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ON THE COVER:

Utopix

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Commune or Nothing!

Venezuela's Communal Movement and Its Socialist Project

Chris Gilbert

Titled after the rallying cry of Venezuela's communards, *¡Comuna o Nada!*, *Commune or Nothing!* portrays an expanding network of socialist communes pursuing the strategic goal of overcoming the entire capitalist economy and transcending the state formations upon which the capital system relies. It is a viable alternative to the increasingly exploitative, destructive, and unsustainable capital system. Like the trailblazing movement it depicts, *Commune or Nothing!* offers important lessons not only regarding the construction of socialism in Venezuela but for socialist praxis worldwide.



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220 pages

Paper 978-1-68590-023-6

\$23.00 | £19.99 | \$29.95Can

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CHRIS GILBERT is a professor of political studies at the Universidad Bolivariana de Venezuela and creator and co-host of *Escuela de Cuadros*, a Marxist educational television program and podcast. Gilbert is coauthor of *Venezuela, The Present as Struggle* (2020).

"Invaluable! With clarity and insight that could only come from years of study and practical engagement, Chris Gilbert provides a historical and political framework for understanding the complexities involved in attempting to build new societies in the womb of the old."—AJAMU BARAKA, NATIONAL ORGANIZER, BLACK ALLIANCE FOR PEACE

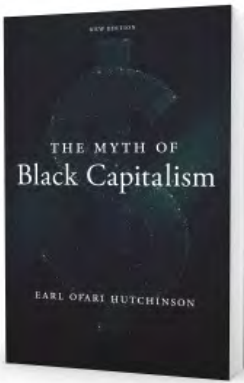
"Written by a fellow traveler of our movement, this book uses the lenses of Marxism, social reproduction, feminism, and history to understand a concrete process of socialist construction. In so doing, it reveals the enormous emancipatory potential of Venezuela's communal movement and also its challenges."—BÁRBARA "ANACOANA" MARTÍNEZ, COMMUNARD LEADER EL PANAL COMMUNE

"In this theoretically informed study, Chris Gilbert reveals how productive forces (human and material) are developing in the Venezuelan communes as they struggle to overcome obstacles both economic and political. We learn here along with Gilbert and the communards themselves how the establishment of social relations of protagonistic democracy and direct social labor builds new capacities, pride, and dignity."—MICHAEL A. LEBOWITZ, AUTHOR OF *BEYOND CAPITAL: MARX'S POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE WORKING CLASS*

The Myth of Black Capitalism

New Edition

Earl Ofari Hutchinson



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It was Richard Nixon who first introduced the notion of “Black capitalism” into mainstream American discourse, coopting the term at a time when African Americans comprised only 3 percent of the nation’s employers. That number dwindled thereafter, and yet the term only gained cachet following the election of Barack Obama and the increased visibility of the black elite. Thankfully, just as the rhetoric of “black capitalism” is being resuscitated, it is being confronted once more.

In this second edition of Earl Ofari’s classic book, the author adds a new introduction, which shows both the enduring strength of the ideology of Black capitalism and its continued inability to change the nature of what has always been a racialized system of production and distribution. Moreover, Black capitalism is a diversion from the struggle for liberation that works at cross purposes with the fight against exploitation, and a fantasy that enriches a minuscule few at the expense of the many. *The Myth of Black Capitalism* argues definitively that only a direct assault on the oppression of Black people and the capitalist system itself can bring this exploitation to an end.

EARL OFARI HUTCHINSON has been a frequent guest on CNN and MSNBC and co-hosted the *Al Sharpton Show* for nearly a decade. Hutchinson hosts the live call-in program *The Earl Ofari Hutchinson Show* on Pacifica Radio and is a nationally acclaimed author and social issues commentator.

Until We Fall

Long Distance Life on the Left

Helena Sheehan

Most Westerners watched the breakup of the Soviet Union at a great distance, through a highly distorted lens that equated the expansion of capitalism with the rise of global democracy. But there were those, like Helena Sheehan, who watched more keenly. In her new autobiographical history from below, *Until We Fall*, Sheehan shares what she witnessed first-hand and close-up, as hopes were raised by glasnost and perestroika, only to be swept away in the bitter and brutal counterrevolutions that followed.

As a philosopher, she scrutinizes the various intellectual currents prevailing, particularly positivism and postmodernism, and makes a persuasive case for the explanatory and ethical superiority of Marxism. As she moves through time and space, Sheehan pursues the perspectives of the vanquished in a world where the triumphalist narratives of the victors hold sway, in a time when the old is dying and the new cannot be born, when capitalism is decadent yet still dominant.



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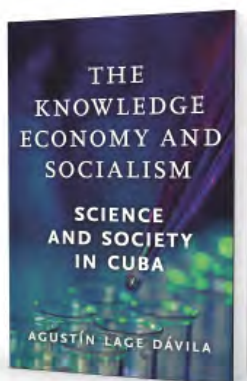
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HELENA SHEEHAN is Professor Emerita at Dublin City University where she taught philosophy of science, history of ideas, and media studies. She is the author of many publications on philosophy, politics, and culture, including *Marxism and the Philosophy of Science*, *The Syriza Wave*, and *Navigating the Zeitgeist*. She has been active on the left for many decades.

"An autobiographical tale from the edge of history."—PAUL MURPHY, TD, MEMBER OF DAIL EIREANN (IRISH NATIONAL PARLIAMENT)

"In this superb new memoir, radical philosopher Helena Sheehan folds her own political and personal histories into the dialectic of individual and humanity, offering an 'I was there' perspective during the world-shaking events of the mid-1980s onward still shaping circumstances today."—ROB WALLACE, SCIENTIST AND ACTIVIST, AUTHOR, *BIG FARMS MAKE BIG FLU AND DEAD EPIDEMIOLOGISTS*



AVAILABLE MARCH

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The Knowledge Economy and Socialism

Science and Society in Cuba

Agustín Lage Dávila

In 1960, Fidel Castro said that Cuba's future would be one of science and thought. As Agustín Lage Dávila shows, Cuba has become a global leader in both the generation of scientific knowledge and its application to the production of socially useful products, from vaccines and medicines to organic food. Dr. Lage shows how Cuba has achieved such prominence, positing that the training of its scientists, their scientific practices, and their relationship with the Cuban people are intimately connected to the socialist culture that derived from the Cuban Revolution.

Lage offers clearly written and easily understood answers to questions critical to the very survival of humanity. Why is culture critical to science? What distinguishes Cuba's socialist culture from that of capitalist societies? What are the social responsibilities of scientists? How has Cuba made such incredible scientific advances in the face of the brutal and illegal U.S. blockade? How can a country like Cuba earn needed foreign exchange through the sale of its knowledge-intensive products to the countries of the Global North while maintaining its ethical, socialist ideals?

Lage's interrogation of these questions will be of interest to scientists around the world, to all those struggling for a better world, and, no doubt, even to those corporations competing with Cuba in global markets.

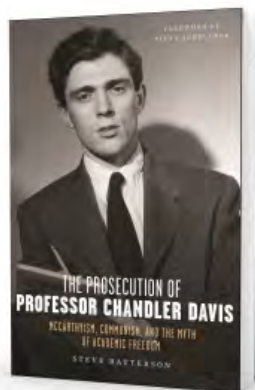
AGUSTÍN LAGE DÁVILA is an internationally renowned and respected immunologist. He was for many years director of the Cuban Center of Molecular Immunology. A dedicated communist, he has been at the forefront of scientific education and economic development through science in Cuba.

