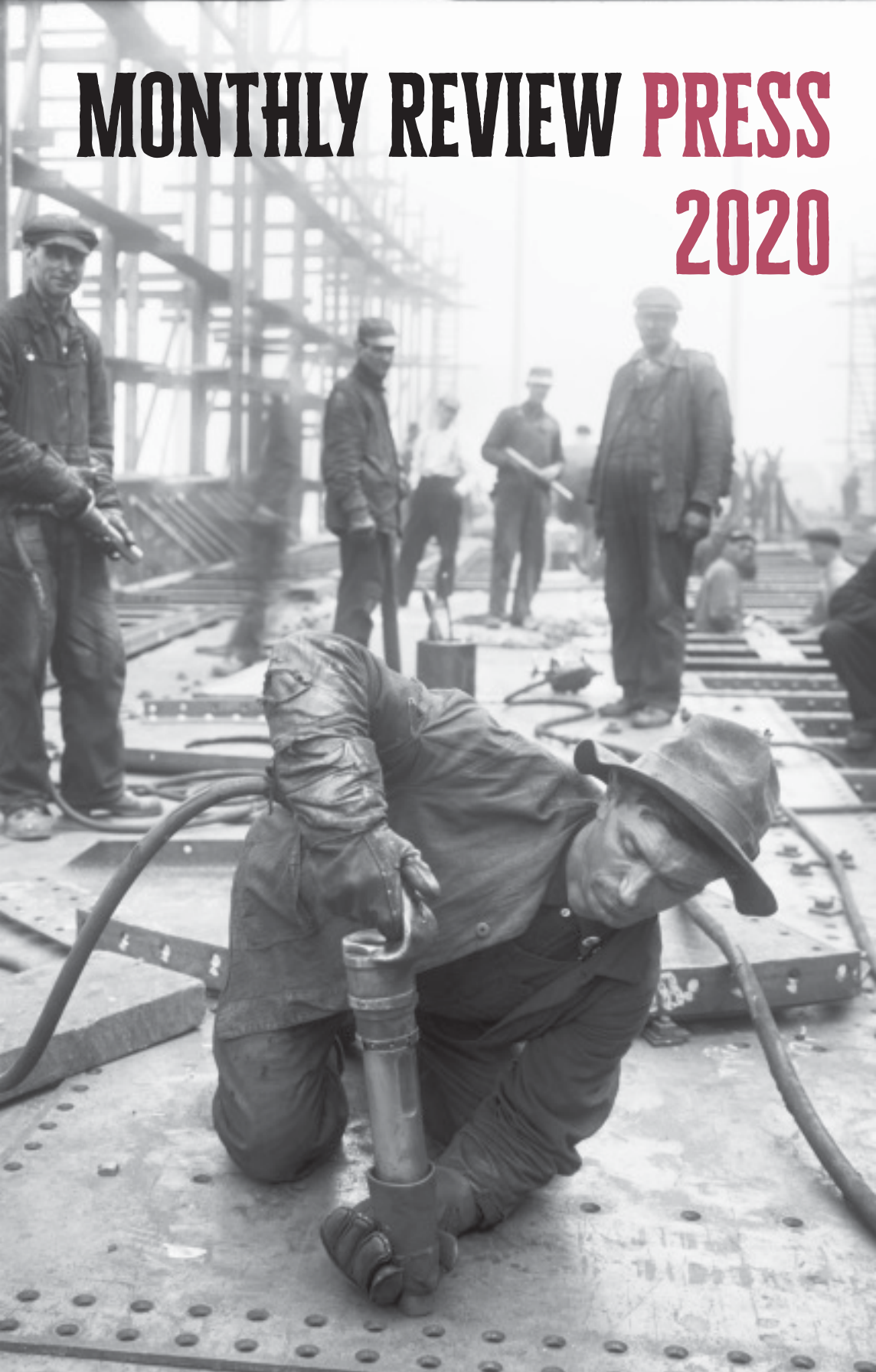


# **MONTHLY REVIEW** **PRESS** **2020**



# The Return of Nature

## Socialism and Ecology

John Bellamy Foster

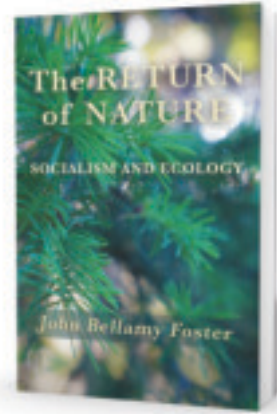
Twenty years ago, John Bellamy Foster's *Marx's Ecology* introduced a new understanding of Karl Marx's revolutionary ecological materialism. More than simply a study of Marx, it commenced an intellectual and social history, encompassing thinkers from Epicurus to Darwin, who developed materialist and ecological ideas. Now, with *The Return of Nature*, Foster continues this narrative. In so doing, he uncovers a long history of efforts to unite issues of social justice and environmental sustainability that will help us comprehend and counter today's unprecedented planetary emergencies.

*The Return of Nature* begins with the deaths of Darwin (1882) and Marx (1883) and moves on until the rise of the ecological age in the 1960s and 1970s. Foster explores how socialist analysts and materialist scientists of various stamps, first in Britain, then the United States, from William Morris and Frederick Engels, to Joseph Needham, Rachel Carson, and Stephen Jay Gould, sought to develop a dialectical naturalism, rooted in a critique of capitalism. In the process, he delivers a far-reaching and fascinating reinterpretation of the radical and socialist origins of ecology. Ultimately, what this book asks for is nothing short of revolution: a long, ecological revolution, aimed at making peace with the planet while meeting collective human needs, including those of the entire chain of human generations and life on the Earth as a whole.

