department of Political Science at York University, Toronto.

Crooked Deals and Broken Treaties

How American Indians Were Displaced by White Settlers in the Cuyahoga Valley

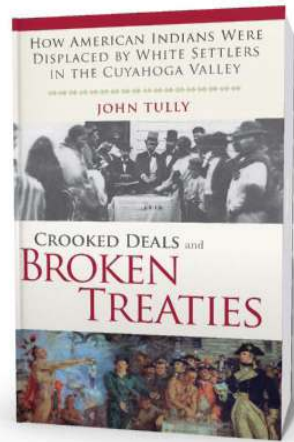
John Tully

Long before the smokestacks and factories of industrial Akron rose from Ohio's Cuyahoga Valley, the region was a place of tense confrontation. Beginning in the early 19th-century, white settlers began pushing in from the east, lured by the promise of cheap (or free) land. They inevitably came into conflict with the current inhabitants, American Indians who had thrived in the valley for generations or had already been displaced by settlement along the eastern seaboard. Here, on what was once the western fringe of the United States, the story of the country's founding and development played out in all its ignominy and drama.

Historian and novelist John Tully draws on contemporary accounts and a wealth of studies to produce this elegiac history of the Cuyahoga Valley. He pays special attention to how settlers' notions of private property—and the impulse to own and develop the land—clashed with more collective social organizations of American Indians. He also documents the ecological cost of settlement, long before heavy industry laid waste to the region. *Crooked Deals and Broken Treaties* is an impassioned accounting of the cost of "progress" and an insistent reminder of the barbarism and deceit that fueled the rise of the United States.

JOHN TULLY is Honorary Professor, College of Arts, Victoria University in Melbourne, Australia. He is the author of several works of history, including *The Devil's Milk: A Social History of Rubber*, as well as three novels.

***"A masterful case study of one site of United States' settler-colonialism, in the Cuyahoga Valley region, which gave birth to the settler city of Akron, Ohio. The violence and ethnic cleansing involved in this early 19th century colonial project previewed the later ethnic cleansing of Native nations and communities from all the territory east of the Mississippi River."*—ROXANNE DUNBAR-ORTIZ**



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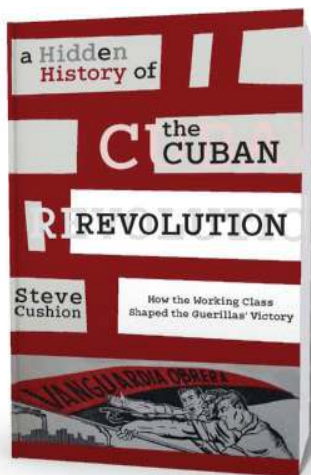
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A Hidden History of the Cuban Revolution

How the Working Class Shaped the Guerrillas' Victory

Steve Cushion

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Millions of words have been written about the Cuban Revolution, which, to both its supporters and detractors, is almost universally understood as being won by a small band of guerillas. Stephen Cushion argues that the Cuban working class played a much more decisive role in the Revolution's outcome than previously understood. Although the working class was well organized in the 1950s, it is believed to have been too influenced by corrupt trade union leaders and a tradition of making primarily economic demands to have offered much support to the guerillas. Cushion contends that the opposite is true, and that significant portions of the Cuban working class launched an underground movement in tandem with the guerillas operating in the mountains.

Developed during five research trips to Cuba under the auspices of the Institute of Cuban History in Havana, this book analyzes a wealth of material from the 1950s that has never before been systematically examined, along with many interviews with participants themselves. Cushion uncovers widespread militant activity, all of which culminated in two revolutionary workers' congresses and the largest general strike in Cuban history. These efforts present a fresh and provocative take on the place of the working class in Cuban history.

STEVE CUSHION is a retired university lecturer with a Ph.D. in Caribbean Labor History who lives in the East End of London. For twenty years, he worked as a bus driver in London, and has been an active socialist and trade unionist all his adult life.

"Cushion has written an extraordinarily rich and detailed history of working class militancy in pre-revolutionary Cuba. This book shows that the Cuban working class played an important, even decisive, role in the pre-revolutionary period and in the overthrow of the Batista dictatorship. Our understanding will be permanently shaped by this inspiring and compelling history."—**DR. LEO ZEILIG**, author of *Voices of Liberation: Frantz Fanon*

Cuba and the U.S. Empire

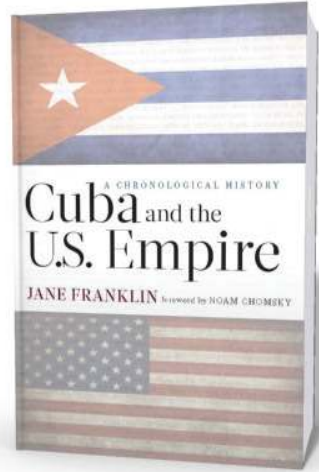
A Chronological History

Jane Franklin

Foreword by Noam Chomsky

In this updated edition of her classic, *Cuba and the United States: A Chronological History*, Jane Franklin depicts the relationship between the two countries from the time both were colonies to the present. We see the early connections through slavery; through the sugar trade; then Cuba's multiple wars for national liberation; the annexation of Cuba by the United States; the infamous Platt Amendment that entitled the United States to intervene directly in Cuban affairs; the gangster capitalism promoted by Cuban dictator Fulgencio Battista; and the guerrilla war that brought the revolutionaries to power.

A new chapter updating the fraught Cuban-U.S. nexus brings us well into the Twenty-first century, with a look at the current status of Assata Shakur, the Cuban Five, and the post-9/11 years leading to the expansion of diplomatic relations. Offering a range of primary and secondary sources, this book is an outstanding scholarly work. *Cuba and the U.S. Empire* brings new meaning to Simón Bolívar's warning in 1829, that the United States "appears destined by Providence to plague America with miseries in the name of Freedom."



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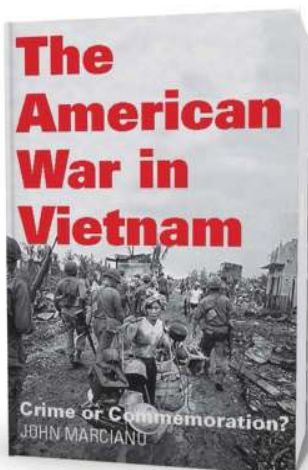
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JANE FRANKLIN is an internationally acclaimed historian and peace and justice activist since 1960. The author of several books on Cuba and Panama, she has published in various periodicals including *The Nation* and *The Progressive*, and appears frequently on radio and TV as a commentator on U.S.-Cuba relations. Some of her work is available at janefranklin.info.

"Whether one reads it as a history, or keeps it handy as a ready reference . . . this is a book that no serious student of U.S.-Cuba relations can afford to be without."

—PHILIP BRENNER, American University



The American War in Vietnam

Crime or Commemoration?

John Marciano

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On May 25, 2012, President Obama announced that the United States would spend the next thirteen years commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Vietnam War, and the American soldiers, “more than 58,000 patriots,” who died in Vietnam. The fact that at least 2.1 million Vietnamese also died in that war will be largely unknown and entirely uncommemorated. The reason for this appalling disconnect of consciousness lies in an unremitting public relations campaign waged by top American politicians, military leaders, business people, and scholars who have spent the last sixty years justifying the U.S. presence in Vietnam.

A devastating follow-up to Marciano’s 1979 classic *Teaching the Vietnam War* (written with William L. Griffen), this book seeks not to commemorate the Vietnam War, but to stop the ongoing U.S. war on actual history. Marciano reveals the grandiose flag-waving that stems from the “Noble Cause Principle,” the notion that America is “chosen by God” to bring democracy to the world.

