

MONTHLY
REVIEW
PRESS

2013



The Endless Crisis

How Monopoly-Finance Capital Produces Stagnation and Upheaval from the USA to China

JOHN BELLAMY FOSTER and ROBERT W. McCHESNEY

The days of boom and bubble are over, and the time has come to understand the long-term economic reality. The Great Recession has given way to a period of long-term anemic growth, which Foster and McChesney aptly term the Great Stagnation.

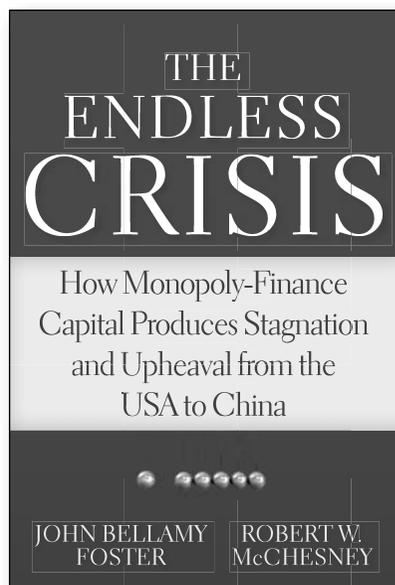
This incisive and timely book describes how the increasing monopolization of the economy—when a handful of large firms dominate one or several industries—leads to an overabundance of capital and too few profitable investment opportunities, with economic stagnation as the result. Absent powerful stimuli to investment, modern capitalist economies have become increasingly dependent on the financial sector to realize profits—a solution that cannot last indefinitely, as instability in financial markets over the last half-decade has made clear.

“Reminds us that monopoly power disappeared from the textbooks but not from real life. This is a useful book for anyone raised on the reflexive American optimism of the post-war years.”

—JAMES K. GALBRAITH

“The most important book yet to appear on stagnation, the central problem of modern economic reality. Essential reading for serious liberal, heterodox, radical, and all open-minded economic thinkers.”

—GAR ALPEROVITZ, author, *America Beyond Capitalism*



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JOHN BELLAMY FOSTER is editor of *Monthly Review*. He is professor of sociology at the University of Oregon and author of many books including *The Great Financial Crisis* (with Fred Magdoff) and *The Ecological Rift* (with Brett Clark and Richard York).

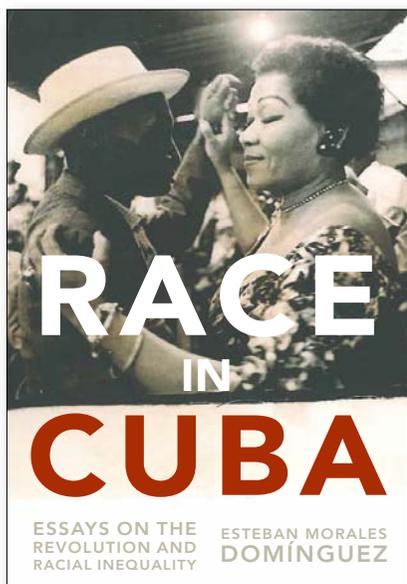
ROBERT W. McCHESNEY is the Gutsell Endowed Professor in the Department of Communication at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. He is the author of several books including *The Problem of the Media* and *Rich Media, Poor Democracy*.

Race in Cuba

Essays on the Revolution and Racial Inequality

ESTEBAN MORALES DOMÍNGUEZ

Edited and translated under the direction of GARY PREVOST and AUGUST NIMTZ



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304 pages / Latin America / Race

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ESTEBAN MORALES DOMÍNGUEZ

has been an active participant in the Cuban revolutionary project for the past fifty years and is one of Cuba's most prominent Afro-Cuban intellectuals. He is a member of the Cuban Academy of Sciences and the principal or co-author of fifteen books.

Gary Prevost is Professor of Political Science at St. John's University and the College of St. Benedict in Minnesota.

August Nitz, Jr. is Professor of Political Science at the University of Minnesota.

As a young militant, Esteban Morales Domínguez participated in the overthrow of the Batista regime and the triumph of the Cuban Revolution. The revolutionaries, he admired, sought to establish a more just and egalitarian society. But Morales, an Afro-Cuban, knew that the complicated question of race could not be ignored, or simply willed away in a post-revolutionary context. Today, he is one of Cuba's most prominent Afro-Cuban intellectuals and its leading authority on the race question.

Available for the first time in English, the essays collected here describe the problem of racial inequality in Cuba, provide evidence of its existence, constructively criticize efforts by the Cuban political leadership to end discrimination, and point to a possible way forward. He argues that the revolution must be an ongoing process and that to truly transform society it must continue to confront the question of race in Cuba.

"Of all the challenges confronted by the triumphant Cuban revolution in 1959, none has proven to be as intractable as the issue of racism. In a thoughtful and honest fashion, Esteban Morales lays bare the myths and realities of race relations in twentieth-century Cuba. An informed reader would be well served to approach the subject of race in Cuba through the insights offered by Morales."