**JOHN BELLAMY FOSTER** is professor of sociology at the University of Oregon and editor of *Monthly Review*.

**"In the century following Marx's death, left-wing scientists and writers made major contributions to the development of modern ecological thought. Foster's brilliant new book recovers that history, making the work and ideas of those neglected ecosocialist pioneers accessible to the activists who are building today's movements against global environmental destruction."**

**—IAN ANGUS, AUTHOR, *FACING THE ANTHROPOCENE*; EDITOR, *CLIMATE & CAPITALISM***



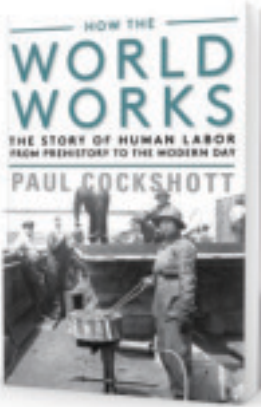
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# How the World Works

The Story of Human Labor from Prehistory to the Modern Day

Paul Cockshott

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Few authors are able to write cogently in both the scientific and the economic spheres. Even fewer possess the intellectual scope needed to address science and economics at a macro as well as a micro level. But Paul Cockshott, using the dual lenses of Marxist economics and technological advance, has managed to pull off a stunningly acute critical perspective of human history, from pre-agricultural societies to the present.

In *How the World Works*, Cockshott connects scientific, economic, and societal strands to produce a sweeping and detailed work of historical analysis. This book will astound readers of all backgrounds and ages; it will also engage scholars of history, science, and economics for years to come.

**PAUL COCKSHOTT** is a computer engineer, working on computer design and teaching computer science at universities in Scotland. Named on fifty-two patents, his research covers robotics, computer parallelism, 3D TV, foundations of computability, and data compression. His books include *Towards a New Socialism*, *Classical Econophysics*, and *Computation and Its Limits*.

**"A hugely informative account of the capitalist and non-capitalist modes of production—a term Cockshott takes seriously, almost literally. You may well disagree with some of his views, but you will learn a great deal from this highly readable book."**—MOSHÉ MACHOVER, CO-AUTHOR (WITH EMMANUEL FARJOUN),

**LAWS OF CHAOS: A PROBABILISTIC APPROACH TO POLITICAL ECONOMY**

**"An important contribution to historical materialism, complementing Marx and Engels's classic analyses. With a strong focus on transitions from early societies to contemporary capitalism, Cockshott's dispassionate appraisal of 'actually existing socialism' and sober exploration of plausible communist futures offer promising new directions for progressive politics."**—GREG MICHAELSON, EMERITUS PROFESSOR OF COMPUTER SCIENCE, HERIOT-WATT UNIVERSITY, EDINBURGH, SCOTLAND

# The Robbery of Nature

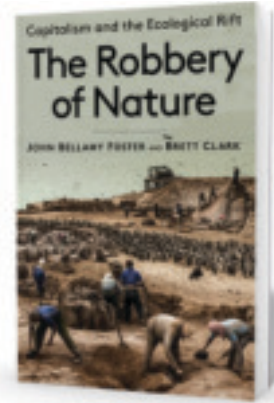
Capitalism and the Ecological Rift

John Bellamy Foster and Brett Clark

**"It will be widely recognized as an instant classic."  
—PAUL BUHLE**

Describes how the ecological crisis extends beyond questions of traditional class struggle to a corporeal rift in the physical organization of living beings themselves, raising critical issues of social reproduction, racial capitalism, alienated speciesism, and ecological imperialism.

**JOHN BELLAMY FOSTER** is editor of *Monthly Review* and a professor of sociology at the University of Oregon. **BRETT CLARK** is associate editor of *Monthly Review* and a professor of sociology at the University of Utah.



FEBRUARY 2020

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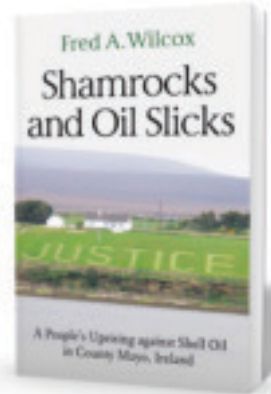
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# Shamrocks and Oil Slicks

A People's Uprising Against Shell Oil in County Mayo, Ireland

Fred A. Wilcox

**"Wilcox has crafted a poignant and powerful tale of one determined community's fight against greedy corporate polluters and their craven government enablers. This story is a critical one; it should inspire the activism of all those waging similar fights against fossil fuel calamity throughout the world today."—WENONAH HAUTER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF FOOD & WATER WATCH; AUTHOR, FRACKOPOLY: THE BATTLE FOR THE FUTURE OF ENERGY AND THE ENVIRONMENT**



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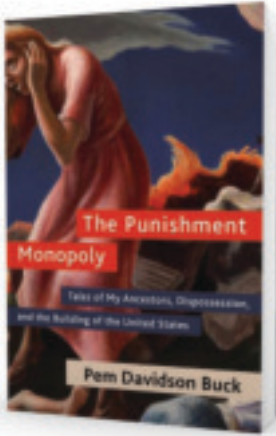
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**FRED A. WILCOX** is a writer, teacher, veterans' advocate, and peace activist.



# The Punishment Monopoly

Tales of My Ancestors, Dispossession,  
and the Building of the United States

Pem Davidson Buck

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Why, asks Pem Davidson Buck, is punishment so central to the functioning of the United States, a country proclaiming “liberty and justice for all”? *The Punishment Monopoly* challenges our everyday understanding of American history, focusing on the constructions of race, class, and gender upon which the United States was built, and which still support racial capitalism and the carceral state.

Using stories of her European ancestors, who arrived in colonial Virginia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and following their descendants into the early nineteenth century, Buck shows how struggles over the right to punish, backed by the growing power of the state governed by a white elite, made possible the dispossession of Africans, Native Americans, and poor whites. Those struggles led to the creation of the low-wage working classes that capitalism requires, locked in by a metastasizing white supremacy that Buck’s ancestors, with many others, helped establish.

The exploitation and detention of immigrants; mass incarceration; Islamophobia; white privilege; judicial and extra-judicial killings of people of color and some poor whites: *The Punishment Monopoly* makes it clear that none of these injustices was accidental or inevitable, and that shifting our state-sanctioned understandings of history is a step toward liberating us from its control of the present.