The result is critical writing and teaching at its best. This book will find a home in classrooms where teachers seek to do more than repeat the trite glorifications of U.S. empire. It will provide students everywhere with insights that can prepare them to change the world.

JOHN MARCIANO is professor emeritus at SUNY, Cortland. He has been an antiwar and social justice activist, author, scholar, teacher, and trade unionist.

*“For many years, I’ve been using John Marciano and William Griffen’s venerable *Teaching the Vietnam War* in my high school course. [This] newer history of the war provides analysis and perspective on how the war ought to be remembered—and how it is being misremembered and misused. I am eager to add it to my curriculum!”*

—**W. D. EHRHART**, author, *Vietnam-Perkasie: A Combat Marine Memoir*

Big Farms Make Big Flu

Dispatches on Influenza, Agribusiness,
and the Nature of Science

Rob Wallace

Foreword by Mike Davis

Thanks to breakthroughs in production and food science, agribusiness has been able to devise new ways to grow more food and get it more places more quickly. The dark side of this story is that agribusiness has known for decades that packing thousands of birds or livestock together results in a monoculture that selects for disease. But market economics doesn't punish the companies for growing big flu—it punishes animals, the environment, consumers, and contract farmers. Alongside growing profits, diseases are permitted to emerge, evolve, and spread with little check. “That is,” writes evolutionary biologist Rob Wallace, “it pays to produce a pathogen that could kill a billion people.”

In *Big Farms Make Big Flu*, Wallace tracks the ways influenza and other pathogens emerge from an agriculture controlled by multinational corporations. Wallace details, with a precise and radical wit, the latest in the science of agricultural epidemiology, while at the same time juxtaposing ghastly phenomena such as microbial time travel, neoliberal Ebola, and attempts at producing featherless chickens. Wallace also offers sensible alternatives to lethal agribusiness. Some, such as farming cooperatives, integrated pathogen management, and mixed crop-livestock systems, are already in practice off the agribusiness grid.

Big Farms Make Big Flu integrates the political economies of disease and science to derive a new understanding of the evolution of infections.



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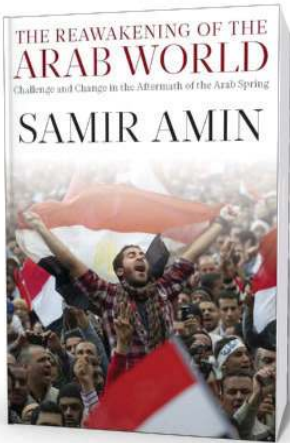
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ROB WALLACE received a Ph.D. in biology at the CUNY Graduate Center, New York City, and did post-doctorate work at the University of California, Irvine, with Walter Fitch, a founder of molecular phylogeny. He lives in St. Paul, Minnesota, where he is both a Visiting Scholar at the Institute for Global Studies, University of Minnesota and a deli clerk at a local sandwich shop.



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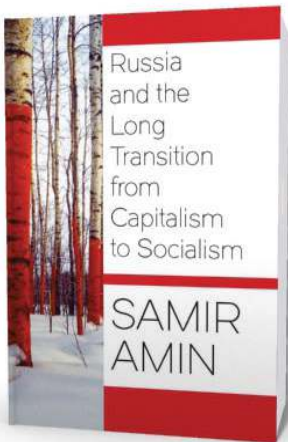
The Reawakening of the Arab World

Challenge and Change in the
Aftermath of the Arab Spring

Samir Amin

The growing, deeply felt need of the Arab people for independent, popular democracy is the cause of their awakening, says Amin. It is this awakening to democracy that the United States fears most, since real self-government by independent nations would necessarily mean the end of U.S. empire, and the economic liberalism that has kept it in place.

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



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Russia and the Long Transition from Capitalism to Socialism

Samir Amin

The great upheaval that once produced the Soviet Union has also produced a movement away from capitalism—a long transition that continues even today. In seven concise, provocative chapters, Amin deftly examines the trajectory of Russian capitalism, the Bolshevik Revolution, the collapse of the Soviet Union, the possible future of Russia—and, by extension, the future of socialism itself. Amin covers the rise and fall of the revolutionary Soviet system; and in a powerful chapter on Ukraine and the rise of global fascism, Amin lays out the conditions necessary for Russia to recreate itself, and perhaps again move down the long road to real socialism.

Studs Terkel

Politics, Culture, but Mostly Conversation

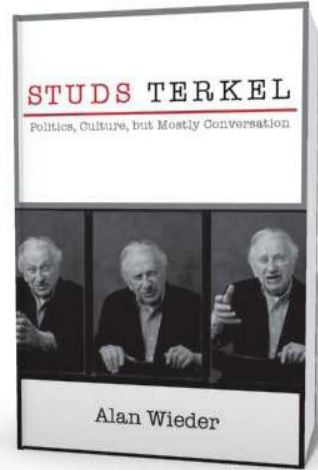
Alan Wieder

Studs Terkel was an American icon who had no use for America's cult of celebrity. He was a leftist who valued human beings over political dogma. In scores of books and thousands of radio and television broadcasts, Studs paid attention—and respect—to “ordinary” human beings of all classes and colors, as they talked about their lives as workers, dreamers, survivors. Alan Wieder's *Studs Terkel: Politics, Culture, But Mostly Conversation* is the first comprehensive book about this man.

Drawing from over fifty interviews of people who knew and worked with Studs, Alan Wieder creates a multi-dimensional portrait of a run-of-the-mill guy from Chicago who, in public life, became an acclaimed author and raconteur, while managing, in his private life, to remain a mensch. We see Studs, the eminent oral historian, the inveterate and selfless supporter of radical causes, especially civil rights. We see the actor, the writer, the radio host, the jazz lover, whose early work in television earned him a notorious place on the McCarthy blacklist. We also see Studs the family man and devoted husband to his adored wife, Ida.

Studs Terkel allows us to realize the importance of reaching through our own daily realities—increasingly clogged with disembodied, impersonal interaction—to find value in actual face-time with real humans. Wieder's book also shows us why such contact might be crucial to those of us in movements rising up against global tyranny and injustice. The book is simply the best introduction available to this remarkable man. Reading it will lead people to Terkel's enormous body of work, with benefits they will cherish throughout their lives.

ALAN WIEDER is an oral historian who lives in Portland, Oregon. He is Distinguished Professor Emeritus at the University of South Carolina and has taught at the University of the Western Cape and Stellenbosch University in South Africa. He has published numerous articles and three books on South Africans who fought against the apartheid regime including *Ruth First* and *Joe Slovo in the War Against Apartheid*.



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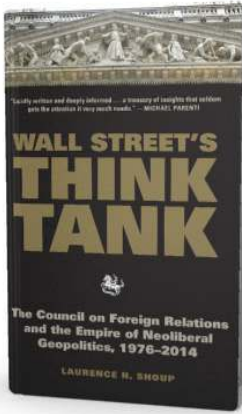
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Wall Street's Think Tank

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

Laurence H. Shoup

In this long-awaited sequel to *Imperial Brain Trust*, 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.

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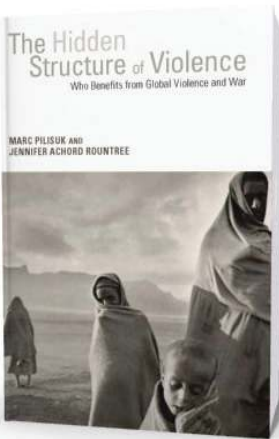
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“Revealing account of how a small group of planners drawn from sectors of concentrated private and state power have set the contours for much of recent history.”—NOAM CHOMSKY

LAURENCE H. SHOUP has taught widely and is the author of several books, including *Imperial Brain Trust* (with William Minter) and *Rulers and Rebels: A People's History of Early California, 1769–1901*.