—LOUIS A. PEREZ, JR., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

One Day in December

Celia Sánchez and the Cuban Revolution

NANCY STOUT

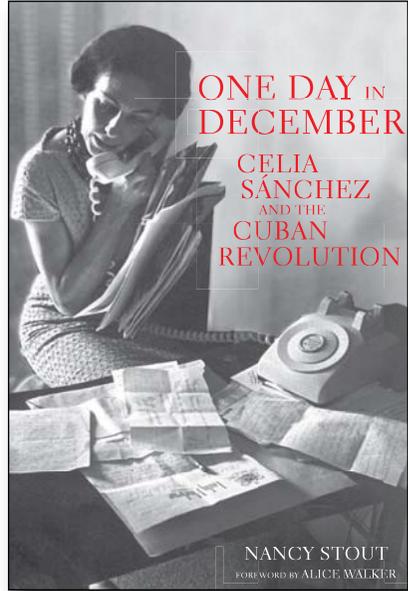
Foreword by ALICE WALKER

Celia Sánchez is the missing actor of the Cuban Revolution. Although not as well known in the English-speaking world as Fidel Castro and Che Guevara, Sánchez played a pivotal role in launching the revolution and administering the revolutionary state. She joined the clandestine 26th of July Movement and went on to choose the landing site of the Granma and fight with the rebels in the Sierra Maestra. She collected the documents that would form the official archives of the revolution, and, after its victory, launched numerous projects that enriched the lives of many Cubans, from parks to literacy programs to helping develop the Cohiba cigar brand. All the while, she maintained a close relationship with Fidel Castro that lasted until her death in 1980.

The product of ten years of original research, this biography draws on interviews with Sánchez's friends, family, and comrades in the rebel army, along with countless letters and documents. Biographer Nancy Stout was initially barred from the official archives, but, in a remarkable twist, was granted access by Fidel Castro himself, impressed as he was with Stout's project.

"I love this book. . . . an insightful, mature and sometimes droll exploration of a profoundly liberated, adventuresome and driven personality."

—ALICE WALKER, from her Foreword



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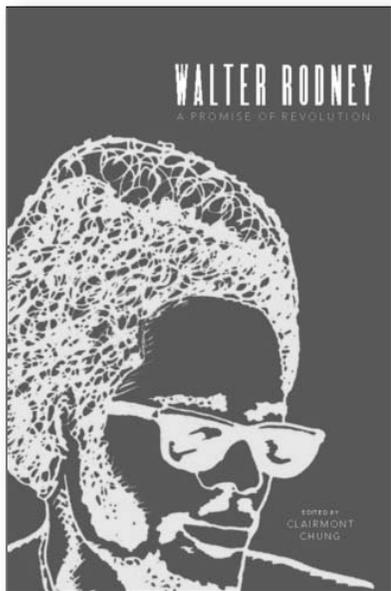
NANCY STOUT is a writer and photographer living in New York City. Her books include *Great American Thoroughbred Racetracks*, *Homestretch*, *The West Side YMCA: A Social and Architectural Retrospective*, *Havana/La Habana* (with architect Jorge Rigau, who wrote the text), and *Habanos: the Story of the Havana Cigar*.

ALICE WALKER is an author, poet, and activist. She won the Pulitzer Prize and the National Book Award for her novel *The Color Purple*.

Walter A. Rodney

A Promise of Revolution

Edited by CLAIRMONT CHUNG



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CLAIRMONT CHUNG is a lawyer, teacher, and filmmaker. He grew up in Guyana and lived through the racial violence of the 1960s and the insecurity that followed. He settled in Brooklyn, New York in 1979, entered Columbia University in 1981, moved to Harlem in 1983, and taught public school in the South Bronx. Chung directed and wrote the documentary, *W.A.R. Stories: Walter Anthony Rodney*.

The son of working class parents, Walter Rodney showed great academic promise and was awarded scholarships to the University of the West Indies in Jamaica and the School of African and Oriental Studies in London. He received his PhD at the age of twenty-four, and his thesis was published as *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast*, now a classic of African history. His most famous work, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, is a mainstay of radical literature.

Not content merely to study the world, Rodney turned to revolutionary politics in Jamaica, Tanzania, and in Guyana. But as Rodney became more popular, the threat of his revolutionary message stirred fears among the powerful and he was assassinated in 1980.

This book presents a moving and insightful portrait of Rodney through the words of academics, writers, artists, and political activists who knew him intimately or felt his influence. They demonstrate why Rodney is such a widely admired figure. Contributors include Robert Moore, Abyssinian Carto, Brenda Do Harris, Robert Hill, Amiri Baraka, Leith Mullings, Issa Shivji, Clive Thomas, and Rupert Roopnaraine.

“These personal recollections . . . remind us of what a seminal historical figure Rodney was, and how his reading of history and his practice as an activist still resonate today.”

—EDWARD A. ALPERS, UCLA;
co-editor with Pierre-Michel Fontaine,
Walter Rodney: Revolutionary and Scholar.

The Question of Strategy

Socialist Register 2013

Edited by LEO PANITCH, GREG ALBO, and VIVEK CHIBBER

Socialists today have to confront two realities—that they cannot avoid the question of reforms and a gradualist path out of capitalism; and that the organizational vehicles for socialism will most likely have to abide by different structures and principles than those that dominated left politics in the twentieth century. Though solutions are not obvious, *Socialist Register 2013* will interrogate these dilemmas and critique some unhelpful radical thinking that obstructs the reconsideration of socialist strategy for the twenty-first century.