**“A major feat in historical interpretation.”—FAYE V. HARRISON, AUTHOR,  
*OUTSIDER WITHIN: REWORKING ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE GLOBAL AGE***

**PEM DAVIDSON BUCK** is Professor Emerita of Anthropology at Elizabethtown Community and Technical College in Kentucky. Her work has focused on whiteness, on the discourses of inequality, and most recently on theorizing the carceral state and the relationship between state formation and punishment. She is the author of *Worked to the Bone: Race, Class, Power, and Privilege in Kentucky*.



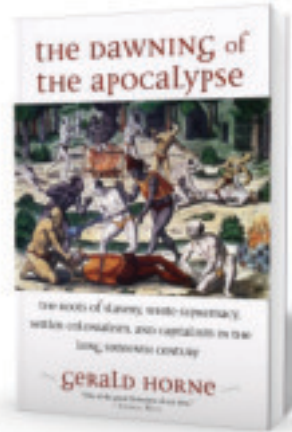
# The Dawning of the Apocalypse

The Roots of Slavery, White Supremacy, Settler Colonialism, and Capitalism in the Long Sixteenth Century

Gerald Horne

August 2019 saw numerous commemorations of the year 1619, when what was said to be the first arrival of enslaved Africans occurred in North America. Yet in the 1520s, the Spanish, from their imperial perch in Santo Domingo, had already brought enslaved Africans to what was to become South Carolina. The enslaved people here quickly defected to local Indigenous populations and compelled their captors to flee. Deploying much illuminating research, *The Dawning of the Apocalypse* is a riveting revision of the “creation myth” of settler colonialism and how the United States was formed. Here, Gerald Horne argues forcefully that, in order to understand the arrival of colonists from the British Isles in the early seventeenth century, one must first understand the “long sixteenth century”—from 1492 until the arrival of settlers in Virginia in 1607.

During this prolonged century, Horne contends, “whiteness” morphed into “white supremacy” and allowed England to co-opt not only religious minorities but also various nationalities throughout Europe, thus forging a muscular bloc that was needed to confront rambunctious Indigenes and Africans. In retelling the bloodthirsty story of the invasion of the Americas, Horne recounts how the fierce resistance by Africans and their Indigenous allies weakened Spain and enabled London to dispatch settlers to Virginia in 1607. These settlers laid the groundwork for the British Empire and ultimately the United States of America.



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**GERALD HORNE** is John J. and Rebecca Moores Professor of African American History at the University of Houston. He has published more than three dozen books, including *The Apocalypse of Settler Colonialism* and *Jazz and Justice*.



# Beyond Market Dystopia

New Ways of Living: Writings on  
Capitalism, Imperialism, and Revolution  
Socialist Register 2020

Edited by Leo Panitch and Greg Albo

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*Beyond Market Dystopia* urges readers to discard the cynical, implicitly market-driven concepts of human society we have come to accept as everyday reality and imagine a brighter future. Crafted with purposeful hope in an age of despair, each essay in this volume aims to create a world of agency and justice.

## CONTENTS:

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- Barbara Harriss-White:** "Making the World a Better Place: Restitution and Restoration"
- Amy Bartholomew and Hilary Wainwright:** "Beyond the 'Barbed-Wire Labyrinth': Migrant Spaces of Radical Democracy"
- Katharyne Mitchell and Key MacFarlane:** "Beyond the Educational Dystopia: New Ways of Learning through Remembering"
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**LEO PANITCH** and **GREG ALBO** are professors in the Department of Political Science at York University, Toronto.

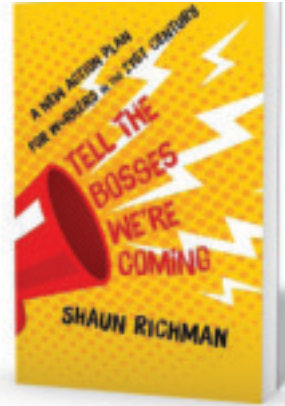
# Tell the Bosses We're Coming

A New Action Plan for Workers in the Twenty-first Century

Shaun Richman

Lengthening hours, lessening pay, no parental leave, scant job security. Never have so many workers needed so much support. Yet the very labor unions that could garner us protections and help us speak up for ourselves are growing weaker every day. In an age of rampant inequality, of increasing social protest and strikes—and when a majority of workers say they want to be union members—why does union density continue to decline? In this compelling new book, Shaun Richman offers some answers.

But bringing unions back from the edge of institutional annihilation, says Richman, is no simple proposition. The next few years offer a rare opportunity to undo the great damage wrought on labor by decades of corporate union-busting, if only union activists raise our ambitions. Based on deft historical research and legal analysis, as well as his own experience as a union organizing director, Richman lays out an action plan for U.S. workers in the twenty-first century by which we can internalize the concept that workers are equal human beings, entitled to health care, dignity, job security—and definitely, the right to strike. Unafraid to take on some of the labor movement's sacred cows, this book describes what it would take—some changes that are within activists' power and some that require meaningful legal reform—to put unions in workplaces across America.



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**SHAUN RICHMAN** spent a decade and a half as a union organizer and representative. He is the Program Director of the Harry Van Arsdale Jr. School of Labor Studies at SUNY Empire State College. His writing has been published in *The American Prospect*, *In These Times*, *Jacobin*, *The New York Daily News*, and the *New York Times*.

**“Shaun Richman is a critical voice in the fight for workers’ rights in the New Gilded Age and *Tell the Bosses* is a manifesto for real change to give workers power over their jobs.”—ERIK LOOMIS, AUTHOR, *A HISTORY OF AMERICA IN TEN STRIKES***





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# Radical Seattle

The General Strike of 1919

Cal Winslow

On a grey winter morning in Seattle, in February 1919, 110 local unions shut down the entire city. Shut it down and took it over, rendering the authorities helpless. For five days, workers from all trades and sectors—streetcar drivers, telephone operators, musicians, miners, loggers, shipyard workers—fed the people, ensured that babies had milk, that the sick were cared for. They did this without police—and they kept the peace themselves. This had never happened before in the United States and has not happened since. Those five days became known as the General Strike of Seattle. Chances are you've never heard of it. In *Radical Seattle*, Cal Winslow explains why.