The Hidden Structure of Violence

Who Benefits from Global Violence and War

Marc Pilisuk and Jennifer Achord Rountree

“A tour de force of erudition and scholarship, lucid exposition and organization, cogent reasoning, psychological depth, and compassionate motivation. It is a guidebook to the intricate, highly organized networks that dominate and are destroying so much of the world in which we live.”

—MITCH HALL, author, *Peace Quest*

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MARC PILISUK is Professor Emeritus at UC Davis. **JENNIFER ACHORD ROUNTREE** is research manager at the National Indian Child Welfare Association in Portland, Oregon.

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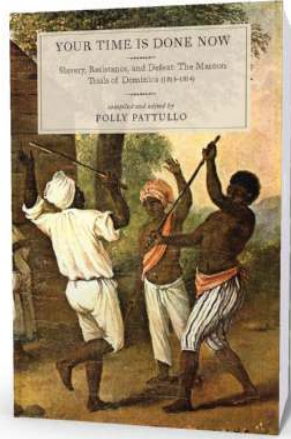
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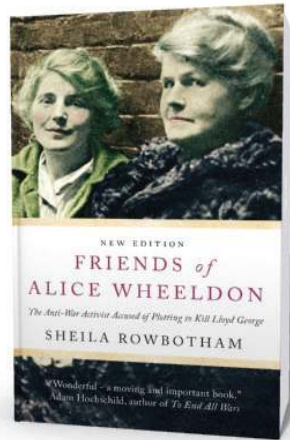
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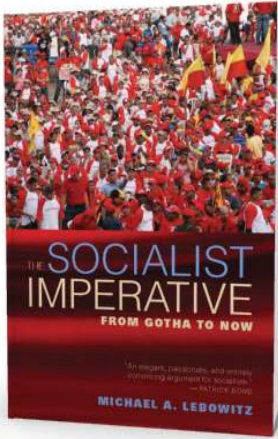
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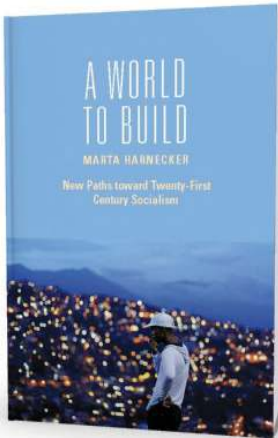
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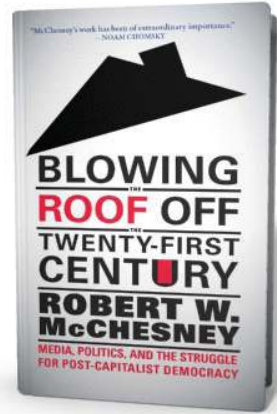
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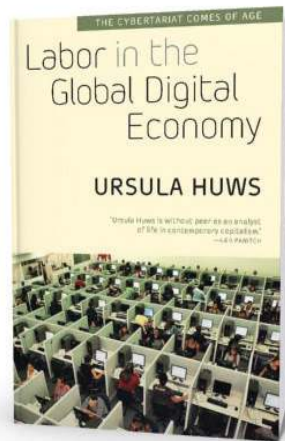
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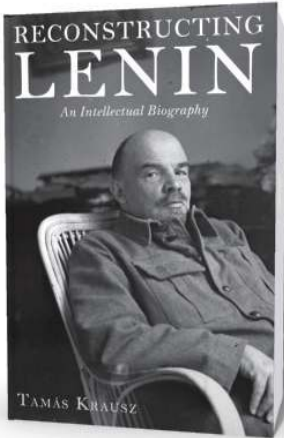
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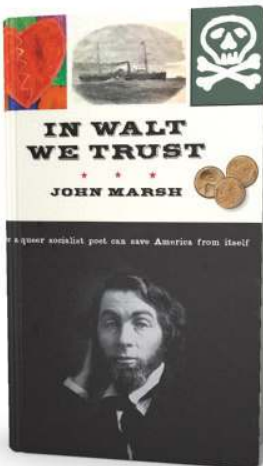
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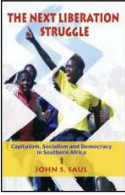
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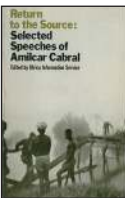
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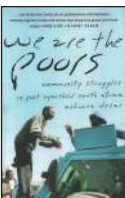
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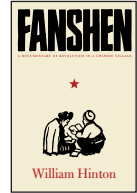
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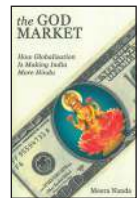
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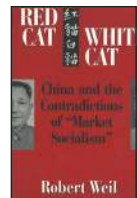
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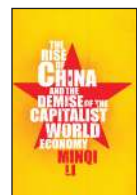
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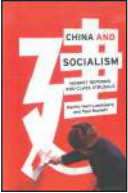
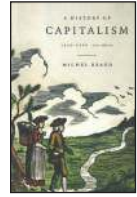
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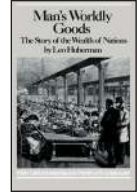
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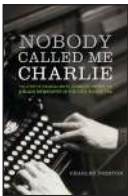
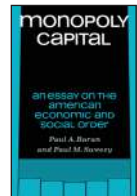
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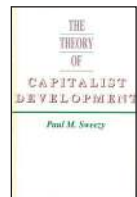
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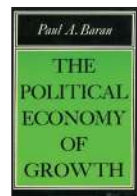
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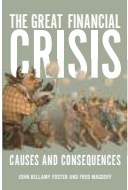
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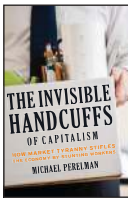




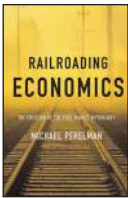
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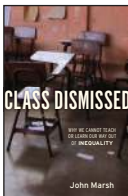
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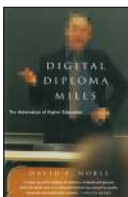
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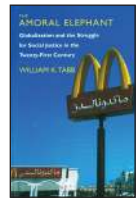
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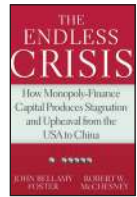
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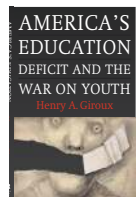
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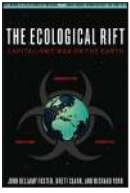


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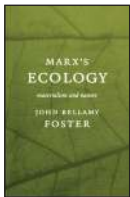




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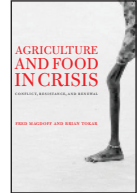


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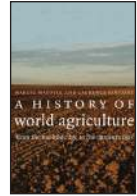


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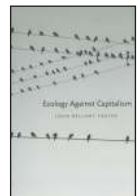
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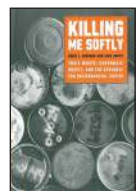
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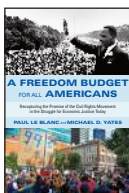