CONTRIBUTORS:

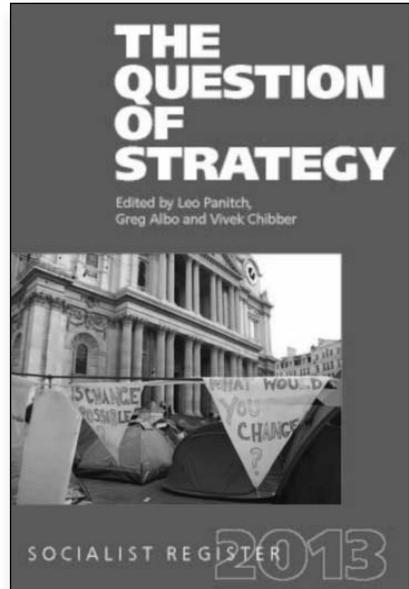
Leo Panitch, Greg Albo, Vivek Chibber, Hilary Wainwright, Barbara Epstein, Charlie Post, Christoph Spehr, Michael Spourdalakis, Steve Hellman, John Saul, Atilio Boron, Susan Spronk, Jodi Dean, Nancy Holmstrom, Johanna Brenner, Sam Gindin, Alex Callinicos, Michael Lebowitz, Mimmo Porcaro, Joan Sangster, Meg Luxton, Eli Zaretsky, Aristides Baltas.

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LEO PANITCH is professor of political science at York University in Toronto and author of *Renewing Socialism: Transforming Democracy, Strategy, and Imagination*.

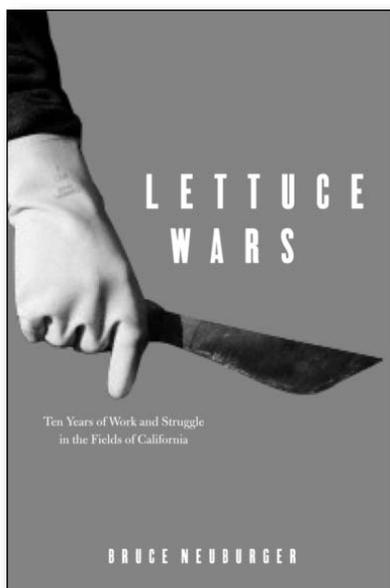
GREG ALBO is professor in the department of political science at York University, Toronto.

VIVEK CHIBBER is professor of sociology at New York University.

Lettuce Wars

Ten Years of Work and Struggle in the Fields of California

BRUCE NEUBURGER



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350 pages / Biography / Labor

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In 1971, Bruce Neuberger—young, out of work, and radicalized by the 60s counterculture in Berkeley—took a job as a farmworker on a whim. He could have hardly anticipated that he would spend the next decade laboring up and down the agricultural valleys of California, alongside the anonymous and largely immigrant workforce that feeds the nation. This account of his journey begins at a remarkable moment, after the birth of the United Farm Workers union and the ensuing uptick in worker militancy.

Part memoir, part informed commentary on farm labor, the U.S. labor movement, and the political economy of agriculture, *Lettuce Wars* is a lively account written from the perspective of the fields.

“In these stirring pages you will find exquisite descriptions of the work, lovely accounts of the people who do it, and a unique view of farm worker politics, all delivered in straight forward, good humored prose. Most of all, Neuberger reminds us of what it felt like to be young and believe in Revolution.”

—FRANK BARDACKE, author,
*Trampling Out the Vintage: Cesar Chavez
and the Two Souls of the UFW*

BRUCE NEUBURGER is a former farmworker, longtime radical political activist, GI organizer, movement newspaper writer and editor, cab driver, and, for the past twenty-five years, adult school and community college teacher. This is his first book.

Faces of Latin America

4th Edition

DUNCAN GREEN with SUE BRANFORD

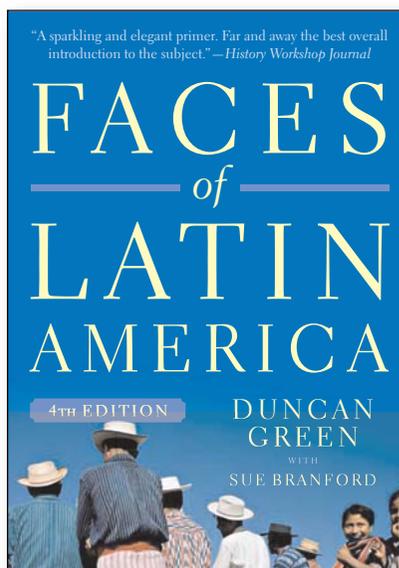
Faces of Latin America has sold more than 50,000 copies since it first appeared in 1991, and is widely considered to be the best available introduction in English to the economies, politics, demography, social structures, environment and cultures of Latin America. Duncan Green and Sue Branford take the reader beyond the conventional media's fixation on the drug trade, corrupt politicians and military leaders, death squads, and guerrilla movements to celebrate the vibrant history and culture of Latin America's people. *Faces of Latin America* examines some of the key forces—from conquest and the growth of the commodity trade, military rule, land distribution, industrialization, and migration to civil wars and revolutions, the debt crisis, neoliberalism, and NAFTA—shaping the region's political and social history

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DUNCAN GREEN is Head of Research at Oxfam. He has worked as a teacher, journalist, and researcher throughout Latin America. He is the author of many books, most recently *From Poverty to Power*.

