



From the Left

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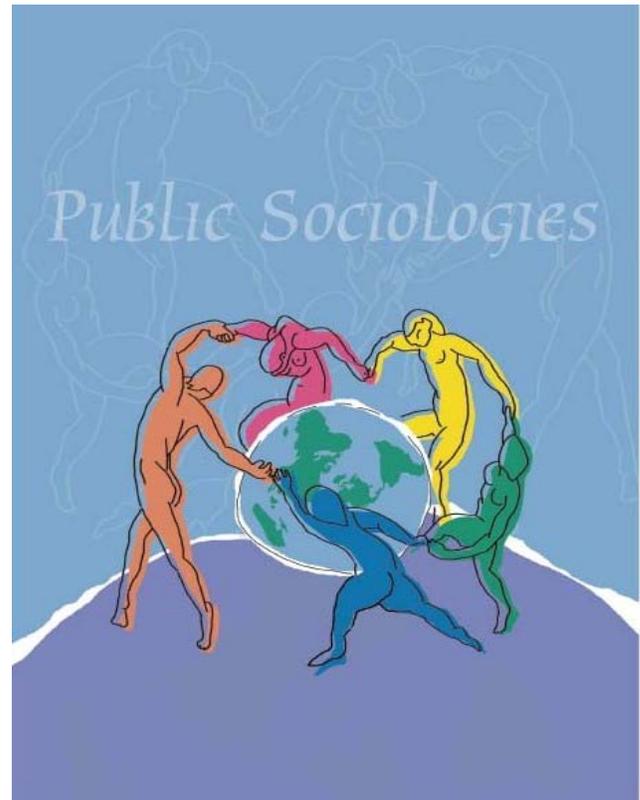
South Africanizing U.S. Sociology

Michael Burawoy
University of California, Berkeley

June, 1990, South Africa. Nelson Mandela had been released from Robben Island in February, Freedom Fighters had returned from exile, including such noted (and brilliant) Marxist sociologists as Jack Simons and Harold Wolpe. Unions and civics were galvanizing African urban society. The South African Communist Party (re)launched itself with a tumultuous sendoff in Soweto. Throughout the country the air vibrated with impending freedom, even in and through the violence that continued, unabated. I was there addressing the multi-racial Association of Sociologists of Southern Africa on the fate of socialism -- after the Fall of the Berlin Wall (1989) but before the disintegration of the Soviet Union (1991). Just as Soviet sociology had joined hands with an erupting civil society, so South African sociology had become inseparable from the struggle against apartheid. It was a moment of glasnost and perestroika all round, in which sociologists were united in a common project -- to repel authoritarian states.

What about today? I was in South Africa this July (2003) (and several times in between), again addressing the annual meeting of its sociologists. Ten years after the fall of apartheid, the government of liberation had set in motion a neo-liberal juggernaut (privatization of utilities, anti-union offensive, informalization of the economy), a demobilization of civil society, the restructuring of higher education according to the prescriptions of the World Bank, the commodification of social research (and if not commodification, hitching funding to Western publications). In higher education as well as in the wider society, the ascendancy of a black bourgeoisie has turned a racial divide into an ever more polarized class divide. Despite all setbacks and the turn from Marxism to Afropessimism, South African sociology still bears its distinctive stamp that so amazed me in 1990 -- a deep engagement with public issues of the communities in which it is embedded, that is, with questions of ethnicity, violence, AIDS and patriarchy, labor movement, privatization and anti-privatization, world economy, NGOs, the alliance and the communist party, and so forth.

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Logo for the 2004 ASA Annual Meeting in San Francisco

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Message from the Chair

Kevin B. Anderson
Purdue University

Dear Colleagues:

I address this letter to the members of the Marxist Section, especially the new members. We live in a period when interest in Marxism has rebounded somewhat from a decade ago, when Marxism was pronounced "dead" by various intellectuals and pundits. Under the impact of the anti-globalization and antiwar movements, a new generation is becoming interested in Marx's critique of capital. This can be seen in a number of ways, both inside and outside the universities, including the dramatic membership growth of our section, which had reached 410 by October 1. Courses on Marx have begun to attract relatively large numbers of students. This resurgence of interest is of course on a far smaller scale than that of the early 1970s, for example.