The Prosecution of Professor Chandler Davis

McCarthyism, Communism, and the Myth of Academic Freedom

Steve Batterson

In this fascinating and disturbing narrative, author Steve Batterson tells the true tale of Chandler Davis, a mathematician whose life's work was profoundly affected by the anticommunist actions of the government and personnel at the University of Michigan. Courageously asserting the First Amendment to confront a system rapidly descending into authoritarianism, Davis testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee. In the process, Batterson exposes the ways that McCarthy's righteous emissaries relied on all kinds of institutions in 1950s America—from Hollywood studios to universities—to sabotage the careers of anyone with a trace of "Red."



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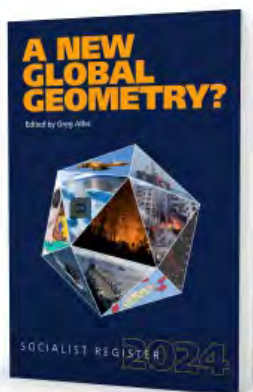
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STEVE BATTESSON is professor emeritus of mathematics and computer science at Emory University. He received his PhD in mathematics from Northwestern University in 1976, and then embarked upon mathematical research at Emory, the Institute for Advanced Study, Boston University, and the University of California at Berkeley.

"Batterson's compelling biography of Chandler Davis reveals a true American hero. Davis's coolness under fire and his exemplary life, unmarred by bitterness and full of hope and grace, is a revelation for us all."—JUAN COLE, RICHARD P. MITCHELL COLLEGIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

"A deeply researched and compulsively readable biography that is note-perfect for our time and full of surprising historical details."—ALAN WALD, AUTHOR, *AMERICAN NIGHT: THE LITERARY LEFT IN THE ERA OF THE COLD WAR*



AVAILABLE NOW
288 pages, \$29.00
Paper 978-1-68590-039-7

A New Global Geometry?

Socialist Register 2024

Edited by Greg Albo

When President Biden launched his new National Security Strategy he declared that American leadership would be more necessary than ever to define the future of the international order. *Socialist Register 2024* takes stock of the momentous changes on the horizon and assesses the potential vulnerabilities of socialist movements worldwide—and the potential for resistance.

CONTENTS:

- ANDREAS BIELER, ADAM MORTON:** Reframing the Geopolitics of Global Capitalism
TANNER MIRRELES: The U.S.–China Tech War for the Future: A New Digital Imperial Rivalry
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GREG ALBO is a professor in the department of political science at York University, Toronto.

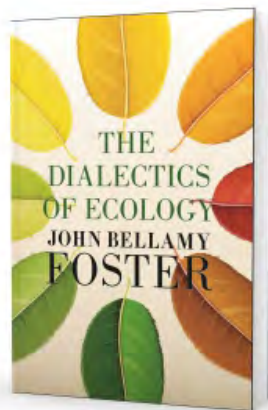
The Dialectics of Ecology

Socialism and Nature

John Bellamy Foster

The fate of the earth as a home for humanity hangs by a thread—and yet, contends John Bellamy Foster, the reunification of humanity and the earth remains possible if we are prepared to make revolutionary changes. As with his prior books, *The Dialectics of Ecology* is grounded in the contention that we are now faced with a desperate choice between ecological socialism and capitalist exterminism, and rooted in insights drawn from the classical historical materialist tradition. In this latest work, Foster explores the complex theoretical debates that have arisen historically with respect to the dialectics of nature and society. He then goes on to examine the current contradictions associated with the confrontation between capitalist extractivism and the financialization of nature, on the one hand, and the radical challenges to these represented by emergent visions of ecological civilization and planned degrowth, on the other.

The product of contemporary ecosocialist debates, *The Dialectics of Ecology* builds on earlier works by Foster, including *Marx's Ecology* (2000) and *The Return of Nature* (2020), aimed at the development of a dialectical naturalism and the formation of a path to sustainable human development.



AVAILABLE APRIL

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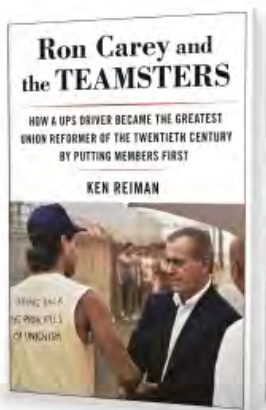
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JOHN BELLAMY FOSTER is a professor of sociology at the University of Oregon and editor of *Monthly Review*. He is the author of many books including *The Return of Nature* that won the Deutscher Memorial Prize.



Ron Carey and the Teamsters

How a UPS Driver Became the Greatest Union Reformer of the Twentieth Century by Putting Members First

Ken Reiman

Foreword by Tim Sylvester

Afterword by Steve Early and Rand Wilson

AVAILABLE JULY

328 pages

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In this riveting account, retired UPS driver and unionist Ken Reiman gives us the first in-depth portrait of Ron Carey as he rose from a local union officer in the mid-1960s to president of what was, in 1991, the largest labor union in the United States.

For many years, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters was one of this country's most corrupt unions, with close ties to organized crime. Hundreds of officers drew enormous salaries while doing no work. Pension funds were drained to build Las Vegas casinos. Ultimately many Teamster leaders were either sent to prison or killed, and Carey and the Teamsters were able to defeat UPS and their many enemies, tangibly transforming the lives of countless workers in the process.

Drawing on transcripts from court hearings, public records, newspapers, and over fifty first-person interviews, Reiman brings us the fascinating, untold story of Carey's heroic efforts.

KEN REIMAN worked for UPS for over thirty-three years as both a package car driver and preloader. He became politically active after he and his fellow unionists witnessed the attacks on Ron Carey. In the years that followed he joined Teamsters for a Democratic Union, was elected as a business agent for 804 Members United on a reform slate, and became the writer, publisher, and distributor of his local's newsletter, *The Local Agitator*.

"A wonderful effort by a longtime member. . . . Reiman blends his own perspective, always with care and always with insight and inspiration. This is as much about reform efforts in the union—fighting mob-based corruption and sickening employers—as it is about Carey himself. The 1997 membership mobilization was the basis for the outstanding contract campaign at UPS in 2023."

—LARRY COHEN, FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE COMMUNICATION WORKERS OF AMERICA

Postcards to Hitler

The Story of a German Jew's Defiance
in a Time of Terror

Bruce Neuburger

Postcards to Hitler tells the story of a Jewish family in Munich living as close neighbors to Adolf Hitler as passionately told by one of their descendents. As the narrative begins Benno Neuburger, a modest German land investor from Munich, and Anna Einstein, daughter of a cattle dealer, meet at a seder in Laupheim and soon marry. The year is 1907, a relatively prosperous, optimistic time for German Jews. It is not clear that this good fortune might soon unravel even with the news of an assassination in an "obscure" Balkan corner of the continent.