Winslow describes how Seattle's General Strike was actually the high point in a long process of early twentieth century socialist and working-class organization, when everyday people built a viable political infrastructure that seemed, to governments and corporate bosses, radical—even "Bolshevik." Drawing on original research, Winslow depicts a process that, in struggle, fused the celebrated itinerants of the West with the workers of a modern industrial city. But this book is not only an account of the heady days of February 1919, it is also about the making of a class capable of launching one of America's most gripping strikes—what E. P. Thompson once referred to as "the long tenacious revolutionary tradition of the common people."

**CAL WINSLOW**, a longtime labor activist and educator, is director of the Mendocino Institute and a retired fellow in environmental history at UC Berkeley. Among his books are *Labor's Civil War in California* and *Rebel Rank and File*. He edited *E. P. Thompson and the Making of the New Left*.

**"With a writing style of vigor and virility, this book is part of the experience of our class, both bold and free, that we need now."—PETER LINEBAUGH, AUTHOR, RED ROUND GLOBE HOT BURNING**

# Cuban Health Care

## The Ongoing Revolution

Don Fitz

Though ignored—or worse—inside the United States, the Cuban Revolution has achieved some phenomenal goals, reclaiming Cuba’s agriculture, advancing its literacy rate to nearly 100 percent—and remaking its medical system. Cuba has transformed its health care to the extent that this “third-world” country has been able to maintain a first-world medical system, whose health indicators surpass those of the United States at a fraction of the cost. Don Fitz combines his deep knowledge of Cuban history with his decades of on-the-ground experience in Cuba to bring us the story of how Cuba’s health care system evolved and how Cuba is tackling the daunting challenges to its revolution in this century.

Fitz weaves together complex themes in Cuban history, moving the reader from one fascinating story to another. He describes how Cuba was able to create a unified system of clinics, and evolved the family doctor-nurse teams that became a model for poor countries throughout the world. How, in the 1980s and '90s, Cuba survived the encroachment of AIDS and increasing suffering that came with the collapse of the Soviet Union, and then went on to establish the Latin American School of Medicine, which still brings thousands of international students to the island. Deeply researched, recounted with compassion, *Cuban Health Care* tells a story you won’t find anywhere else, of how, in terms of caring for everyday people, Cuba’s revolution continues.



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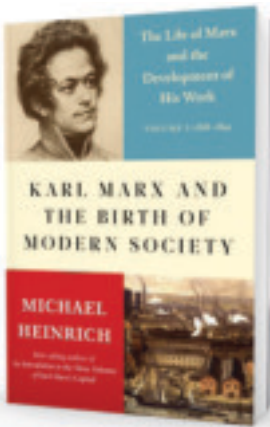
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**DON FITZ** is a member of the editorial board of *Green Social Thought* and newsletter editor for the Green Party of St. Louis. He contributes frequently to *Monthly Review*.

**“This is the best written and most accurate work published in years about the history and recent achievements of Cuban health care. The book gives inspiration for people around the world concerned about the future of health care and health itself.”—HOWARD WAITZKIN, COORDINATING EDITOR, HEALTH CARE UNDER THE KNIFE: MOVING BEYOND CAPITALISM FOR OUR HEALTH**



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**MICHAEL HEINRICH** taught economics at the University of Applied Sciences in Berlin and was managing editor of *PROKLA: Journal for Critical Social Science*.



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# A Socialist Defector

From Harvard to Karl-Marx-Allee

Victor Grossman (Stephen Wechsler)

**"A clear-eyed assessment of the Cold War and the aftershocks from the fall of the Berlin Wall, as the predatory wraiths of neoliberalism began to circle the ruins of the Eastern Bloc."**

—**JEFFREY ST. CLAIR, EDITOR, *COUNTERPUNCH***

**VICTOR GROSSMAN**, a New York red-diaper baby of the 1930s, joined the Communist Party as a Harvard student. He fled the U.S. Army during the McCarthy Era, swam the Danube River to the Soviet Zone of Austria, and was sent to East Germany. There, he studied journalism and became a freelance writer and popular speaker. He was pardoned by the U.S. Army in 1994.

# Free Speech and the Suppression of Dissent During World War I

Eric T. Chester

World War I, given all the rousing “Over-There” songs and in-the-trenches films it inspired, was, at its outset, surprisingly unpopular with the American public. As opposition increased, Woodrow Wilson’s administration became intent on stifling antiwar dissent.

In his absorbing new book, Eric Chester reveals that out of this turmoil came a heated public discussion on the theory of civil liberties—the basic freedoms that are, theoretically, untouchable by any of the three branches of the U.S. government. The famous “clear and present danger” argument of Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, and the “balance of conflicting interest” theory of law professor Zechariah Chafee, for example, evolved to provide a rationale for courts to act as a limited restraint on autocratic actions of the government. But Chester goes further, to examine an alternative theory: civil liberties exist as absolute rights, rather than being dependent on the specific circumstances of each case. Over the years, the debate about the right to dissent has intensified and become more necessary. This fascinating book explains why, a century after the First World War—and in the era of Trump—we need to know about this.



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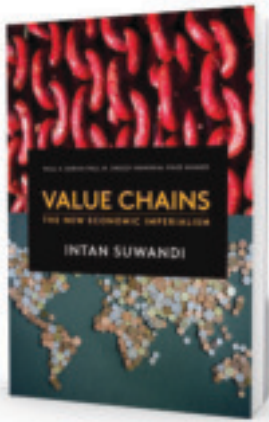
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**ERIC T. CHESTER** taught economics at the University of Massachusetts in Boston and San Francisco State University. A committed activist for more than fifty years, he was vice-presidential candidate for the Socialist Party in 1996. He is the author of several books, including *Rag-Tags, Scum, Riff-Raff, and Commies: The U.S. Intervention in the Dominican Republic, 1965–1966* and *The Wobblies in Their Heyday: The Rise and Destruction of the Industrial Workers of the World in the World War I Era*.