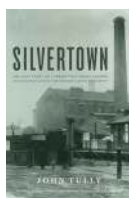
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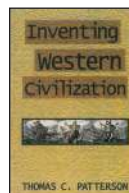
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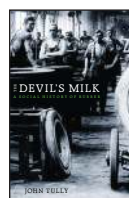
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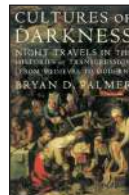
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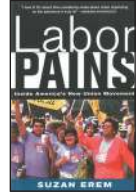
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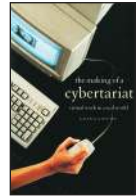
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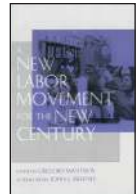
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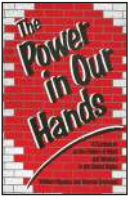
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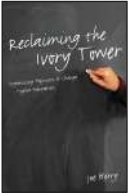
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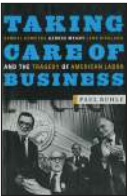
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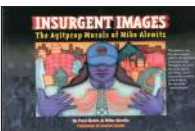
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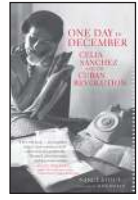


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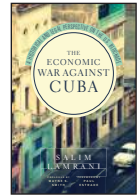
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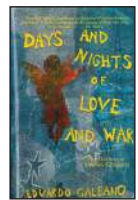
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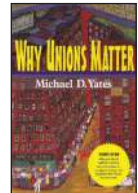
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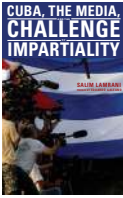
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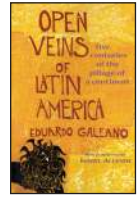
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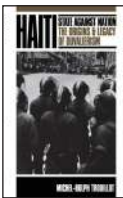
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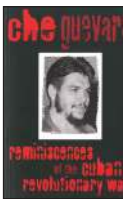
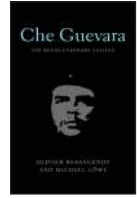
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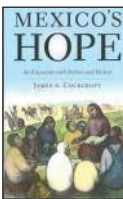
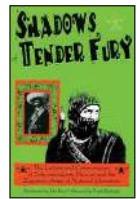
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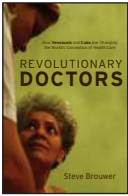
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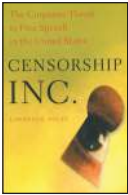
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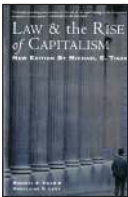
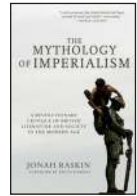
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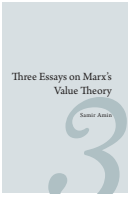
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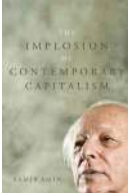
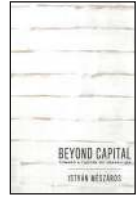
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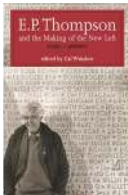
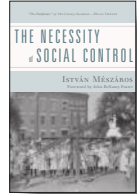
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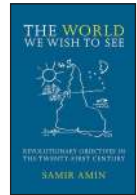
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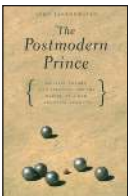
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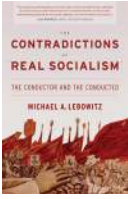
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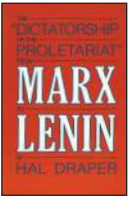


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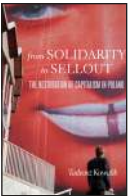
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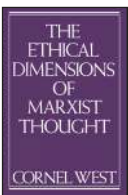
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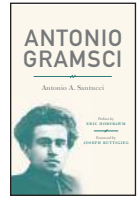
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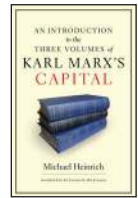
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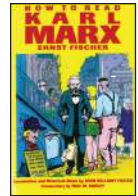
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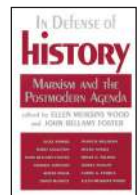
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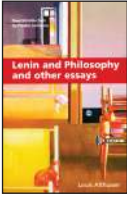
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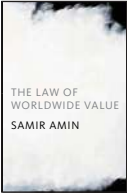
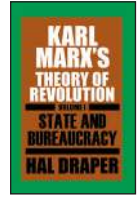




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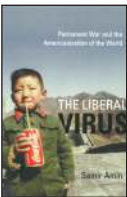
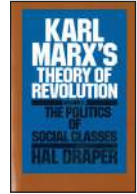
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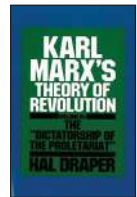
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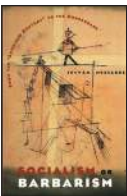
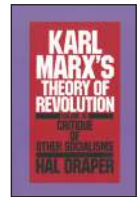
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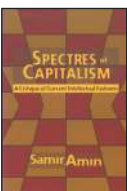
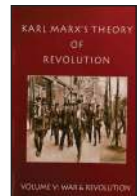
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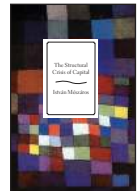
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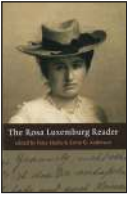
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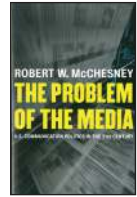
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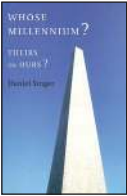




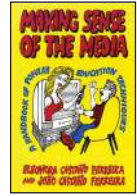
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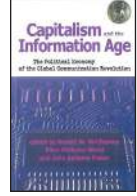
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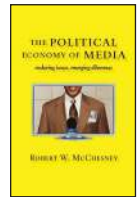
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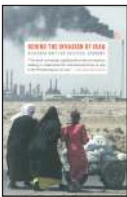
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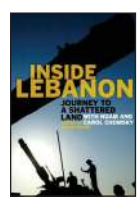
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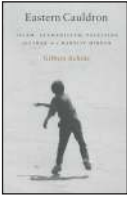
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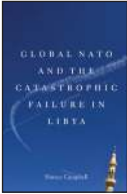
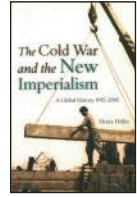


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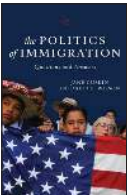
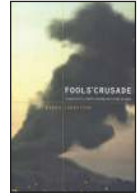
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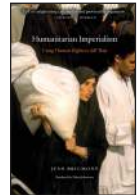
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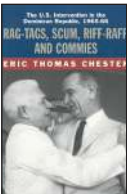
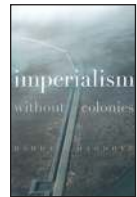
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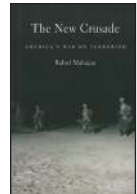
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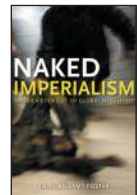
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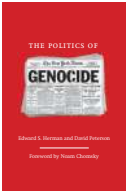


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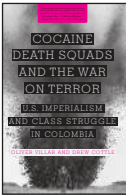
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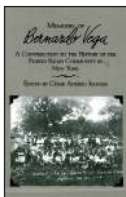




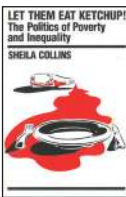
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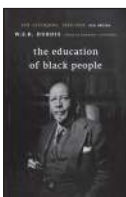
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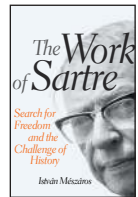
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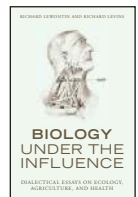
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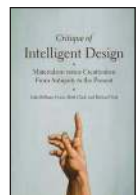
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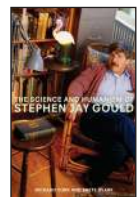
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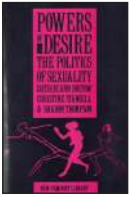