In the aftermath of Germany's defeat in the First World War, Munich becomes the epicenter of German fascism fed by national resentment and racial madness reflecting simmering European rivalries and colonialism. Through it all, Benno and Anna and their extended families cling to the vain hope of a peaceful resolution to the multiplying crises. But a bloody pogrom, a new war, evictions, and "resettlements" sound the inescapable knell despite desperate and defiant acts of resistance.

Postcards to Hitler is a deeply researched history drawn from personal interviews and archival documents including Benno's and Anna's final letters—written amid a slow-moving parade of horror as the frail boundaries between themselves and the Holocaust ultimately vanish.



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BRUCE NEUBURGER is the author of *Lettuce Wars: Ten Years of Work and Struggle in the Fields of California*. He has worked on farms and in factories, as a cab driver, an ESL teacher and a video arts instructor. His writing is shaped by the great social justice movements of the 1960s and by his experiences as a child of German Holocaust survivors.



Let Me Speak!

Testimony of Domitila, A Woman
of the Bolivian Mines

New Expanded Edition

By Domitila Barrios de Chungara
with Moema Viezzer

AVAILABLE MAY

352 pages

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Let Me Speak! is a moving testimony from inside the Bolivian tin mines of the 1970s by a woman whose life was defined by her defiant struggle against those at the very top of the power structure, the Bolivian elite. Blending firsthand accounts with astute political analysis, Domitila Barrios de Chungara describes the hardships endured by Bolivia's colossal working class and her own efforts at organizing women in her mining community. The result is a gripping narrative of class struggle and repression, an important social document that illuminates the reality of capitalist exploitation in the dark mines of 1970s Bolivia and beyond.

Twenty-five years after it was first published in English, this new edition picks up Domitila's life story with the 1977 hunger strike she organized that brought down the Banzer dictatorship. It then turns to her subsequent exile in Sweden and work as an internationalist seeking solidarity with the Bolivian people in the early 1980s, during the period of the García Meza dictatorship. It concludes with the formation of the Domitila Mobile School in Cochabamba, where her family had been relocated after the mine closures. Domitila's insights range from observations on U.S. imperialism and environmental crisis to the need for political organizing capable of unifying working-class and social movements.

DOMITILA BARRIOS DE CHUNGARA (1937–2013) was the daughter of a mine worker and lived most of her life in a tin mining camp in the Bolivian highlands. Domitila was invited to testify at the first UN Conference on Women, Development, and Peace in 1975 where she met Moema Viezzer. *Let Me Speak!* has been translated into fourteen languages. **MOEMA VIEZZER** is a Brazilian sociologist and popular educator who has dedicated her life to women's causes and environmental issues. Viezzer continues to fight for the international recognition and application of the Declaration of the Rights of the Mother Earth—Pachamama—with an emphasis on the rights of water. She is the author of eight books.

Western Marxism

How It Was Born, How It Died,
How It Can Be Reborn

Domenico Losurdo

Edited with an introduction by Gabriel Rockhill

Western Marxism is a paradigm-shifting book that provides a trenchant critique of the Western left intelligentsia. It reveals how its dominant ideological orientation—characterized by defeatism, utopianism, and anti-communism—is rooted in the political economy of imperialism. Internationally acclaimed theorist Domenico Losurdo thus provides a fresh and challenging perspective on purportedly radical thinkers who have been widely promoted in the imperial core, including those affiliated with the Frankfurt School, French Theory, and operaismo, as well as Hannah Arendt, Giorgio Agamben, Michael Hardt, and Slavoj Žižek, among others. His critique also has wide-reaching implications for trend-setting discourses inspired by this coterie of intellectuals, from postcolonial and decolonial theory to subaltern studies and beyond. Far from being a negative undertaking, however, this book is grounded in the positive project of reigniting anti-imperialist Marxism.

As a complement to his original book, this volume includes a capacious introduction to Losurdo's expansive body of work and the first publication of a major lecture that demystifies Western Marxism by demonstrating how it has been a useful tool for Western imperialism's denigration of the achievements of actually existing socialism. Raising the stakes of what it means to produce critical theory, this book will surely provoke wide debate and a reevaluation of hallowed canons.



AVAILABLE AUGUST

352 pages

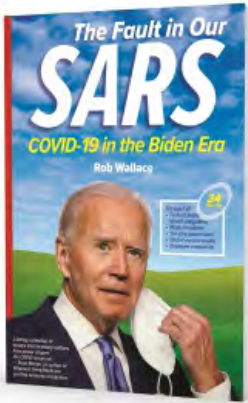
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DOMENICO LOSURDO (1941–2018) was an internationally acclaimed Italian philosopher and militant who published over fifty books on Marxism, capitalism, Western philosophy, and the history of the communist movement. **GABRIEL ROCKHILL** is a philosopher and activist who has published nine books. He is the founding director of the Critical Theory Workshop and professor of philosophy at Villanova University.



The Fault in Our SARS

COVID-19 in the Biden Era

Rob Wallace

"Probably more than any other individual, Wallace has clarified the social determination of COVID-19 and similar zoonotic epidemics. *The Fault in Our SARS* is likely to change your life, or at least your understanding of life. A masterpiece."

—HOWARD WAITZKIN, PROFESSOR EMERITUS AND
AUTHOR, *MEDICINE AND PUBLIC HEALTH AT THE
END OF EMPIRE*

512 pages

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ROB WALLACE is a cofounder of the Agroecology and Rural Economics Research Corps. He is author of *Big Farms Make Big Flu* and coauthor of *Neoliberal Ebola*.



How the Workers' Parliaments Saved the Cuban Revolution

Reviving Socialism after the Collapse
of the Soviet Union

Pedro Ross

"Highlights the little-known role of the Cuban working class during the Special Period."

— STEVE CUSHION, AUTHOR, *A HIDDEN HISTORY OF THE
CUBAN REVOLUTION*

PEDRO ROSS became a teacher during Cuba's great literacy campaigns of the 1960s and came to serve three terms as General Secretary of Cuba's labor federation. Upon retirement, he was appointed ambassador to Angola. Now in his eighties, he remains active in Cuba's ongoing Revolution.

The Dialectics of Dependency

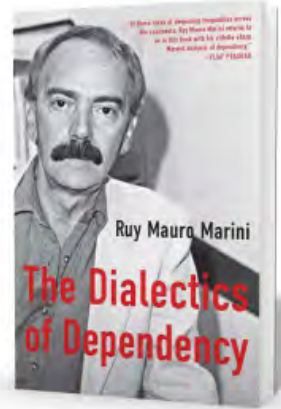
WINNER, PAUL A. BARAN – PAUL M. SWEETZ MEMORIAL AWARD

Ruy Mauro Marini

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY AMANDA LATIMER
WITH JAIME OSORIO

"In these times of deepening inequalities across the continents, Ruy Mauro Marini returns to us in this book with his stiletto-sharp Marxist analysis of dependency."—VIJAY PRASHAD, TRICONTINENTAL: INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

RUY MAURO MARINI (1932–1997) was one of the originators of Marxist dependency theory. **AMANDA LATIMER** is a senior lecturer in politics and international relations at Kingston University, UK. **JAIME OSORIO** is a Chilean social scientist and former colleague of Marini.