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# Value Chains

The New Economic Imperialism

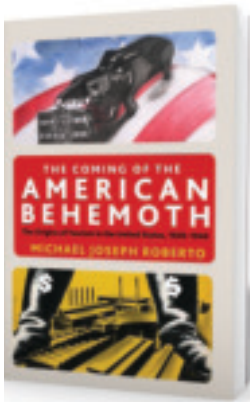
WINNER, PAUL A. BARAN–PAUL M. SWEETZ MEMORIAL AWARD

Intan Suwandi

**"This book belongs on the shelf alongside Naomi Klein's *The Shock Doctrine* as one of the most powerful indictments of capital in our era."  
—JOHN BELLAMY FOSTER, EDITOR, *MONTHLY REVIEW***

Focusing on labor within global value chains—vast networks of people, tools, and activities needed to deliver goods and services to the market and controlled by multinationals—Suwandi offers a deft empirical analysis of unit labor costs that is closely related to Marx's own theory of exploitation.

**INTAN SUWANDI** is a frequent contributor to *Monthly Review* magazine. She has recently received her Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Oregon.



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# The Coming of the American Behemoth

The Origins of Fascism in the United States, 1920–1940

Michael Joseph Roberto

**"A carefully researched study of what contemporaneous U.S. Marxists had to say about 1930s fascist processes."—BARBARA FOLEY, AUTHOR, *RADICAL REPRESENTATIONS: POLITICS AND FORM IN U.S. PROLETARIAN FICTION, 1929–1941***

**MICHAEL JOSEPH ROBERTO** retired in 2016 from the faculty of North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University where he taught contemporary world history. He is a longtime political activist.



# Jazz and Justice

Racism and the Political Economy of the Music

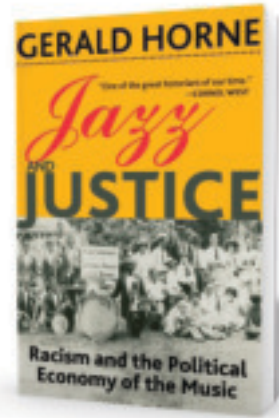
Gerald Horne

**"An essential contribution to our understanding of how racial capitalism shaped American music."**

—ROBIN D. G. KELLEY, AUTHOR, *THELONIOUS MONK: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF AN AMERICAN ORIGINAL*

**"Gerald Horne is one of the great historians of our time."**—CORNEL WEST

**GERALD HORNE** is John J. and Rebecca Moores Professor of African American History at the University of Houston. He has published more than three dozen books, including *Confronting Black Jacobins* and *Race to Revolution*.



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# Abolitionist Socialist Feminism

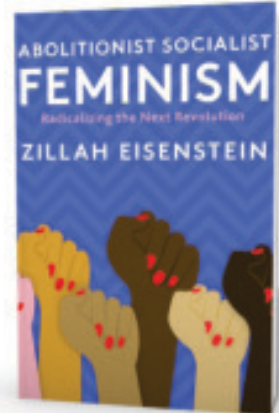
Radicalizing the Next Revolution

Zillah Eisenstein

**"Sharp, dauntless, and timely . . . Eisenstein's bold call for an abolitionist socialist feminism is thunderous."**—DARNELL MOORE, AUTHOR, *NO ASHES IN THE FIRE: COMING OF AGE BLACK AND FREE IN AMERICA*

**"This book is stunning in its questions and tone, open and learning, personal and theoretical. It is a gift to us all."**

—SUSAN BUCK-MORSS, CUNY GRADUATE CENTER



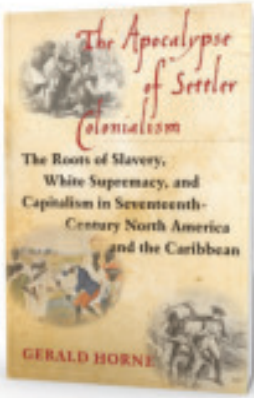
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**ZILLAH EISENSTEIN** is the author of twelve books. She is Professor Emerita, Ithaca College, NY.



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# The Apocalypse of Settler Colonialism

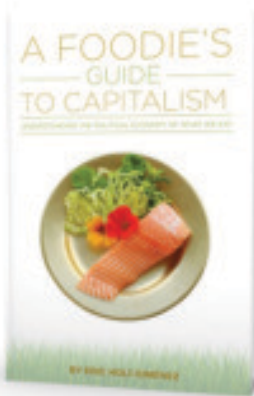
The Roots of Slavery, White Supremacy, and Capitalism in Seventeenth-Century North America and the Caribbean

Gerald Horne

**"Reveals the roots of our present socioeconomic nightmare with a force and clarity unrivaled by anything previously available."—WARD CHURCHILL**

**GERALD HORNE** is John J. and Rebecca Moores Professor of African American History at the University of Houston. He is the author of many books.

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# A Foodie's Guide to Capitalism

Understanding the Political Economy of What We Eat

Eric Holt-Giménez, Foreword by Marion Nestle

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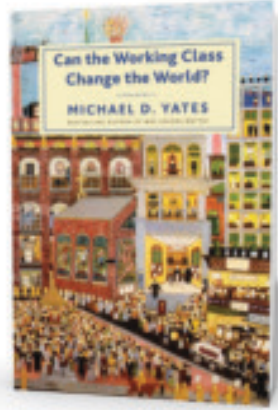
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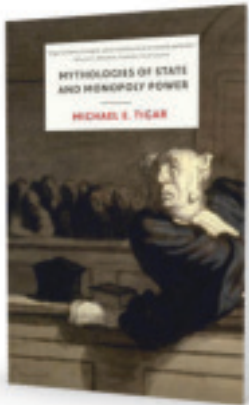
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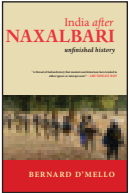
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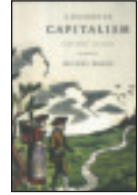