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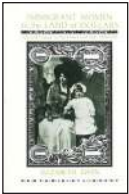
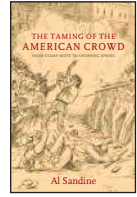
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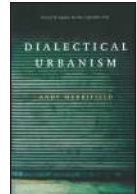
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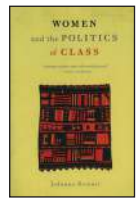
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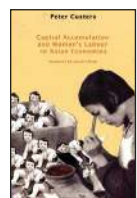
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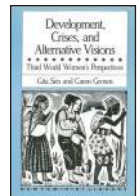
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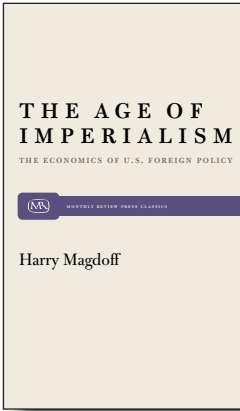
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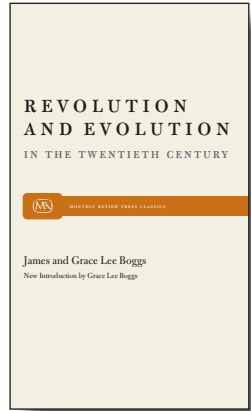