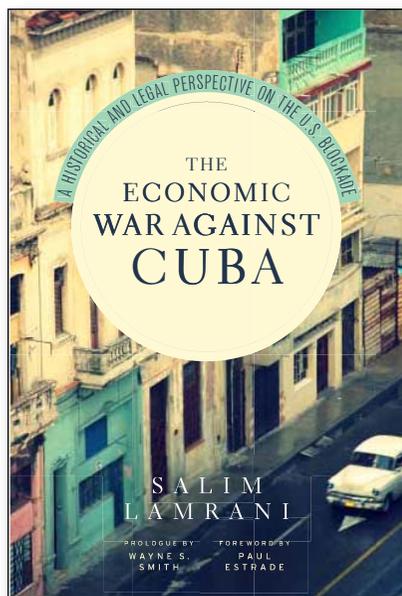
SUE BRANFORD worked as a foreign correspondent in Latin America in the 1970s and 1980s. On returning to the United Kingdom, she became an editor and program maker for the BBC. She is currently an editor at Latin America Bureau.

The Economic War Against Cuba

A Historical and Legal Perspective on the U.S. Blockade

SALIM LAMRANI, Translated by LARRY OBERG

Prologue by WAYNE S. SMITH; Foreword by PAUL ESTRADA



MARCH

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144 pages / Latin America

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SALIM LAMRANI teaches at the University of Paris-Sorbonne Paris IV and the University of la Réunion. He is also a journalist and commentator who specializes in Cuban-American relations.

It is impossible to fully understand Cuba today without also understanding the economic sanctions levied against it by the United States. For over fifty years, these sanctions have been upheld by every presidential administration, and at times intensified by individual presidents and acts of Congress. They are a key part of the U.S. government's ongoing campaign to undermine the Cuban Revolution, and stand in egregious violation of international law. Most importantly, the sanctions are cruelly designed for their harmful impact on the Cuban people.

In this concise and sober account, Salim Lamrani explains everything you need to know about U.S. economic sanctions against Cuba: their origins, their provisions, how they contravene international law, and how they affect the lives of Cubans. He examines the U.S. government's own official documents to expose what is hiding in plain sight: an indefensible, vicious, and wasteful blockade that has been roundly condemned by citizens around the world.

“An excellent summary of the U.S. economic sanctions against Cuba, the manner in which they have been imposed for more than a half century and the harm they cause the Cuban people.”

—WAYNE S. SMITH, diplomat and former head of the U.S. Interests Section in Cuba

America's Education Deficit and the War on Youth

HENRY A. GIROUX

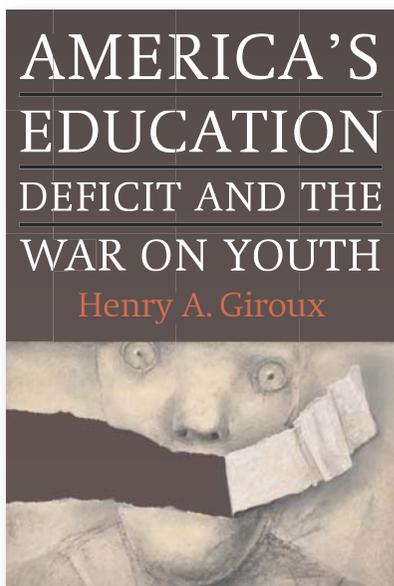
America's latest war, according to renowned social critic Henry Giroux, is a war on youth. While this may seem counterintuitive in our youth-obsessed culture, Giroux lays bare the grim reality of how our educational, social, and economic institutions continually fail young people.

Their systemic failure is the result of what Giroux identifies as "four fundamentalisms": market de-regulation, patriotic and religious fervor, the instrumentalization of education, and the militarization of society. We see the consequences most plainly in the decaying education system: schools are increasingly designed to churn out drone-like future employees, imbued with authoritarian values, inured to violence, and destined to serve the market. And those are the lucky ones. Young people who don't conform to cultural and economic discipline are left to navigate the neoliberal landscape on their own; if they are black or brown, they are likely to become ensnared by a harsh penal system.

He urges critical educators to unite with students and workers in rebellion to form a new pedagogy, and to build a new, democratic society from the ground up.

"A compelling critical discourse analyzing the present crisis of democracy. We can only hope it will become a manifesto, taken up by an informed and energized citizenry—ready to act."