232 pages

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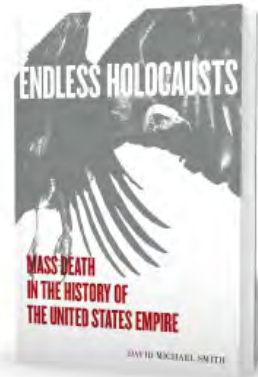
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Endless Holocausts

Mass Death in the History of the United States

David Michael Smith

Demolishes the myth of exceptionalism by demonstrating that manifold forms of mass death have been indispensable in the rise of the wealthiest and most powerful imperium in the history of the world. At the same time, Smith points to an extraordinary history of resistance by people around the world determined to fight for common dignity and for the sake of the greater good.

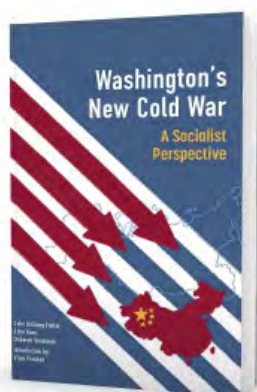


528 pages

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DAVID MICHAEL SMITH has a doctorate in political science from the City University of New York Graduate Center and is a former professor of government at College of the Mainland.



108 pages
Paper 978-1-68590-000-7
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Washington's New Cold War

A Socialist Perspective

John Bellamy Foster, John Ross, and Deborah Venziale
Introduction by Vijay Prashad

A revealing analysis of the cynical machinations of the American military behemoth and its propaganda machine.

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

JOHN ROSS is a senior fellow at Chongyang Institute for Financial Studies, Renmin University of China.

He was formerly director of economic policy for the mayor of London. **DEBORAH VENZEIALE** is a journalist and editor who has worked in the global supply chain sector for 35 years. **VIJAY PRASHAD** is the Director of Tricontinental: Institute for Social Research.



408 pages
Paper 978-1-68590-008-3
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The Hidden History of the Korean War

New Edition

I. F. Stone

NEW INTRODUCTION BY TIM BEAL AND GREGORY ELICH

"A testament to Stone's search for a way to strengthen his readers to think for themselves, rather than be overwhelmed by official stories and war propaganda."
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I. F. STONE (1907–1989) was an American journalist and publisher and is considered one of the most influential journalists of the postwar period. **TIM BEAL** is a retired New Zealand academic with a special interest in U.S. imperialism particularly with respect to Asia. **GREGORY ELICH** is a Korea Policy Institute associate and is on the Board of Directors of the Jasenovac Research Institute.

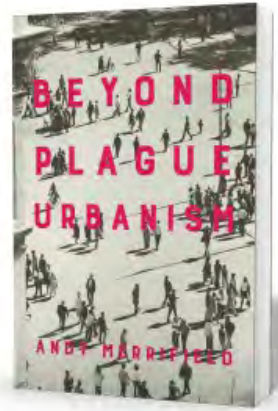
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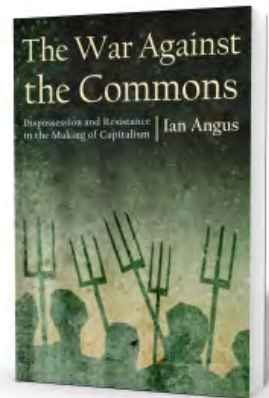
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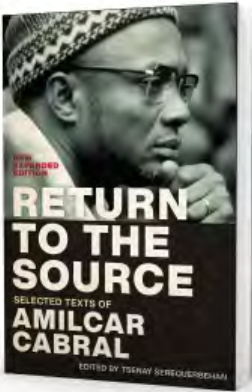


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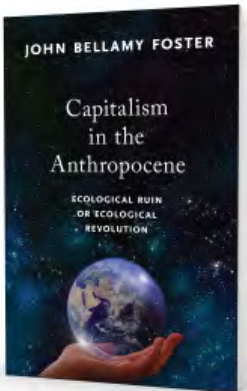
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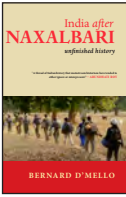
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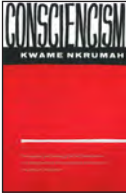
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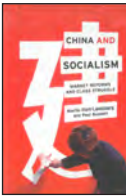
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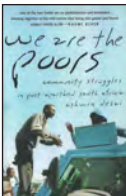
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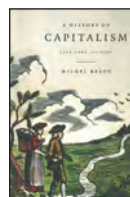
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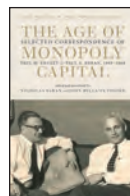
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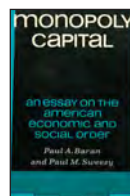
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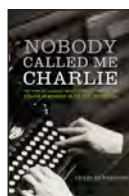
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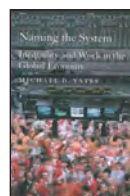
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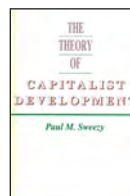
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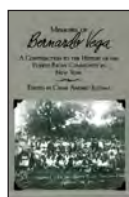
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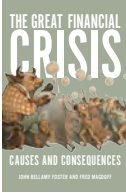


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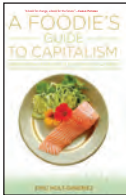
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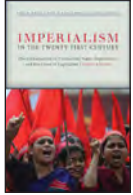
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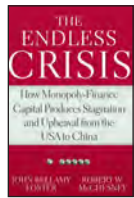
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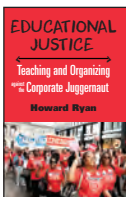
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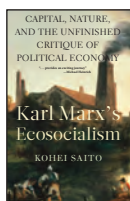
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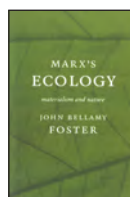


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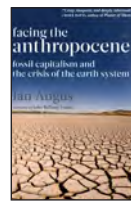


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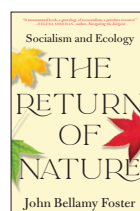


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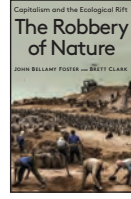
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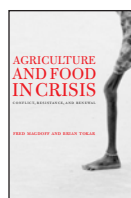
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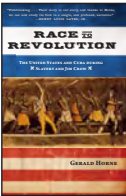
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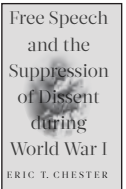
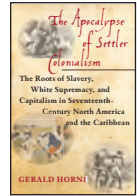
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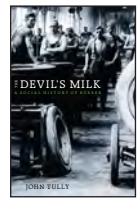
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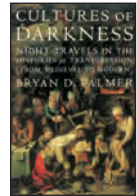
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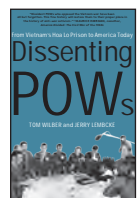
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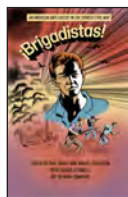


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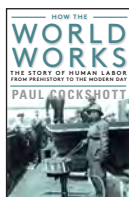


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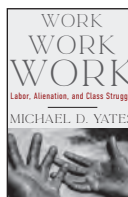


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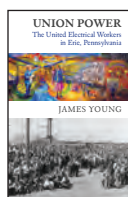