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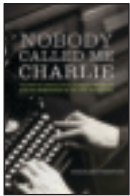
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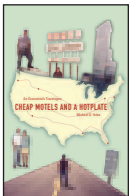
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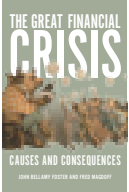
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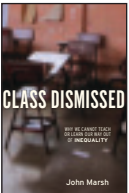
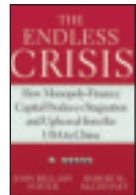
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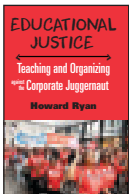
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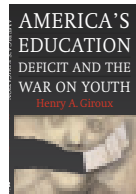
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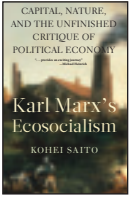
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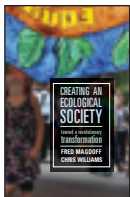
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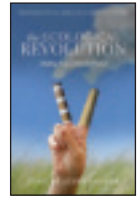
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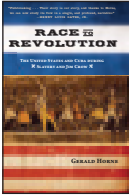


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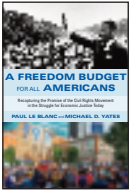
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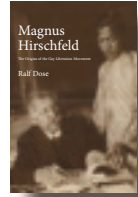


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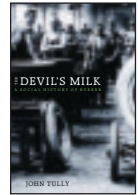
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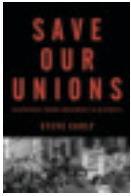
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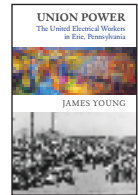
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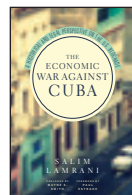


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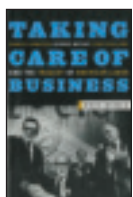


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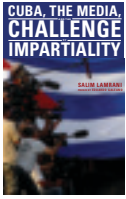
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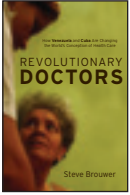
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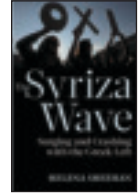
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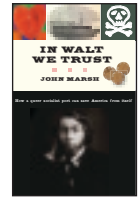
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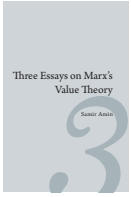
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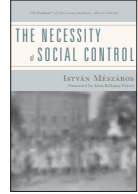
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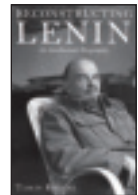
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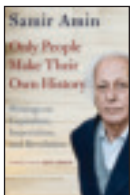
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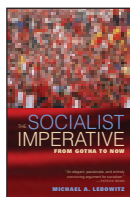


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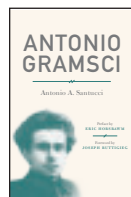


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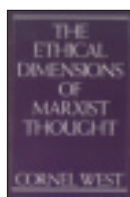


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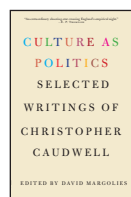


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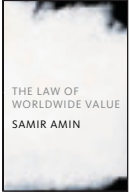


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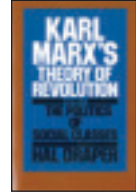


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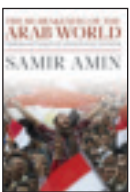


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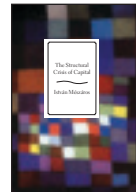


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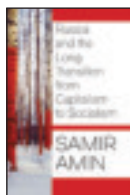






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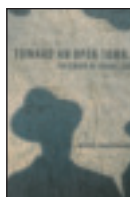
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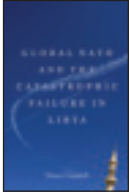
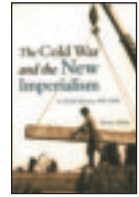
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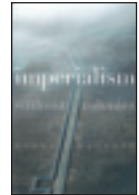
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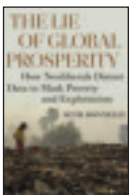
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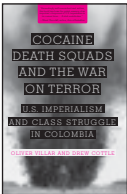
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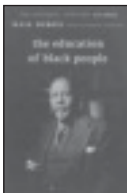
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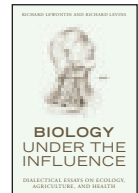
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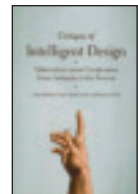
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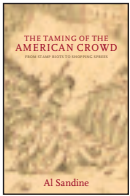
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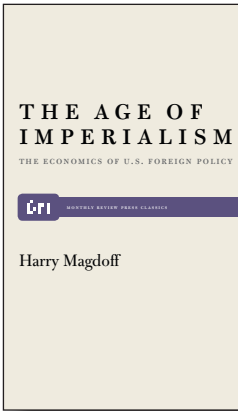


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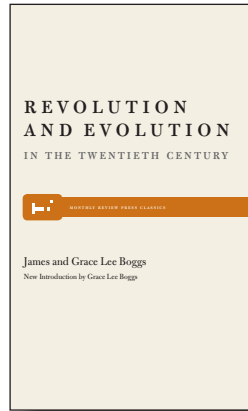