—CAROL BECKER, Dean, Columbia University School of the Arts



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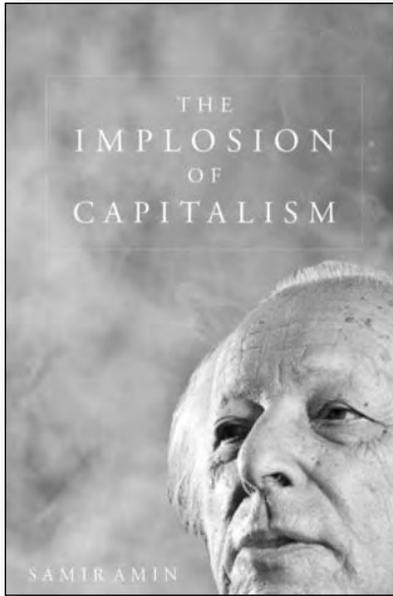
224 pages / Education

SIMULTANEOUS E-BOOK AVAILABLE

HENRY A. GIROUX is a social critic and educator. He currently holds the Global Television Network Chair in Communication Studies at McMaster University, Ontario.

The Implosion of Capitalism

SAMIR AMIN



JULY

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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. His numerous works include *The Worldwide Law of Value*, *Eurocentrism*, *The World We Wish to See*, *The Liberal Virus*, *Accumulation on a World Scale*, and *Spectres of Capitalism*.

Renowned political economist Samir Amin, engaged in a unique lifelong effort both to narrate and affect the human condition on a global scale, brings his analysis up to the present—the world of 2013. The key events of our times—financial crisis, the emerging nations, globalization, financialization, political Islam, Euro-zone implosion—are related in a coherent, historically based, account.

Changes in contemporary capitalism require an updating of definitions and analysis of social classes, class struggles, political parties, social movements and the ideological forms in which they express their modes of action in the transformation of societies. Amin meets this challenge and lays bare the reality of monopoly capitalism in its general, global form. Ultimately, Amin demonstrates that this system is not viable and that the implosion in progress is unavoidable. Whether humanity will rise to the challenge of building a more humane global order free of the contradictions of capital, however, is yet to be seen.

“What is splendid in Amin’s writing . . . is his lucidity of expression, his clear consistency of approach, and, above all his absolutely unwavering condemnation of the ravages of capital and of bourgeois ideology in all its forms . . . Amin remains an essential point of reference, and an inspiration.”

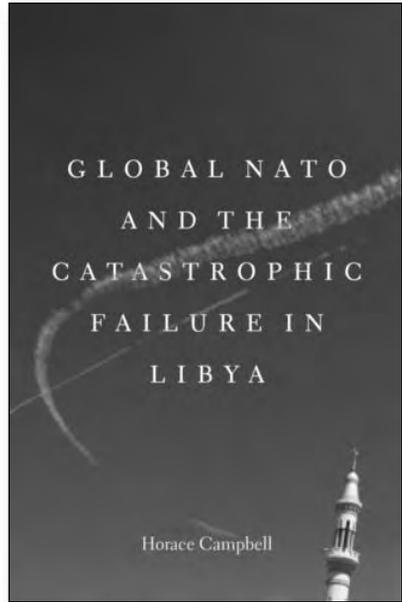
—BILL BOWRING, *Marx & Philosophy Review of Books*

Global NATO and the Catastrophic Failure in Libya

HORACE CAMPBELL

In this elegantly written and incisive account, scholar Horace Campbell investigates the political and economic crises of the early twenty-first century through the prism of NATO's intervention in Libya. He traces the origins of the conflict, situates it in the broader context of the Arab Spring uprisings, and explains the expanded role of a post-Cold War NATO. This military organization, he argues, is the instrument through which the capitalist class of North America and Europe seeks to impose its political will on the rest of the world, however warped by the increasingly outmoded neoliberal form of capitalism. The intervention in Libya—characterized by bombing campaigns, military information operations, third party countries, and private contractors—exemplifies this new model.

Campbell points out that while political elites in the West were quick to celebrate the intervention in Libya as a success, the NATO campaign caused many civilian deaths and destroyed the nation's infrastructure. Furthermore, the instability it unleashed in the forms of militias and terrorist groups has only begun to be reckoned with, as the United States learned when its embassy was attacked and personnel, including the ambassador, were killed. This lucid study is essential reading for anyone seeking to understand this complex and weighty course of events.



MARCH

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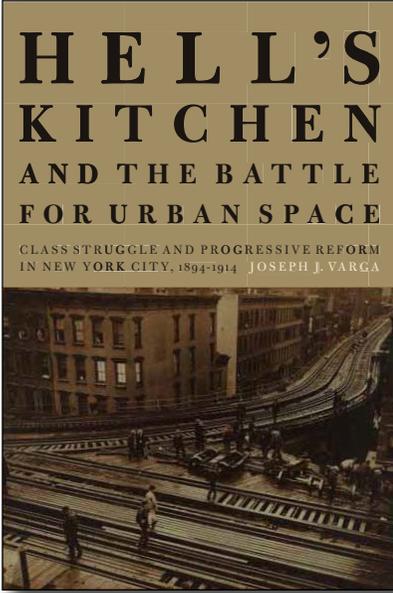
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HORACE CAMPBELL holds a joint Professorship in the Department of African American Studies and Department of Political Science at Syracuse University. He is also a Special Invited Professor at Tsinghua University in Beijing, China. He is the author of *Barack Obama and 21st Century Politics*, *Reclaiming Zimbabwe: The Exhaustion of the Patriarchal Model of Liberation*, and *Pan Africanism, Pan Africanists and African Liberation in the 21st Century*. His seminal work *Rasta and Resistance: From Marcus Garvey to Walter Rodney* is in its eighth printing.