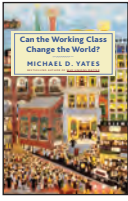
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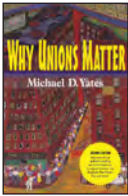
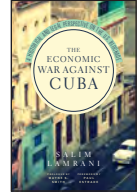
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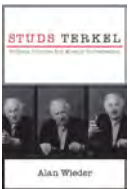
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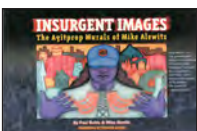
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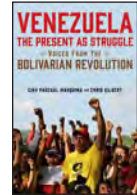
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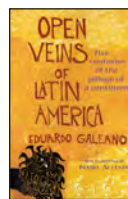


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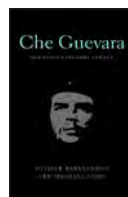
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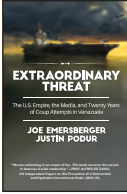
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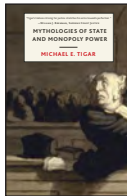
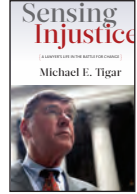
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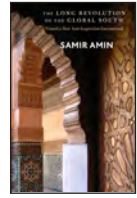
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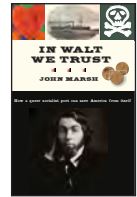
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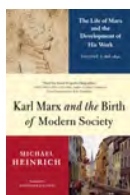
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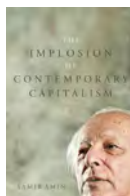
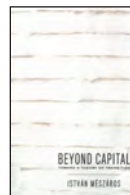


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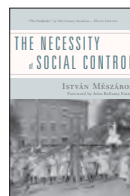


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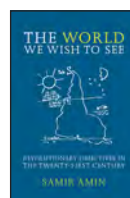


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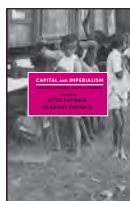
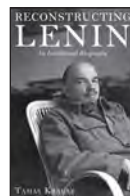


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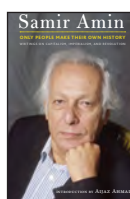


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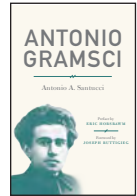
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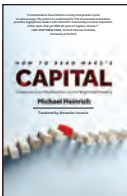
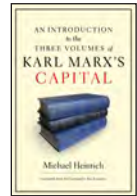
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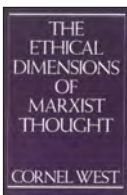
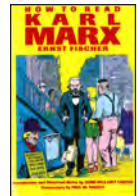
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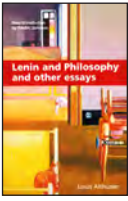
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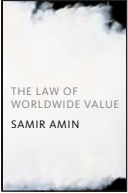
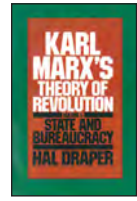


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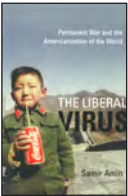
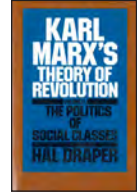


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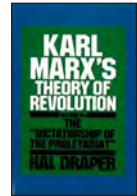


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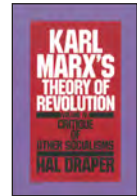


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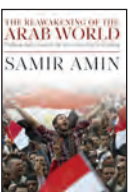


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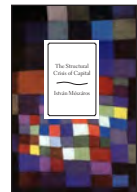


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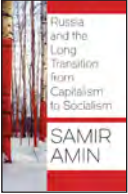
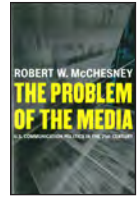
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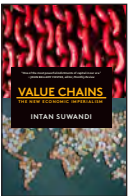
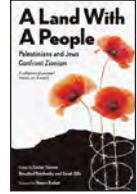
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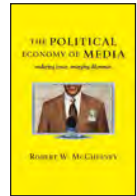
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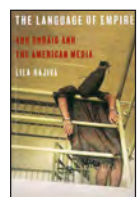
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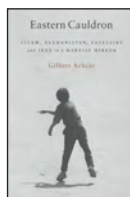
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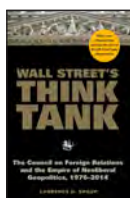


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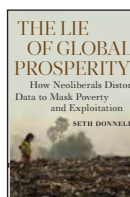
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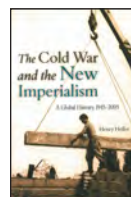
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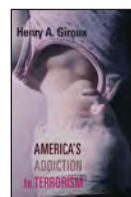


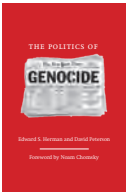
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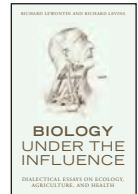


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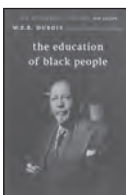
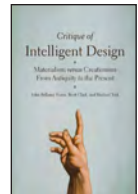


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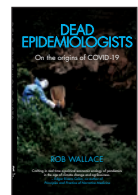