The precipitous decline of interest in Marxism in the 1980s and early 1990s, while undoubtedly a setback, also led to some positive developments. Under the impact of non-Marxist radical theories such as post-structuralism, post-colonialism, and pragmatism, Marxists have become more engaged in discussions of gender, race, colonialism, and sexual identity, as well as dialectics, in new and sometimes fruitful ways.

In some cases, this has meant recovering older discussions, as in our celebration of the centennial of Du Bois's *Souls of Black Folk* at the recent ASA meetings in Atlanta. That book's somber warning, "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line - the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and in Africa, in America and the islands of the sea," is hardly any less true for the beginning of the twenty-first century.

As much as we have been impacted by them, there is also a growing sense that the newer non-Marxist theories have not been able to meet the challenge of today. They are criticized from within and without for being too particularistic, for missing the global and the universal in their focus on the local and the particular. From other quarters, the tendency of the post-structuralists Foucault and Baudrillard, as well as many of the post-colonial theorists, to support all forms of what they call "anti-hegemonic" forces has come under attack when it has led to an uncritical stance toward some forms of religious fundamentalism.

Our section will be sponsoring three exciting paper sessions for the 2004 ASA meetings August in San Francisco, focusing on the connections of Marxist sociology to the environment, to globalization, and to culture, as well as of course our roundtables. I think this broadening of our areas of in-

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From the Left Seeks Submissions

From the Left seeks submissions for its Spring issue (roughly 1,500 words). Please send proposals or texts by email to Warren Goldstein at wgoldste@mail.ucf.edu
Deadline: February 1, 2004

terest will be a good thing, just as it was a few years ago when we had a session on race, class, and gender from a Marxist perspective.

In no way does our focus for 2004 mean a lessening of our interest in the issues of class, of capital, and of labor. Quite the contrary! We wish to connect capital and class to these other areas. As Du Bois himself wrote in 1953, in a preface for the fiftieth anniversary of *Souls*, his early studies at Harvard were marked by a "lack of proper emphasis" on Marx. This, he added meant that class was de-emphasized, especially "the fact that so many civilized persons are willing to live in comfort even if the price of this is poverty, ignorance and disease of the majority of their fellow men; that to maintain that privilege men have waged war until today war tends to become universal and continuous, and the excuse for this war continues largely to be color and race."

I invite all of you to share your ideas about the section and Marxist sociology more generally through contributing to this newsletter. ☪



Global Marxism "World Crisis, Global Marxism "

John Foran

University of California, Santa Barbara

foran@soc.ucsb.edu

This column makes the world, especially the Third World, the subject of Marxism. "Subject" both in the sense of what Marxism as an approach could be about, and in the sense of centering the agency of people in the Third World (and not in the sense of "being subject to"). I invite your feedback, either on the pieces that appear here, or your ideas for an essay of your own that might fit this rubric.

The world currently faces one of its most acute crises in the memory of anyone now living. This is hardly a controversial statement, but it is a surprising state of affairs from the point of view of September 10, 2001, or November 1, 2000. The coming to power of the Bush administration through a fraudulent electoral victory set the tone for what can now be seen as one of the most dangerous moments for the people of the United States, Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Colombia, Cuba, El Salvador, Brazil, North and South Korea, or Israel/Palestine – among many others – and the planet's population as a whole. The attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, permitted the imposition of an extremist, aggressive foreign policy (even by U.S. standards) aimed at making and unmaking governments in the Middle East and potentially far beyond. The policy is not only dangerous for the world's citizens but is also risky for U.S. and other elites, the project of neoliberal globalization that enlightened transnational capitalists are engaged in, and for the Bush administration itself. This is in addition to the existing ills of world poverty and hunger, ecological decline, social and state violence, the erosion of welfare states and democratic rights, and other pressing problems of the age of globalization. The central questions of our time may well be: How did this state of affairs come to pass? Where is it heading? And, most importantly, what can be done about it?

My position in this essay and in the longer piece on which it is based (Foran, forthcoming) is that we need more ample and supple conceptual tools to make sense of current U.S. policy – its roots, goals, strategies, consequences, and contradictions -- that entertain the hypothesis that it represents a break with or extreme version of a continuity that is qualitatively different and more dangerous. This is a policy with economic, but also political, cultural, social psychological, gendered, and racialized dimensions, only a few of which can be addressed in this space.