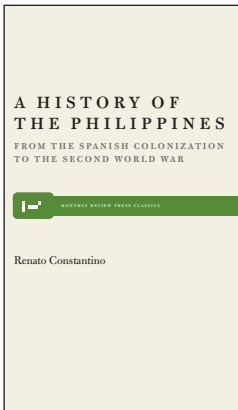
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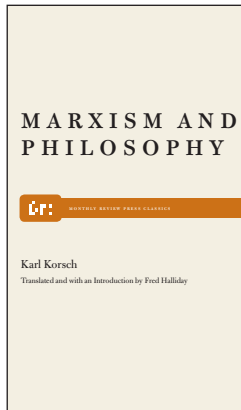
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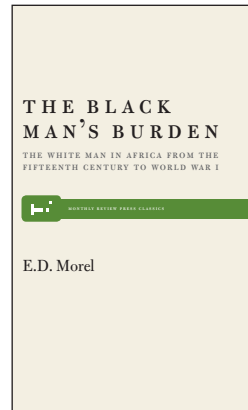
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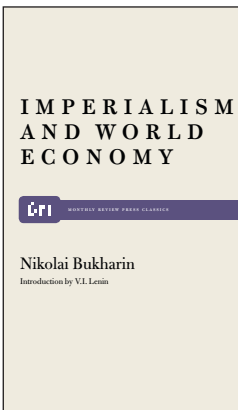
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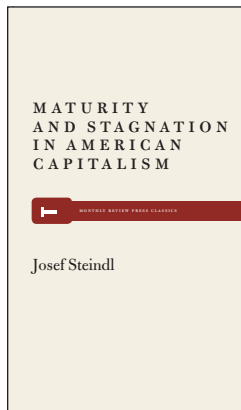
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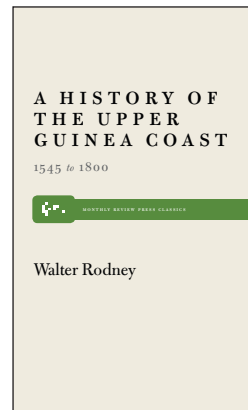
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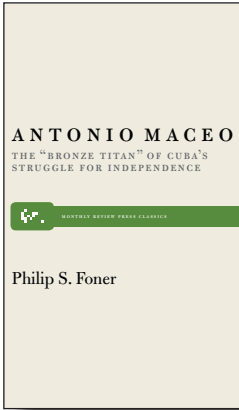
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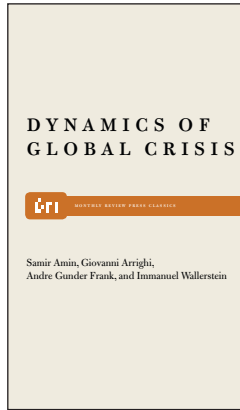
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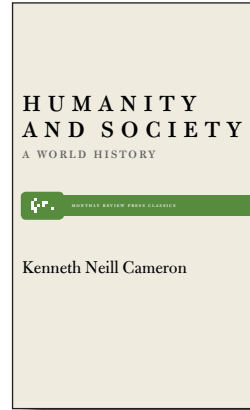
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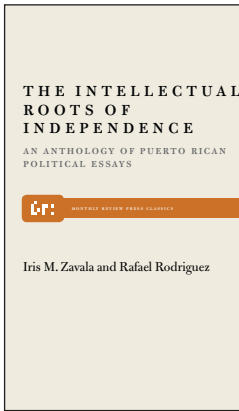
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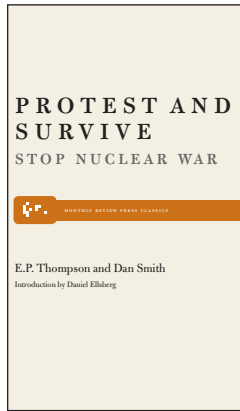
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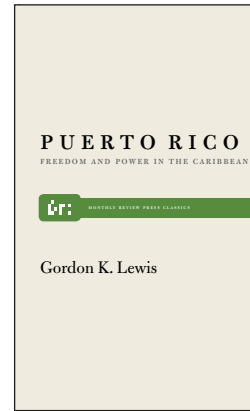
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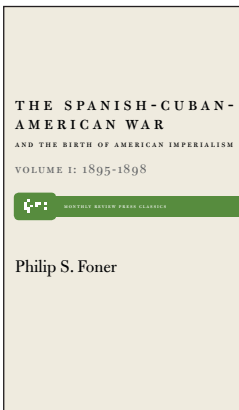
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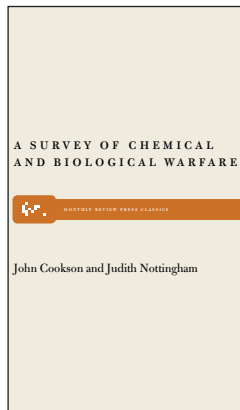
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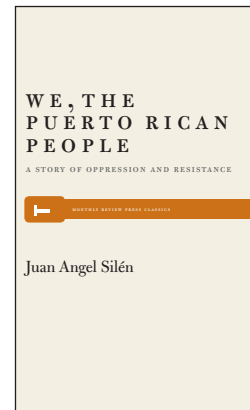
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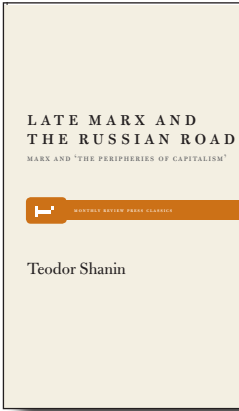


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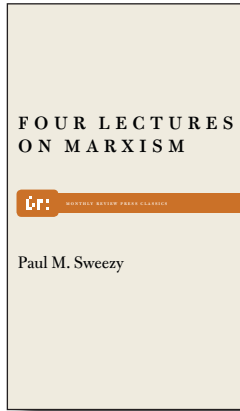


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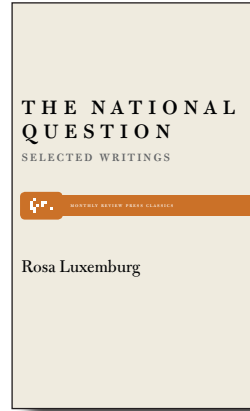