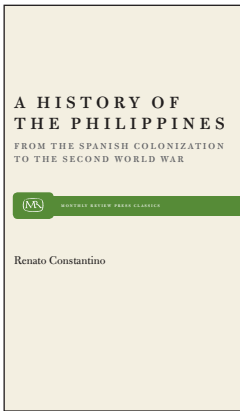
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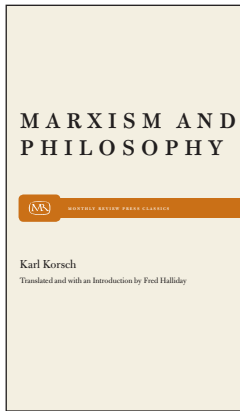
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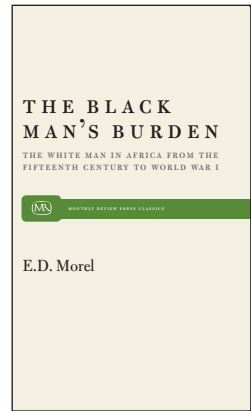
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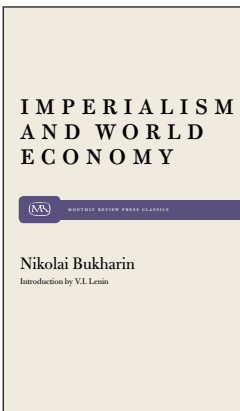
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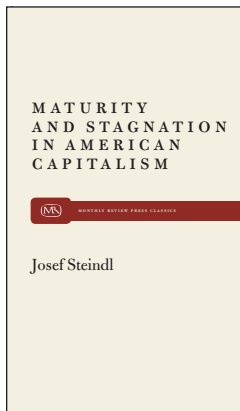
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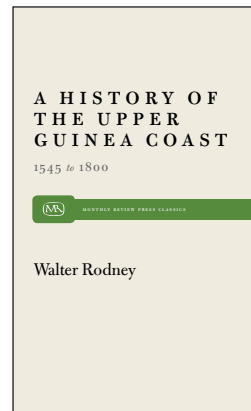
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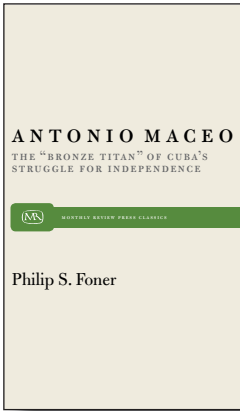
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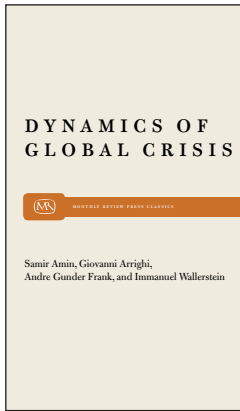
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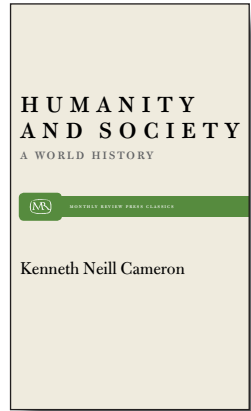
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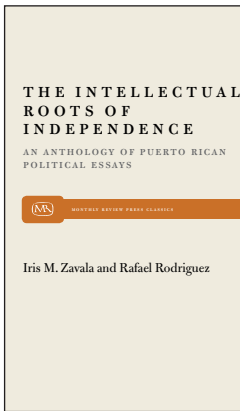
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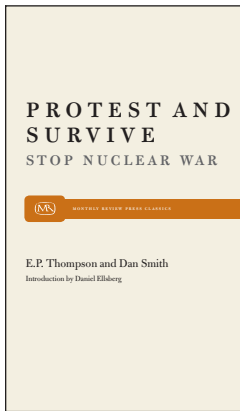
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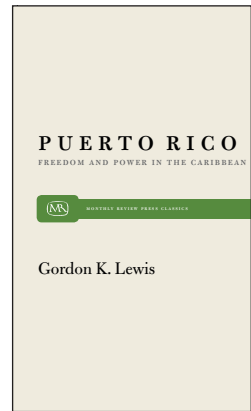
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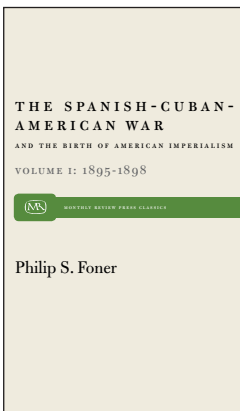
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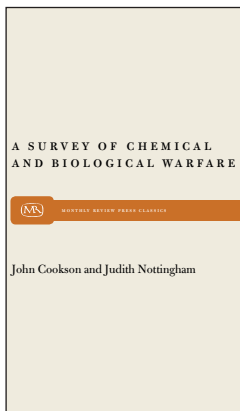
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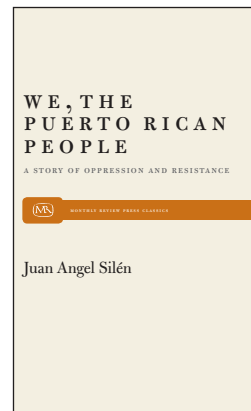
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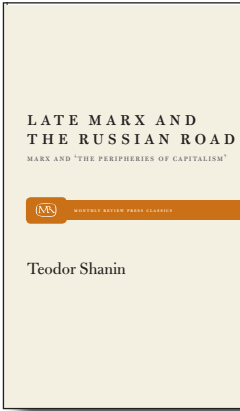
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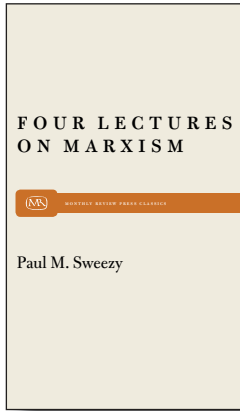
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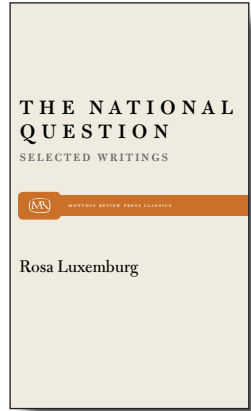
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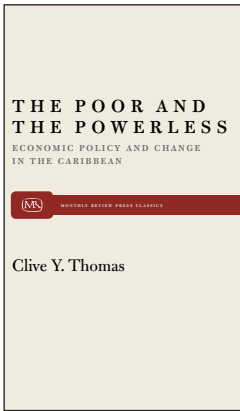
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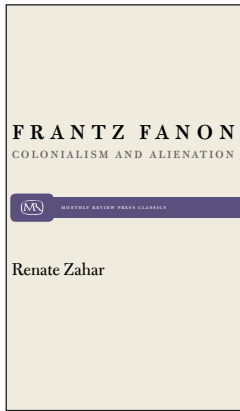
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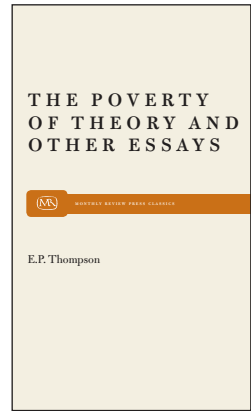
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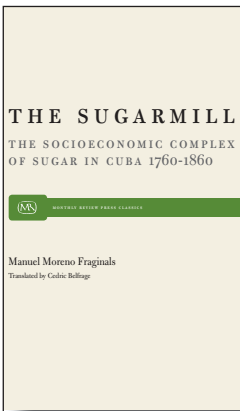
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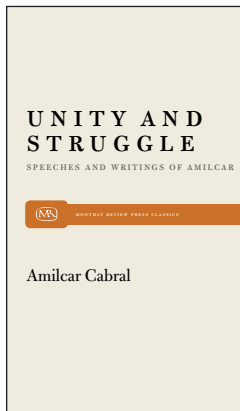
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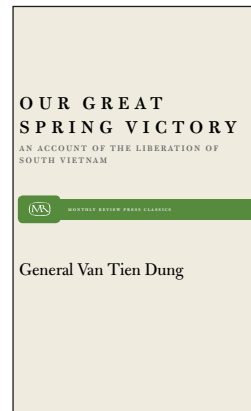
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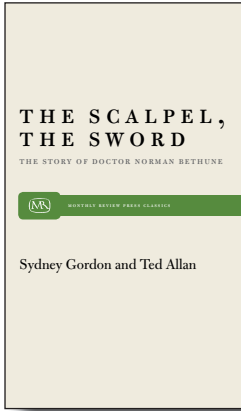
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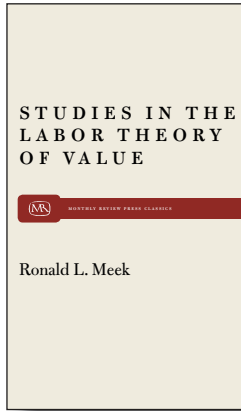
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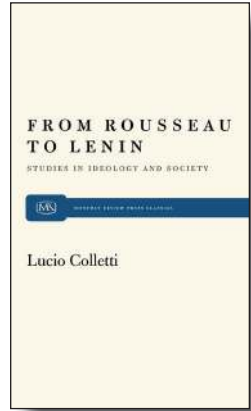
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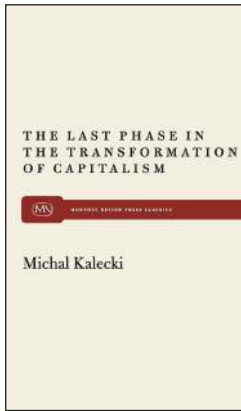
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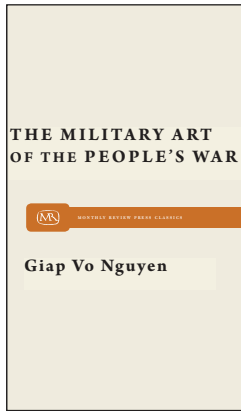
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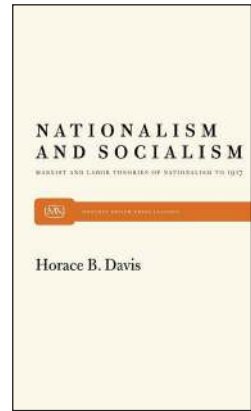
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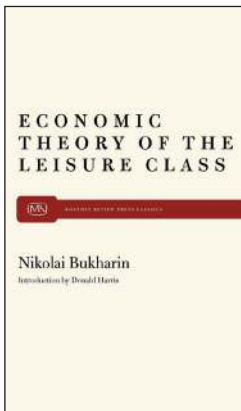
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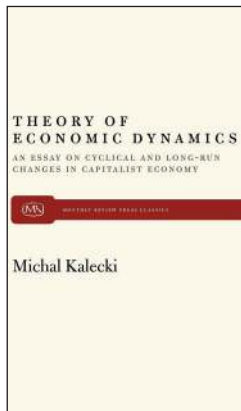
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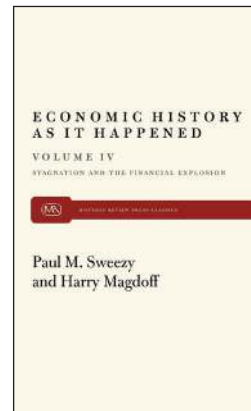
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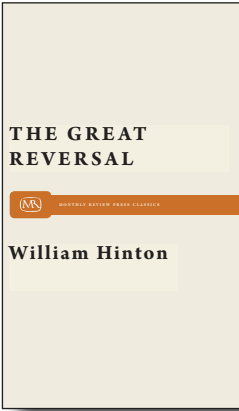
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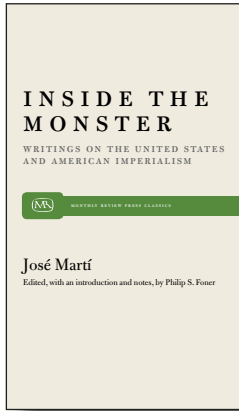
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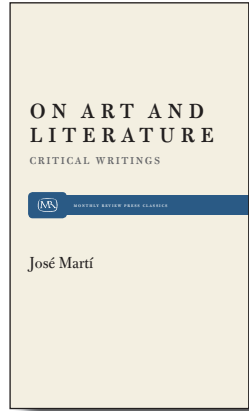
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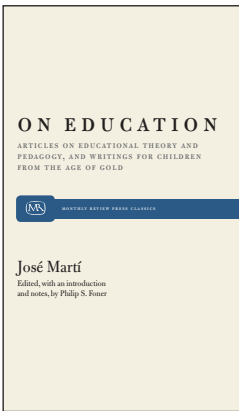
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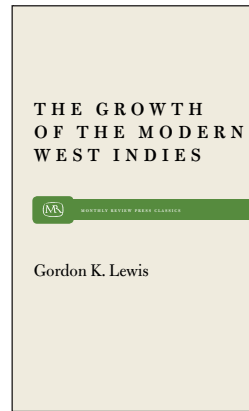
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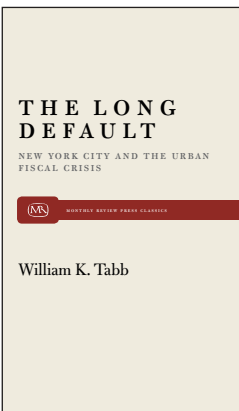
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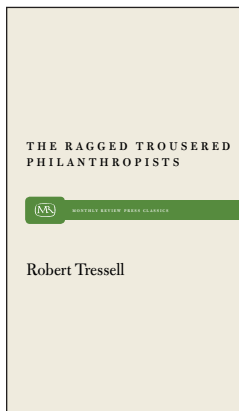
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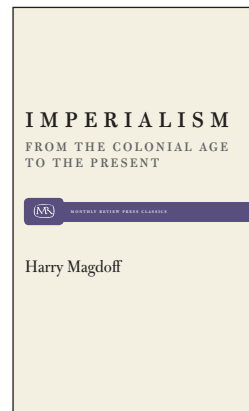
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 Abramovitz, Mimi, 32
 Achcar, Gilbert, 30
Agriculture and Food in Crisis, 20
 Albo, Greg, 4
 Alewitz, Mike, 23
 Allende, Isabel, 24
 Althusser, Louis, 28
America's Addiction to Terrorism, 1
America's Educations Deficit and the War on Youth, 19
American Revolution, 21
American War in Vietnam, 8
 Amin, Samir, 10, 26, 27, 28
Amoral Elephant, 19
Anarchism, 25
 Anderson, Kevin B., 29
Antonio Gramsci, 27
Art of Democracy, 20