So what was the war about then? I, along with many

other critical analysts of U.S. foreign policy, think it was driven by a plan to assert U.S. control and hegemony on the world scene. Its roots go back to the Iranian Revolution of 1979, a revolution which deposed the shah of Iran, the United States' strongest ally ever (besides Israel) in the Middle East. In the 1980s, the Reagan administration sought a pretext to undo or "roll back" the negative consequences of this event, and to reassert U.S. dominance in a situation of economic decline vis-à-vis Europe and East Asia. The U.S. then covertly supported both Iraq and Iran in their bloody war against each other, and afterwards continued its pattern of quiet but significant amounts of economic and military support for Saddam Hussein right up to his invasion and occupation of Kuwait on August 2, 1990.

As was the case more recently, the first Bush administration gave the public various justifications for its actions during the course of the 1990-91 crisis: that it was there to defend freedom and democracy (but there was little of either in Kuwait or Saudi Arabia) or to defend the "American way of life," a rather vague but perhaps effective appeal. The Christic Institute (1991) argues that the hidden aims of Operation Desert Storm included to re-establish U.S. hegemony in the Gulf and assure access to cheap oil; to assert U.S. leadership in the world; to militarize society and avoid a cut in defense spending; and to divert attention away from the domestic problems of recession and unemployment. When Saddam misplayed his hand, based on past U.S. support, and went too far, annexing all of Kuwait, this provided an excellent opportunity for the Bush government to project the Reagan roll-back onto the crisis. Thus the U.S. rushed into war, gave sanctions little time to take effect, and bought the support of key votes in the United Nations to authorize a military attack. The U.S. may not have known what Saddam would do, but they both indirectly encouraged the invasion, and were almost immediately prepared to counter it with massive force, with devastating consequences for the people of Iraq in military and civilian casualties in the war itself, the failure to support the uprising at the war's end by Kurdish and Shi'ite opponents of the regime, and the sanctions and genocidal health epidemic that followed throughout the 1990s.

The first Bush administration used military force to send the message that it was the world's most powerful country in this one – military – sense. The hope was that economic

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World Crisis, Global Marxism (Continued from page 3)

and political dominance would follow from this. But the Gulf War of 1990-91 didn't reverse the economic or political decline of the U.S. vis-à-vis the advanced industrial world. Nor did it have the desired "demonstration effect." Saddam Hussein wasn't intimidated. Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda didn't get the message. Kim Jong Il's North Korea concluded that the only deterrent to U.S. designs was a credible nuclear deterrent. Some genuine progressives – such as Lula in Brazil – began to articulate alternatives to neoliberal globalization. Historic U.S. allies such as France and Germany disagreed with the Bush administration over the recent war, and much of global capital – the new transnational elite of corporations, banks, and organizations such as the WTO – has watched with immense concern as well.

The second Bush administration stole the elections of 2000 and came to power abetted by what was, in effect, a coup by the Supreme Court. A small, ultra-conservative group of strategic thinkers then stole the foreign policy of the Republican Party in pursuit of a future in which "the U.S. blocks any other competitor nation from challenging its dominance as the world's single great power" (www.newamericancentury.org). The terrorist attacks of September 11 – like Saddam's invasion of Kuwait a decade earlier -- provided the administration with an opportunity to project its new but unstated foreign policy agenda onto the crisis. Plans to attack Iraq predated September 11 (Lobe 2003). September 11 also conveniently dealt with the end of the Cold War: new enemies could be constantly found or created in the Muslim world and elsewhere; these are wars that can be won (if only on the battlefield); this justifies an ever more massive military budget; and this blocks any move toward a less militarized society. In fact, it has allowed the large steps toward an authoritarian police state taken by Attorney General John Ashcroft and the so-called Patriot Act, suggesting that war is also an extension of domestic politics (to extend Clausewitz's dictum that war is an extension of politics; nor let us forget Tariq Ali's (2003: 18) apt aphorism: "Economics, after all, is only a concentrated form of politics, and war a continuation of both by other means."). If the first Gulf War, then, was based on a project of international hegemony through roll-back, the 2002-3 Gulf War followed the same lines in a more extreme direction: a project of imperial hegemony through unilateral pre-emptive war abroad and manipulation of public opinion coupled with a climate designed to demonize dissent at home.