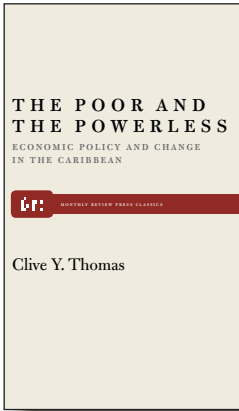
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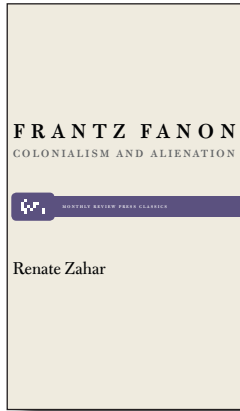
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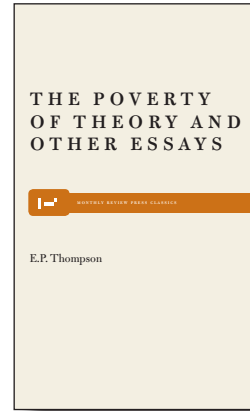
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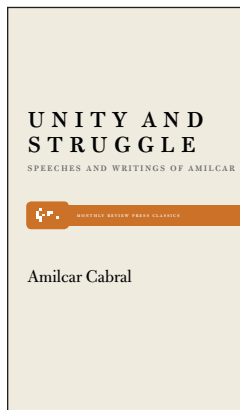
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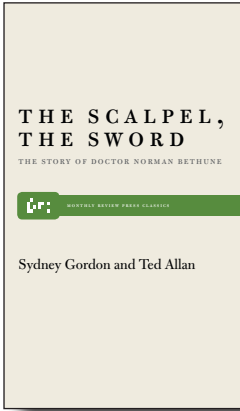
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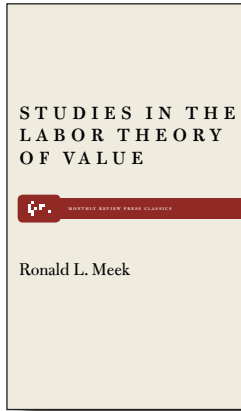
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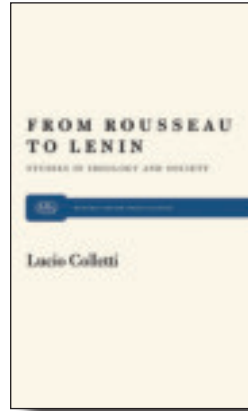
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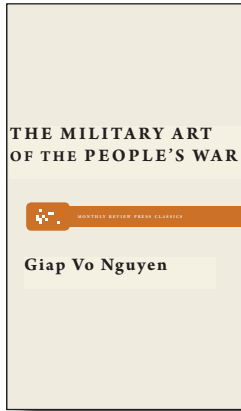
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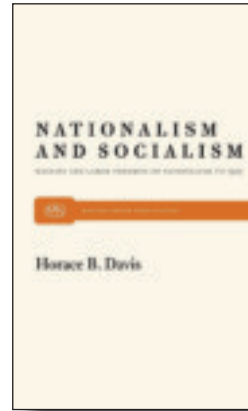
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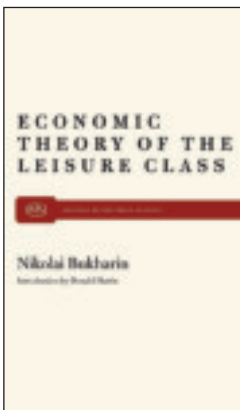
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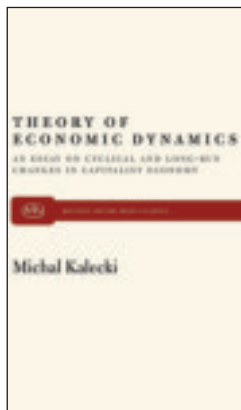
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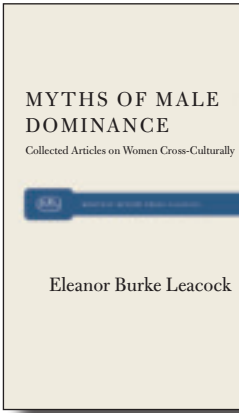
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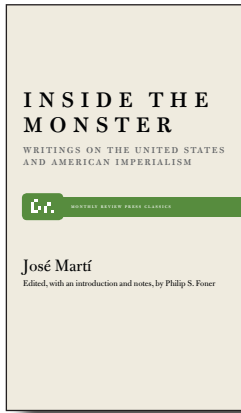
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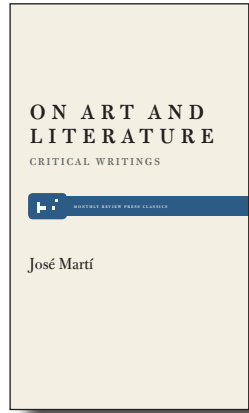
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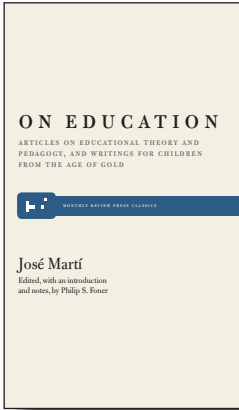
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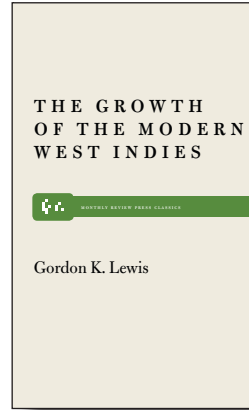
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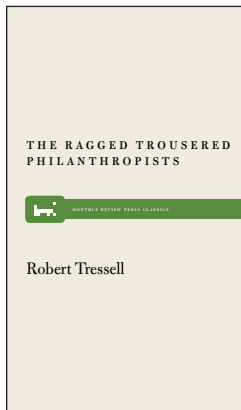
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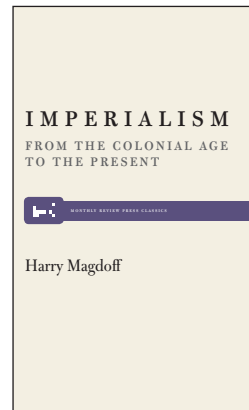
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