Babouk, 25
 Baran, Paul, 18
 Barrios de Chungara, Domitila, 32
 Beaud, Michel, 18
 Becker, Marc, 27
Behind the Invasion of Iraq, 29
 Berry, Joe, 23
 Besancenot, Olivier, 24
Beyond Capital, 26
Big Farms Make Big Flu, 9
 Bigelow, William, 23
Biology under the Influence, 31
Blowing the Roof Off the Twenty-First Century, 15
 Boggs, Grace Lee, 21
 Boggs, James, 21
 Braverman, Harry, 22
 Brenner, Johanna, 32
 Bricmont, Jean, 30
 Bridenthal, Renate, 32
 Brouwer, Steve, 25
 Brown, Michael E., 21
 Bruschi, Valeria, 19
 Buck, Pem Davidson, 22
 Buhle, Paul, 23
Build It Now, 25
 Bukharin, Nikolai, 28
 Burkett, Paul, 18
Bush Versus Chávez, 24
 Buttel, Frederick H., 20

 Cabral, Amílcar, 17
 Campbell, Horace, 30
Capitalism and the Information Age, 29
Capitalist Accumulation and Women's Labour in Asian Economies, 32
Capitalist Globalization, 19
 Castaño Ferreira, Eleonora, 29
 Castaño Ferreira, João, 29

Censorship, Inc., 25
 Césaire, Aimé, 27
Challenge and Burden of Historical Time, 25
 Chávez, Hugo, 24
Che Guevara: His Revolutionary Legacy, 24
Cheap Motels and a Hot Plate, 18
China and Socialism, 18
 Chomsky, Carol, 29
 Chomsky, Noam, 29
 Chung, Clairmont, 28
 Clark, Brett, 31
Class Dismissed, 19
Cocaine, Death Squads, and the War on Terror, 31
 Cockcroft, James D., 24
Cold War and the New Imperialism, 30
 Collins, Sheila, 31
Columbus: His Enterprise, 21
Communist Manifesto, 27
Confronting Black Jacobins, 2
Conquest of America, 20
Consciencism, 17
Contradictions of Real Socialism, 27
 Cottle, Drew, 31
Critique of Intelligent Design, 31
Crooked Deals and Broken Treaties, 5
Cuba and the U.S. Empire, 7
Cuba, the Media, and the Challenge of Impartiality, 24
 Cullen, Jim, 20
Cultures of Darkness, 21
 Cushion, Steve, 6
 Custers, Peter, 32

Days and Nights of Love and War, 23
Debt, the IMF, and the World Bank, 18
 Desai, Ashwin, 17
Development, Crises, and Alternative Visions, 32
Devil's Milk, 21
Dialectical Urbanism, 32
 Diamond, Norman, 23
"Dictatorship of the Proletariat" From Marx to Lenin, 27
Digital Diploma Mills, 19
 DiMaggio, Anthony, 29
Discourse on Colonialism, 27
Disinherited, 29
 Dobkowski, Michael N., 26
 Dollinger, Genora Johnson, 22
 Dollinger, Sol, 22
 Domínguez, Esteban Morales, 23
 Dore, Elizabeth, 25
 Dose, Ralf, 21
 Draper, Hal, 26, 27, 28
 Du Bois, W.E.B., 31

 Durrenberger, E. Paul, 22

 Early, Steve, 22
Eastern Cauldron, 30
Ecological Revolution, 20
Ecological Rift, 20
Ecology against Capitalism, 20
Economic War against Cuba, 23
Education of Black People, 31
E.P. Thompson and the Making of the New Left, 26
Embedded With Organized Labor, 22
Endless Crisis, 19
 Endore, Guy, 25
 Engels, Friedrich, 27
 Erem, Suzan, 22
Ethical Dimensions of Marxist Thought, 27
Eurocentrism, 27
 Ewen, Elizabeth, 32

Faces of Latin America, 23
Fanshen, 17
Fiction of a Thinkable World, 30
 Finkel, Alvin, 21
 Fischer, Ernst, 27
Fools' Crusade, 30
 Foster, John Bellamy, 19, 20, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31
 Franklin, Jane, 7
Freedom Budget for All Americans, 21
Friends of Alice Wheelon, 13
From Solidarity to Sellout, 27

 Galeano, Eduardo, 23, 24
Gender Politics in Latin America, 25
 Girdner, Eddie J., 20
 Giroux, Henry, 1, 19
Global Imperialism and the Great Crisis, 19
Global NATO and the Catastrophic Failure in Libya, 30
God Market, 17
 Golinger, Eva, 24
Great Financial Crisis, 19
Great Tradition in English Literature, 25
 Green, Duncan, 23, 24
 Greenbaum, Joan, 23
 Grossmann, Atina, 32
 Grown, Caren, 32
 Guerin, Daniel, 25
 Guevara, Che, 24
 Guskin, Jane, 30

 Haberkern, E., 26
Haiti, State against Nation, 24
 Han, Dongping, 18
 Harnecker, Marta, 14, 24

 Hart-Landsberg, Martin, 17, 18, 19
 Heinrich, Michael, 27
 Heller, Henry, 30
Hell's Kitchen and the Battle for Urban Space, 21
 Herman, Edward S., 31
Hidden History of the Cuban Revolution, 6
Hidden Structure of Violence, 12
 Hinton, William, 17
History of Capitalism, 18
History of World Agriculture, 20
 Holmstrom, Nancy, 32
 Horne, Gerald, 2, 21
How to Read Karl Marx, 27
 Huberman, Leo, 18, 22
 Hudis, Peter, 29
Humanitarian Imperialism, 30
Hungry for Profit, 20
 Huws, Ursula, 15, 22

 Iglesias, Cesar Andreu, 31
Immigrant Women in the Land of Dollars, 32
Imperialism in the Twenty-First Century, 3
Imperialism without Colonies, 30
Implosion of Contemporary Capitalism, 26
In Defense of History, 27
In Our Time, 21
In Walt We Trust, 16
Inside Lebanon, 29
Insurgent Images, 23
Introduction to the Three Volumes of Karl Marx's Capital, 27
Inventing Western Civilization, 21
Invisible Handcuffs of Capitalism, 19

 Jameson, Frederic, 28
 Johnstone, Diana, 30
 José Carlos Mariátegui, 27

 Kaplan, Marion, 32
Karl Marx's Theory of Revolution, Vol. 1–5, 26, 29
 Kasrils, Ronnie, 17
 Kelley, Robin D. G., 27
 Kfoury, Assaf, 29
Killing Me Softly, 20
 Koning, Hans, 20, 21
Korea: Division, Reunification, and U.S. Foreign Policy, 17
 Kowalik, Tadeusz, 27
 Krausz, Tamás, 16