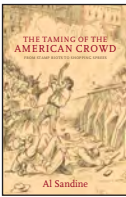
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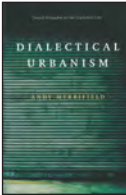
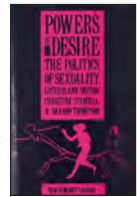
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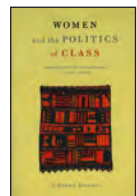
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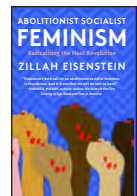
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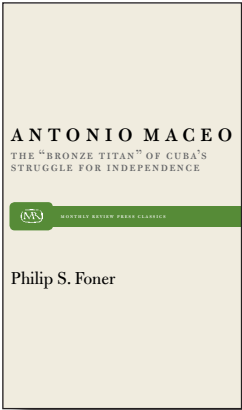
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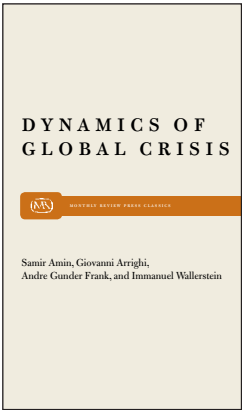
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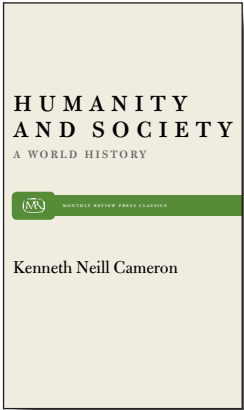
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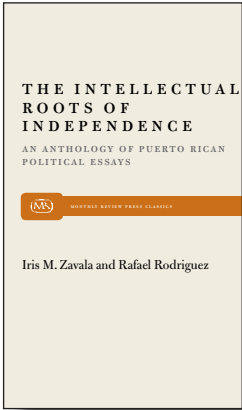
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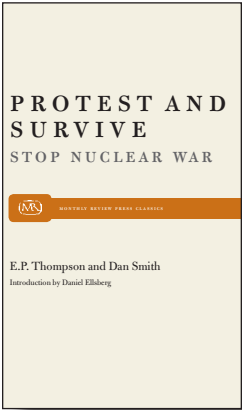
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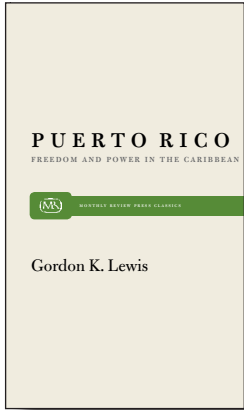
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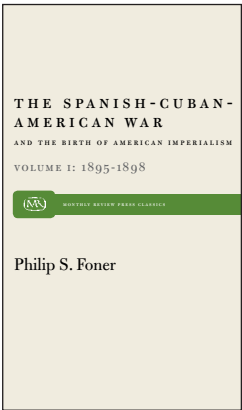
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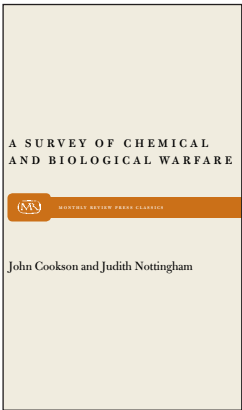
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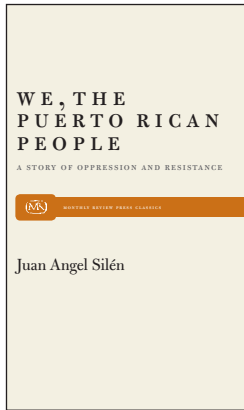
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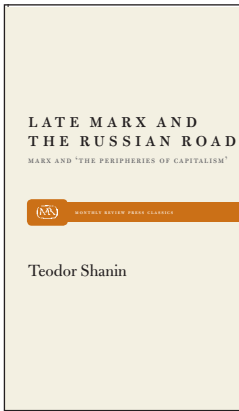
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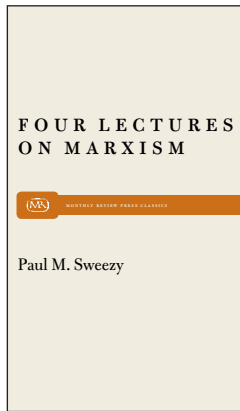
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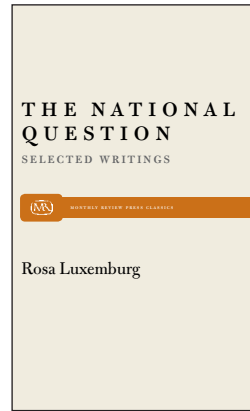
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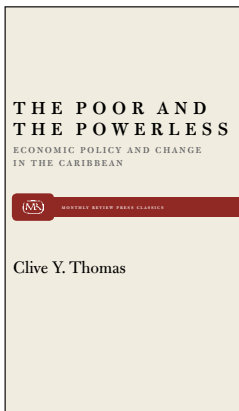
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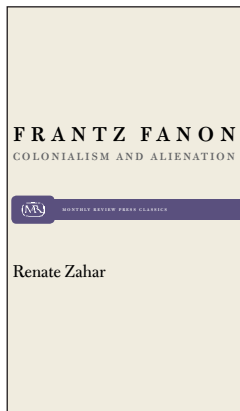
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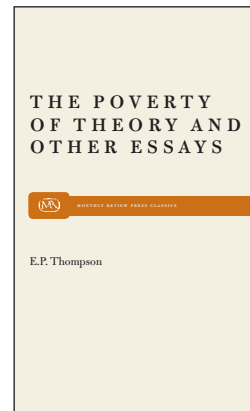
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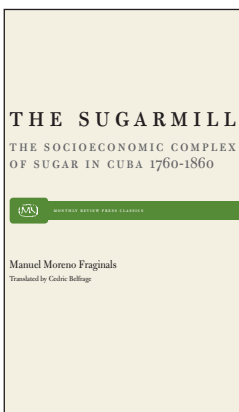
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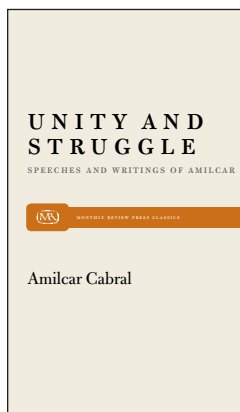
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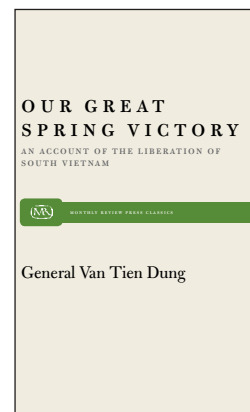
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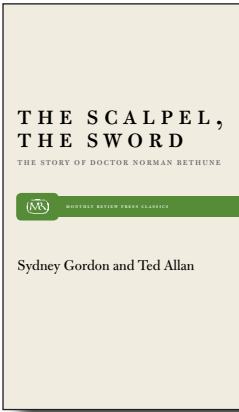
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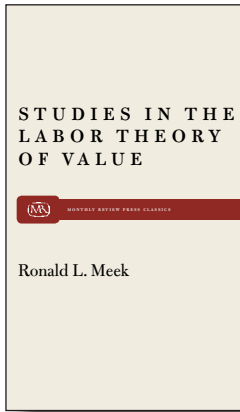
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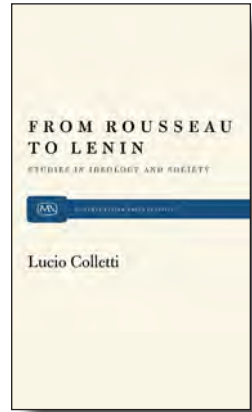
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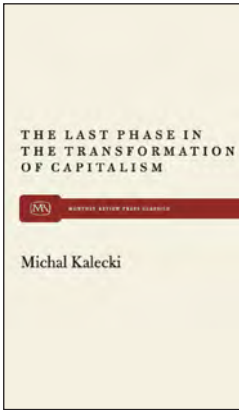
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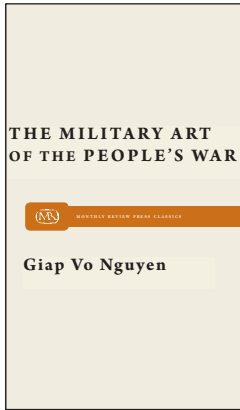
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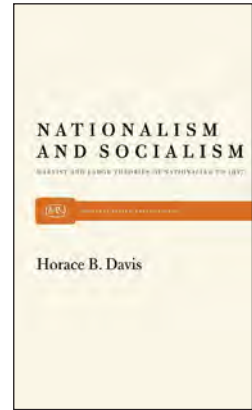
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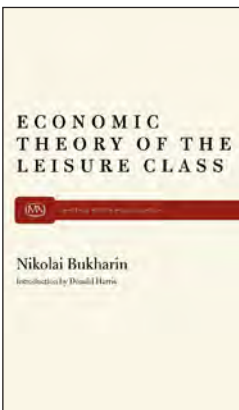
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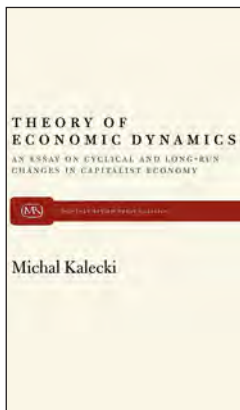
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- ABCs of the Economic Crisis*, 19
Abolitionist Feminist Socialism, 32
 Abramovitz, Mimi, 32
 Achcar, Gilbert, 30
Age of Monopoly Capital, 18
 Albo, Greg, 6
 Alewitz, Mike, 23
 Allende, Isabel, 24
 Althusser, Louis, 28
American War in Vietnam, 21
America's Addiction to Terrorism, 30
America's Education Deficit and the War on Youth, 19
 Amin, Samir, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29
Anarchism, 25
 Anderson, Kevin B., 29
 Angus, Ian, 9, 20
Anne Braden Speaks, 13
Antonio Gramsci, 27
Apocalypse of Settler Colonialism, 21
 Aptheker, Herbert, 31
Art of Democracy, 21
 Aschoff, Nicole, 6