Hell's Kitchen and the Battle for Urban Space

Class Struggle and Progressive Reform in New York City, 1894–1914

JOSEPH J. VARGA



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JOSEPH VARGA is assistant professor of labor studies at Indiana University. Before receiving his doctorate from the New School for Social Research, Varga was a truck driver, forklift operator, and service worker, among other things. He is a long-time labor activist and former Teamster shop steward, and has worked for the IBEW and New York State Working Families Party.

Hell's Kitchen is among Manhattan's most storied and studied neighborhoods. A working-class district situated next to the West Side's middle- and upper-class residential districts, it has long attracted the focus of artists and urban planners, writers and reformers. Now, Joseph Varga takes us on a tour of Hell's Kitchen with an eye toward what we usually take for granted: space, and, particularly, how urban spaces are produced, controlled, and contested by different class and political forces.

Varga examines events and locations in a crucial period in the formation of the Hell's Kitchen neighborhood, the Progressive Era, and describes how reformers sought to shape the behavior and experiences of its inhabitants by manipulating the built environment. But those inhabitants had plans of their own, and thus ensued a struggle over the very spaces—public and private, commercial and personal—in which they lived. Varga considers the interactions between human actors, the built environment, and the natural landscape, and suggests how the production and struggle over space influence what we think and how we live. In the process, he raises incisive questions about the meaning of community, citizenship, and democracy itself.

Capitalist Globalization

Consequences, Resistance, and Alternatives

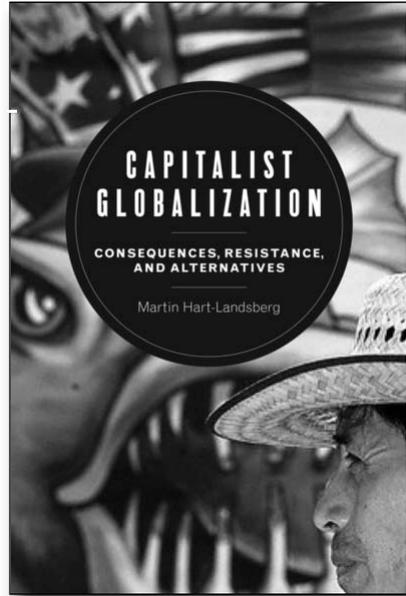
MARTIN HART-LANDSBERG

Nearly all economists, politicians, business leaders, and mainstream journalists view globalization as the natural result of economic development, and a beneficial one at that. But, as noted economist Martin Hart-Landsberg argues, this perception does not match the reality of globalization. The rise of transnational corporations and their global production chains was the result of intentional and political acts, decisions made at the highest levels of power. Their aim—to increase profits by seeking the cheapest sources of labor and raw materials—was facilitated through policy-making at the national and international levels, and was largely successful. But workers in every nation have paid the costs.

This book examines the historical record of globalization and discusses alternatives, in part by looking to examples such as South America's Bolivarian Alliance for the Americas (ALBA) for clues on how to build an international economy based on solidarity, social development, and shared prosperity.

“Building upon his excellent in-depth studies of capitalist development in South Korea, Japan and China, Hart-Landsberg takes his analysis to the next level by explaining the profound significance of the restructuring of the international organization of production.”

—MICHAEL A. LEBOWITZ, professor emeritus, Simon Fraser University



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208 pages / Globalization

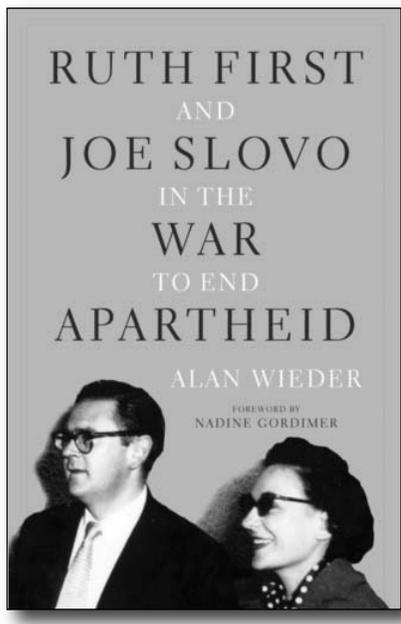
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MARTIN HART-LANDSBERG is professor of economics and director of the political economy program at Lewis and Clark College, Portland, Oregon; and adjunct researcher at the Institute for Social Sciences, Gyeongsang National University, South Korea. He is the author or editor of six books, including, most recently, *Marxist Perspectives on South Korea in the Global Economy*.

Ruth First and Joe Slovo in the War to End Apartheid

ALAN WIEDER

Foreword by NADINE GORDIMER



JULY

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SIMULTANEOUS E-BOOK AVAILABLE

ALAN WIEDER is an oral historian who lives in Portland, Oregon. He is distinguished professor emeritus at the University of South Carolina and has also taught at the University of the Western Cape and Stellenbosch University in South Africa. He has written widely on South Africans who fought against the apartheid regime.