Labor and Monopoly Capital, 22
Labor in the Global Digital Economy, 15

- Labor Pains*, 22
 Lamrani, Salim, 23, 24
Language of Empire, 26
Law and the Rise of Capitalism, 25
Law of Worldwide Value, 28
 Le Blanc, Paul, 21
 Lebowitz, Michael A., 14, 25, 26, 27
 Leibovitz, Clement, 21
Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays, 28
Let Me Speak!, 32
Let Them Eat Ketchup!, 31
Lettuce Wars, 22
 Levins, Richard, 31
 Levy, Madeleine R., 25
 Lewontin, Richard, 31
 Li, Minqi, 17
Liberal Virus, 28
 Löwy, Michael, 24

 Magdoff, Fred, 19, 20
 Magdoff, Harry, 30
Magnus Hirschfeld, 21
 Mahajan, Rahul, 30
Making of a Cybertariat, 22
Making Sense of the Media, 29
Man's Worldly Goods, 18
 Mantsios, Gregory, 22
 Marciano, John, 8
 Marcos, Subcomandante, 24
 Marek, Franz, 27
 Markels, Julian, 25
 Marsh, John, 16, 19
 Martin, Randy, 21
 Marx, Karl, 27
Marx's Ecology, 20
Marxian Imagination, 25
 Mayekiso, Mzwanele, 17
 Mazoyer, Marcel, 20
 McChesney, Robert W., 15, 19, 29, 30
Memoirs of Bernardo Vega, 31
 Merrifield, Andy, 32
 Mészáros, István, 25, 26, 28, 31
Mexico's Hope, 24
Mexico's Revolution Then and Now, 24
 Millet, Damien, 18
Monopoly Capital, 18
More Unequal, 31
 Muzzupappa, Antonella, 19
Mythology of Imperialism, 25

Naked Imperialism, 30
Naming the System, 18
 Nanda, Meera, 17
 Neuburger, Bruce, 22
Necessity of Social Control, 26
New Crusade, 30
New Labor Movement for the New Century, 22
New Studies in the Politics and Culture of U.S. Communism, 21
 Newman, Michael, 18
Next Liberation Struggle, 17
 Nkrumah, Kwame, 17
 Noble, David, 19
Nobody Called Me Charlie, 18
Not Automatic, 22
 Nuss, Sabine, 19

On the Global Waterfront, 22
One Day in December, 23
Open Veins of Latin America, 24

 Palmer, Bryan D., 21
 Panitch, Leo, 4
Paramilitarism and the Assault on Democracy in Haiti, 24
 Patterson, Thomas C., 21
 Pattullo, Polly, 13
People's Lawyer, 25
 Perelman, Michael, 19
 Peterson, David, 31
Philosophical Arabesques, 28
 Pilisuk, Marc, 12
Political Economy of Growth, 18
Political Economy of Media, 29
Politics of Genocide, 31
Politics of Immigration, 30
Politics of the Right: Socialist Register 2016, 4
PolyluxMarx, 19
Postmodern Prince, 26
Power in Our Hands, 23
Powers of Desire, 32
Pox Americana, 30
 Preston, Charles, 18
Problem of the Media, 29
Put to Work, 23

Race in Cuba, 23
Race to Revolution, 21
Radical Perspectives on the Rise of Fascism in Germany, 26
Rag-Tags, Scum, Riff-Raff, and Commies, 30
Railroading Economics, 19
 Rajiva, Lila, 26
Ralph Miliband and the Politics of the New Left, 18
 Raskin, Jonah, 25
Reawakening of the Arab World, 10
Reclaiming the Ivory Tower, 23
Reconstructing Lenin, 16
Red Cat, White Cat, 17
 Reiter, Ranya R., 32
Reminiscences of the Cuban Revolutionary War, 24
Research Unit for Political Economy, 29

Return to the Source, 17
Revolutionary Doctors, 25
Rise of China, 17
Rise of the Tea Party, 29
 Rolph-Trouillot, Michel, 24
Rosa Luxemburg Reader, 29
 Rose, Nancy E., 23
 Rosengarten, Frank, 21
 Roudart, Laurence, 20
 Rountree, Jennifer Achord, 12
 Rowbotham, Sheila, 13
 Ruben, Albert, 25
 Rubinstein, Annette T., 25
Russia and the Long Transition from Capitalism to Socialism, 10
Ruth First and Joe Slovo in the War against Apartheid, 17

 Sandine, Al, 32
 Santucci, Antonio A., 27
 Saul, John S., 17
Save Our Unions, 21
Science and Humanism of Stephen Jay Gould, 31
 Screpanti, Ernesto, 19
 Sen, Gita, 32
Shadows of Tender Fury, 24
 Shoup, Laurence H., 12
Silent Revolution, 24
Silvertown, 21
 Singer, Daniel, 29
 Smith, Jack, 20
 Smith, John, 3
 Snedeker, George, 21
 Snitow, Ann, 32
Social Structure and Forms of Consciousness, 31
Socialism or Barbarism, 28
Socialist Alternative, 26
Socialist Imperative, 14
Socialist Feminist Project, 32
Socialist Register 2011–2016, 4
 Soley, Lawrence, 25
 Sonbonmatsu, John, 26
Spectres of Capitalism, 28
 Sprague, Jeb, 24
 Stansell, Christine, 32
 Stecklner, Anne, 19
 Steinberg, Michael, 30
 Stout, Nancy, 23
Studs Terkel, 11
 Stütze, Ingo, 19
Structural Crisis of Capital, 28
 Sweezy, Paul M., 18

 Tabb, William K., 19
Taking Care of Business, 23
Taming of the American Crowd, 32
Theory of Capitalist Development, 18
Theory of Monopoly Capitalism, 26

 Thomas, Eric Chester, 30
 Thompson, E. P., 26
 Thompson, Sharon, 32
Three Essays on Marx's Value Theory, 26
 Tigar, Michael E., 25
 Tokar, Brian, 20
 Toussaint, Éric, 18
Toward an Anthropology of Women, 32
Toward an Open Tomb, 29
Township Politics, 17
 Tully, John, 5, 21
 Turki, Fawaz, 29

Under Attack, Fighting Back, 32
Understanding the Venezuelan Revolution, 24
Unknown Cultural Revolution, 18
Unlikely Secret Agent, 17

 Vanden, Harry E., 27
 Varga, Joseph J., 21
 Vega, Bernardo, 31
 Villar, Oliver, 31
Vulnerable Planet, 20

 Wallace, Rob, 9
 Walliman, Isidor, 26
Wall Street's Think Tank, 12
Walter A. Rodney, 28
 Warschawski, Michel, 29
We Are the Poors, 17
We, the People, 22
 Weil, Robert, 17
 West, Cornel, 27
What Every Environmentalist Needs to Know About Capitalism, 20
When Biology Became Destiny, 32
When Media Goes to War, 29
Whose Millennium, 29
Why Unions Matter, 23
 Wieder, Alan, 11, 17
 Wilson, David, 30
Windows on the Workplace, 23
 Winslow, Cal, 26
Wisconsin Uprising, 22
Women and the Politics of Class, 32
 Wood, Ellen Meiksins, 27, 29
Work of Sartre, 31
Worked to the Bone, 22
World to Build, 14
World We Wish to See, 26

 Yates, Michael D., 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 31
 York, Richard, 31
Your Time Is Done Now, 13

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