 Baran, Nicholas, 18
 Baran, Paul, 18
 Barrios de Chungara, Domitila, 32
 Beaud, Michel, 18
 Becker, Lia, 14
 Becker, Marc, 27
Behind the Invasion of Iraq, 29
 Berry, Joe, 23
 Besancenot, Olivier, 24
Between Capitalism and Community, 27
Beyond Capital, 26
Beyond Digital Capitalism, 6
Beyond Leviathan, 11
Beyond Plague Urbanism, 7
Big Farms Make Big Flu, 31
Biology under the Influence, 31
Blowing the Roof Off the Twenty-First Century, 29
 Braverman, Harry, 22
 Brenner, Johanna, 32
 Bricmont, Jean, 30
 Bridenthal, Renate, 32
Brigadistas!, 13
 Brouwer, Steve, 25
 Bruschi, Valeria, 19
 Buck, Pern Davidson, 22
 Buhle, Paul, 13, 23
Build It Now, 25
 Bukharin, Nikolai, 28
 Buttel, Frederick H., 20

 Cabral, Amílcar, 10
 Campbell, Horace, 30
Can the Working Class Save the World, 23

Capital and Politics, 6
Capitalism and Imperialism, 26
Capitalism in the Anthropocene, 16
Capitalist Globalization, 19
 Castaño Ferreira, Eleonora, 29
 Castaño Ferreira, João, 29
 Césaire, Aimé, 27
 Chávez, Hugo, 24
Che Guevara: His Revolutionary Legacy, 24
Cheap Motels and a Hot Plate, 18
 Chester, Eric T., 21
China and Socialism, 17
 Clark, Brett, 20, 31
Class Dismissed, 19
 Cockcroft, James D., 24
 Cockshott, Paul, 22
Cold War and the New Imperialism, 30
 Coles, Gerald, 16
Coming of the American Behemoth, 31
Communist Manifesto, 27
Confronting Black Jacobins, 21
Consciencism, 17
Creating an Ecological Society, 20
Crisis and Predation, 17
Critique of Intelligent Design, 31
Cuba and the U.S. Empire, 24
Cuba, the Media, and the Challenge of Impartiality, 24
Cuban Health Care, 31
 Cullen, Jim, 20
Cultures of Darkness, 21
 Cushion, Steve, 24

 D'Mello, Bernard, 17
 Dahme, Katharina, 14
Dawning of the Apocalypse, 21
Days and Nights of Love and War, 23
Dead Epidemiologists, 11
Debt, the IMF, and the World Bank, 18
 Desai, Ashwin, 17
Devil's Milk, 21
Dialectical Urbanism, 32
Dialectics of Dependency, 1
 DiMaggio, Anthony, 29
Discourse on Colonialism, 27
Dissenting POWs, 21
 Dominguez, Esteban Morales, 23
 Donnelly, Seth, 30
 Dose, Ralf, 21
 Draper, Hal, 28
 Du Bois, W.E.B., 31

 Durrenberger, E. Paul, 22
 Early, Steve, 22
Eastern Cauldron, 30
Ecological Rift, 20
Economic War against Cuba, 23
Educational Justice, 19
Education of Black People, 31
 Eisenstein, Zillah, 32
E.P. Thompson and the Making of the New Left, 26
 Emersberger, Joe, 25
Endless Crisis, 19
Endless Holocausts, 2
 Engels, Friedrich, 27
 Erem, Suzan, 22
Ethical Dimensions of Marxist Thought, 27
Eurocentrism, 27
 Ewen, Elizabeth, 32
Extraordinary Threat, 25

Faces of Latin America, 23
Facing the Anthropocene, 20
Fanshen, 17
 Farmer, Esther, 15
Fault in our SARS, 3
 Ferguson, Miguel, 13
 Fischer, Ernst, 27
 Fitz, Don, 31
Foodie's Guide to Capitalism, 19
Fools' Crusade, 30
 Foster, John Bellamy, 5, 10, 16, 18, 19, 20, 26, 30, 31
 Franklin, Jane, 24
Free Speech and the Suppression of Dissent During World War I, 21
Friends of Alice Wheelodon, 32
From Commune to Capitalism, 17

 Galeano, Eduardo, 23, 24
 Gatehouse, Tom, 24
 Gilbert, Chris, 23
 Gilmore, John, 30
 Giroux, Henry, 19, 30
Global Imperialism and the Great Crisis, 30
Global NATO and the Catastrophic Failure in Libya, 19
Great Financial Crisis, 19
 Green, Duncan, 23
 Grossmann, Atina, 32
 Grossman, Victor, 18
 Guerín, Daniel, 25
 Guevara, Che, 24
 Guskin, Jane, 31

 Haberkern, E., 28
Haiti, State against Nation, 24
 Harnecker, Marta, 24
 Hart-Landsberg, Martin, 19

 Health Care Under the Knife, 31
 Heinrich, Michael, 26, 27
 Heller, Henry, 30
 Herman, Edward S., 31
 Heym, Stefan, 11
Hidden History of the Cuban Revolution, 24
Hidden History of the Korean War, 8
Hidden Structure of Violence, 31
 Hinton, William, 17
History of Capitalism, 18
History of World Agriculture, 20
 Holmstrom, Nancy, 32
 Holt-Giménez, Eric, 19
 Horne, Gerald, 21
How the Workers' Parliaments Saved the Cuban Revolution, 4
How the World Works, 22
How to Read Karl Marx, 27
How to Read Marx's Capital, 27

 Hudis, Peter, 29
Humanitarian Imperialism, 30
Hungry for Profit, 20
 Huws, Ursula, 22

 Iglesias, Cesar Andreu, 18
Immigrant Women in the Land of Dollars, 32
Imperialism in the Twenty-First Century, 19
Imperialism without Colonies, 30
Implosion of Contemporary Capitalism, 26
India after Naxalbari, 17
Inequality, Class, and Economics, 14
In Walt We Trust, 25
Insurgent Images, 23
Introduction to the Three Vols. of Karl Marx's Capital, 27
 Itoh, Makoto, 26

 Jameson, Frederic, 18
Jazz and Justice, 21
 Johnstone, Diana, 30
José Carlos Mariátegui, 27

 Kaindl, Christina, 14
 Kaplan, Marion, 32
Karl Marx and the Birth of Modern Society, 26
Karl Marx's Ecosocialism, 20
Karl Marx's Theory of Revolution, Vol. 1–5, 28
 Kasrils, Ronnie, 17
 Kelley, Robin D. C., 27
 Krausz, Tamás, 26
 Kuzmarov, Jeremy, 15