NADINE GORDIMER is a writer and activist from South Africa. She was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1991.

Ruth First and Joe Slovo, husband and wife, were leaders of the war to end apartheid in South Africa. Communists, scholars, parents, and uncompromising militants, they were the perfect enemies for the white police state. Together they were swept up in the growing resistance to apartheid, and together they experienced repression and exile. Their contributions to the liberation struggle, as individuals and as a couple, are undeniable. Ruth agitated tirelessly for the overthrow of apartheid, first in South Africa and then from abroad, and Joe directed much of the armed struggle carried out by the famous Umkhonto we Sizwe. Only one of them, however, would survive to see the fall of the old regime and the founding of a new, democratic South Africa.

This book, the first extended biography of Ruth First and Joe Slovo, is a remarkable account of one couple and the revolutionary moment in which they lived.

“A gripping social history, a love song to the revolution, and a passionate and enlightening portrait of a partnership, a love-affair, and two extraordinary activists who cast their fates with the dreams of people everywhere for justice and freedom.”

—BILL AYERS and
BERNARDINE DOHRN

A Freedom Budget for All Americans

*Recapturing the Promise of the Civil Rights Movement
in the Struggle for Economic Justice Today*

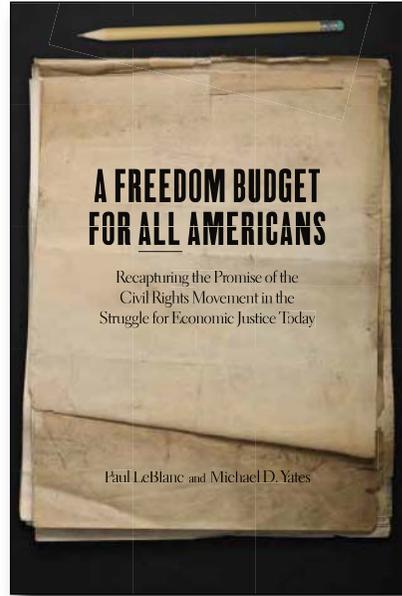
PAUL Le BLANC and MICHAEL D. YATES

While the Civil Rights Movement is remembered for efforts to end segregation and secure the rights of African Americans, the larger economic vision that animated much of the movement is often overlooked today. That vision sought economic justice for every person in the United States, regardless of race. The document that best captured this vision was the *Freedom Budget for All Americans: Budgeting Our Resources, 1966–1975, To Achieve Freedom from Want* published by the A. Philip Randolph Institute and endorsed by a virtual ‘who’s who’ of U.S. left liberalism and radicalism.

Now, two of today’s leading socialist thinkers return to the Freedom Budget and its program for economic justice. Paul Le Blanc and Michael D. Yates explain the origins of the Freedom Budget. Combining historical perspective with clear-sighted economic proposals, the authors make a concrete case for reviving the spirit of the Civil Rights Movement and building the society of economic security and democratic control envisioned by the movement’s leaders—a struggle that continues to this day.

“Exciting and unique, especially for students, activists, and scholars. An important challenge to the neoliberal agenda.”

—IMMANUEL NESS, editor,
*WorkingUSA: The Journal of Labor
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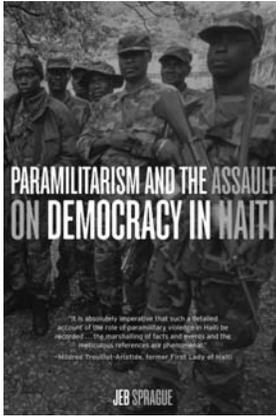
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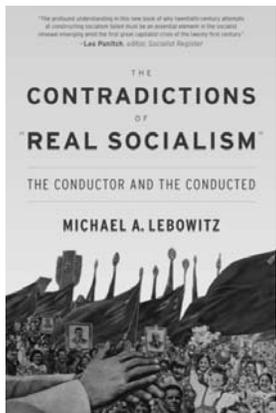
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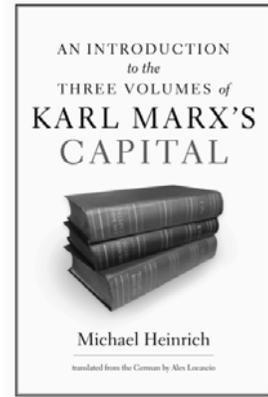
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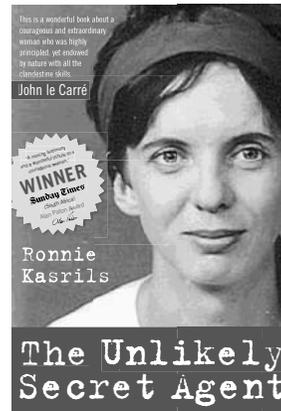
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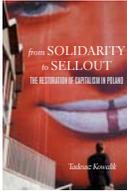
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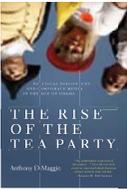
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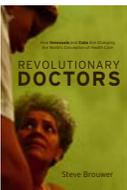
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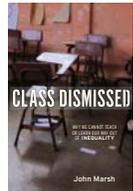
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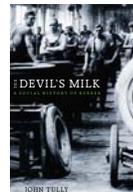
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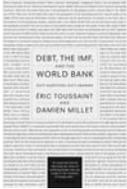