- Labor and Monopoly Capital*, 22
Labor in the Global Digital Economy, 22
Labor Guide to Retirement Plans, 15
 Lamrani, Salim, 23, 24
Land With a People, 15
Law and the Rise of Capitalism, 25
Law of Worldwide Value, 28
 Lebowitz, Michael A., 25, 26, 27
Left Green New Deal, 14
 Lembecke, Jerry, 21
Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays, 28
Let Me Speak!, 32
Lettuce Wars, 22
 Levins, Richard, 31
 Levy, Madeleine R., 25
 Lewontin, Richard, 31
 Leys, Colin, 6
 Li, Minqi, 22
Li of Global Prosperity, 30
Liberal Virus, 28
Long Revolution of the Global South, 25
 Löwy, Michael, 24

 Magdoff, Fred, 19, 20
 Magdoff, Harry, 30
 Magnus Hirschfeld, 21
Making of a Cybertariat, 22
Making Sense of the Media, 29
Mapping My Way Home, 18
 Marciano, John, 15, 21
 Marcos, Subcom., 24
 Marek, Franz, 27
 Marini, Ruy Mauro, 1
 Marsh, John, 19, 25
 Marx, Karl, 27
Marx, Dead and Alive, 27
Marx's Ecology, 20
 Mazoyer, Marcel, 20
 McChesney, Robert W., 19, 29
Memoirs of Bernardo Vega, 18
 Merrifield, Andy, 7, 27, 32
 Mészáros, István, 11, 26, 28
Mexico's Revolution Then and Now, 24
 Millet, Damien, 18
Miseducating for the Global Economy, 19
Modern Imperialism, Modern Finance Capital, and Marx's Law of Value, 25
Monopoly Capital, 18
 Muzzupappa, Antonella, 19
Mythologies of State and Monopoly Power, 25
 Mzwanele Mayekiso, 17

Naming the System, 18
Navigating the Zeitgeist, 18
 Neuburger, Bruce, 22
Necessity of Social Control, 26
 Nkrumah, Kwame, 17
Nobody Called Me Charlie, 18
 Nuss, Sabine, 19

On the Global Waterfront, 22
Only People Make Their Own History, 26
One Day in December, 23
Open Veins of Latin America, 24
 Otanelli, Fraser, 13

 Palmer, Bryan D., 21
 Panitch, Leo, 6
Paramilitarism and the Assault on Democracy in Haiti, 24
 Pascual Marquina, Cira, 23
 Patnaik, Prabhat, 26
 Patnaik, Utsa, 26
People's Lawyer, 25
 Petchesky, Rosalind, 15
 Peterson, David, 31
Philosophical Arabesques, 28
 Pilisuk, Marc, 31
 Podur, Justin, 25
Political Economy of Media, 29
Politics of Genocide, 31
Politics of Immigration, 31
PolyLuxMarx, 19
Powers of Desire, 32
 Prashad, Vijay, 5, 31
 Preston, Charles, 18
Problem of the Media, 29
Punishment Monopoly, 22

Race in Cuba, 23
Race to Revolution, 21
Racism and Class Struggle, 11
 Radek: A Novel, 11
Radical Seattle, 22
 Rajiva, Lila,
Reawakening of the Arab World, 28
Reclaiming the Ivory Tower, 23
Reconstructing Lenin, 26
Red Cat, White Cat, 17
Redder Shade of Green, 20
 Reiter, Ranya R., 32
Reminiscences of the Cuban Revolutionary War, 24
 Research Unit for Political Economy, 17, 29
Return of Nature, 16
Return to the Source, 10
Revolutionary Doctors, 25
 Richman, Shaun, 22
 Riexinger, Bernd, 14
Rise of China, 17
Rise of the Tea Party, 29
Robbery of Nature, 20
 Roberto, Michael Joseph, 31
 Rolph-Trouillot, Michel, 24
 Rosa Luxemburg Reader, 29
 Ross, John, 5
 Ross, Pedro, 4
 Roudart, Laurence, 20
 Rountree, Jennifer Achord, 31
 Rowbotham, Sheila, 32
 Ruben, Albert, 25
Russia and the Long Transition from Capitalism to Socialism, 29
Russians are Coming, Again, 15
Ruth First and Joe Slovo in the War against Apartheid, 17
 Russell, James W., 15
 Ryan, Howard, 19

 Saad-Filho, Alfredo, 6
 Saito, Kohei, 20
 Sandine, Al, 32
 Santucci, Antonio A., 27
Save Our Unions, 22
 Schutz, Eric, 14
Science and Humanism of Stephen Jay Gould, 31
 Screpanti, Ernesto, 19
Sensing Injustice, 25
Shadows of Tender Fury, 24
 Sheehan, Helena, 18, 25
 Shoup, Laurence H., 30
 Sills, Sarah, 15
 Smith, David Michael, 2
 Smith, John, 19
 Snitow, Ann, 32
Socialism or Barbarism, 28
Socialist Alternative, 26
Socialist Defector, 18
Socialist Imperative, 27
Socialist Feminist Project, 32
Socialist Register 2019–2023, 6
 Sprague, Jeb, 24
 Stansell, Christine, 32
 Stecklner, Anne, 19
 Stone, I. F., 8
 Stout, Nancy, 23
Studs Terkel, 23
 Stützle, Ingo, 19
Structural Crisis of Capital, 28
 Suwandi, Intan, 29
 Sweezy, Paul M., 18
Syriza Wave, 25

Taking Care of Business, 23
Taming of the American Crowd, 32
Tell the Bosses We're Coming, 22
Theory of Capitalist Development, 18
Theory of Monopoly Capitalism, 26
 Thomas, Eric Chester, 30
 Thompson, E. P., 26
 Thompson, Sharon, 32
 Tigar, Michael E., 25
 Timmons, Anne, 13
 Toussaint, Éric, 18

Toward an Anthropology of Women, 32
Toward an Open Tomb, 29
Township Politics, 17
Trump in the White House, 30
 Tully, John, 21

Under Attack, Fighting Back, 32
Understanding the Venezuelan Revolution, 24
Union Power, 22
Unlikely Secret Agent, 17
 Urdang, Stephanie J., 18

Value and Crisis, 26
Value Chains, 29
 Vanden, Harry E., 27
 Vega, Bernardo, 31
 Veneziale, Deborah, 5
Venezuela, the Present as Struggle, 23
Voices of Latin America, 24
Vulnerable Planet, 20

 Waitzkin, Howard, 31
 Wallace, Rob, 3, 12, 31
Wall Street's Think Tank, 30
War against the Commons, 9
 Warschawski, Michel, 29
Washington Bullets, 31
Washington's New Cold War, 5
We are the Poors, 17
 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
Why Unions Matter, 23
 Wieder, Alan, 17, 23
 Wilber, Tom, 21
 Wilkins, Ben, 13
 Williams, Chris, 20
 Wilson, David, 31
 Winslow, Cal, 22, 26
Women and the Politics of Class, 32
Work Work Work, 12
Worked to the Bone, 22
World Turned Upside Down, 6
World We Wish to See, 26

 Xu, Zhun, 17

 Yates, Michael D., 12, 18, 19, 23
 York, Richard, 20, 31
 Young, James, 22

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