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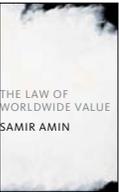
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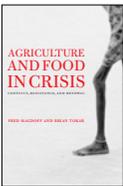


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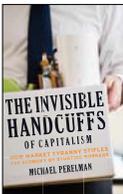
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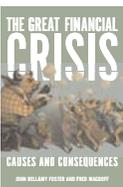
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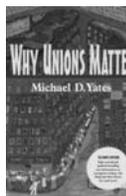
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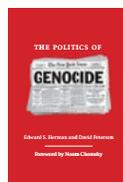
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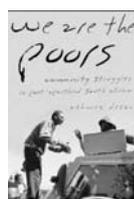
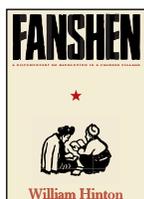
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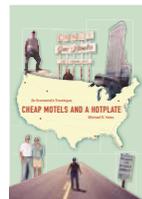
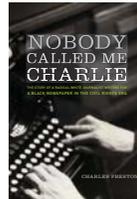
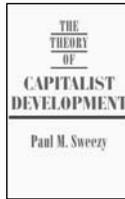
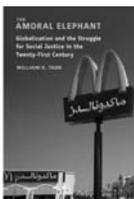
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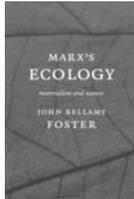
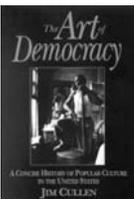
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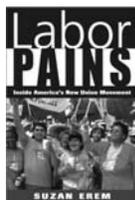
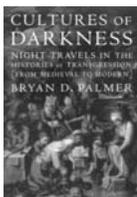
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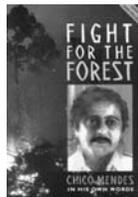
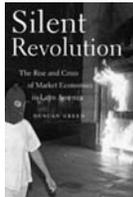
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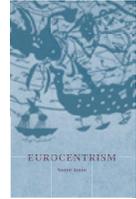
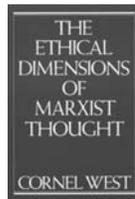
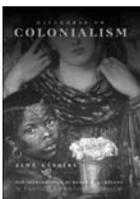
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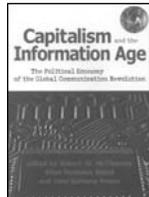
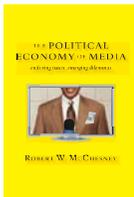
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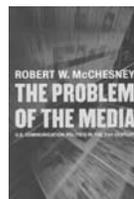
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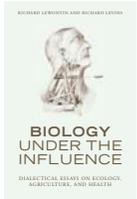
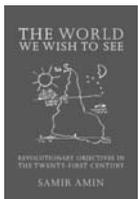
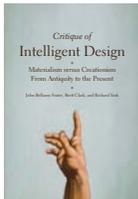
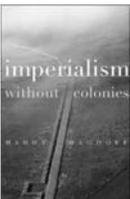
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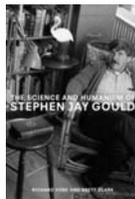
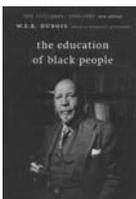
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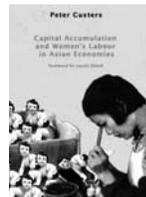
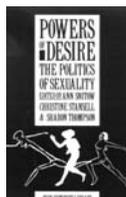
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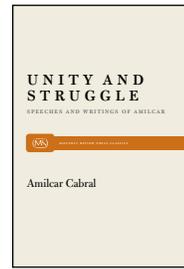
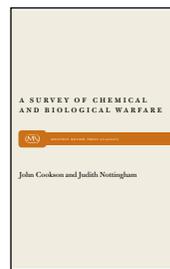
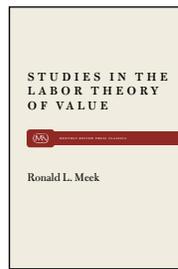
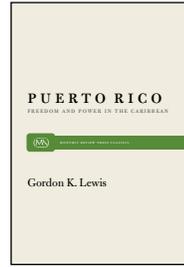
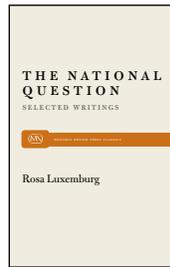
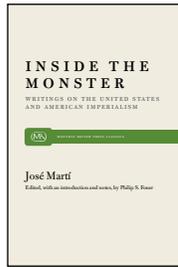
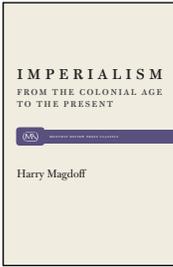
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