And what is the administration's real goal domestically? Let us speculate: militarization of society and economy, a terror state, the erosion of democracy at home and abroad, an ideological and frontal assault on the global justice movement, all in the name of a highly elusive pursuit of global economic, political, and moral paramountcy. The contradictions are numerous and leap readily to mind: alienation of the transnational corporations and elites already mentioned; further loss of global economic advantage as the U.S. runs

the risk of economic collapse under the burden of debt and the specter of deflation; the possibility of U.S. and world recession becoming a global depression. In sum, the policy increases the risk of a rather acute crisis of global capitalism.

Hegemony – even the thinly concealed (and hotly denied) imperial version of Bush and team -- of course, requires consent. This is perhaps the major contradiction at the heart of the Bush administration's goals. In Iraq itself, many parties and groups have called for a broad-based conference to elect a transitional government, only to be rebuffed by chief U.S. administrator Paul Bremer, who formed instead a pliant advisory council in late July 2003 to provide the thinnest veneer of legitimacy for U.S. occupation and rule (Milne 2003). One of the leaders of the Shi'ite community, Abdul Karim al-Enzi, commented succinctly within weeks of the war's end: "Democracy means choosing what people want, not what the West wants" (quoted in Smith 2003). Denied the fruits of democracy and self-determination, the armed guerrilla resistance to the U.S. occupation of Iraq will only grow.

Are future preventive wars inevitable? Certainly, one of Bush's few ways out of his own political crisis is to wage another war – a risky but politically "rational" course that a desperate administration might take. Working against the inevitability of further pre-emptive wars are the questions already raised by the U.S.'s historic allies, and the worries that the silence of the world financial elite conceals. The unsolvable problem of ruling Iraq after the war, and the fact that no one has a viable plan for doing this, should be giving those making the current policy – as it does the whole rest of the world -- some pause.

The neo-con dream of the U.S. becoming the world's sole power in the post-Cold War is also thwarted by the emergence of "the other superpower" – the global justice movement for peace, economic justice, and real equality bubbling up from below. The end of the Cold War has an upside for progressive movements that activists are increasingly aware of. We need to be patient and creative, stay together and make allies, and much more. We should dream the dream of stopping war and starting a real revolution, the democratic revolution that will turn things right-side up in this country and make it possible for the rest of the world to move forward toward solving some real problems. Nothing is inevitable if we take action. Let us resolve together the ways to do this.✂

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Running as a Green: Radical Insights from the Political Field

Paul Lachelier
Ph.D. Candidate
University of Wisconsin, Madison

Last year, for the first time in my life I ran for public office, as a Green Party candidate for State Representative in eastern parts of Cambridge and Somerville, Massachusetts. For ten intense months, I worked for six up to sixteen hours a day as a candidate, finally garnering 37 percent of the vote on election day. During those ten extraordinary months, I performed many routines as I had done prior to my candidacy – washing laundry, preparing meals, bicycling to most destinations. However, I sometimes felt quite uncomfortable doing so. And thus begins this story of politics and the division of labor.

You have probably heard the story of George Bush, Sr., who as he campaigned for election as President, made a staged visit to a supermarket with news cameras in tow, but made the unstaged mistake of marveling at the laser scanners long ago installed at supermarket checkout counters. Apparently, George Bush had not set foot in a supermarket in a long time, and ironically, in an attempt to connect with citizens in everyday life, he accidentally revealed just how distanced he was from citizens' everyday lives. Journalists and citizens alike made much of the fact that Bush did not know about checkout scanners, but the fact is that most of the time, most politicians don't do their own shopping. They don't prepare their own meals. And they certainly don't bicycle from one political event to another. Unless, of course, they are trying to symbolically connect with ordinary citizens. Politicians do plenty of that when election time comes around, holding babies, feeding the hungry, eating at the local diner, hammering nails into wood destined to build a home, all for ready cameras which turn these images into glossy literature and television ads for mass consumption.

As a candidate myself, every time I walked my laundry to the nearby laundromat, I had to pass by one of the campaign offices of a candidate running for State Senate. As I passed by, I would almost inevitably see one of the campaign staffers I knew in the office, and we would smile and nod at each other. I wondered though as I passed whether they thought to themselves, "what the hell is he doing wasting his time with his laundry? He should be out campaigning!" That thought made me uncomfortable because I wanted to be seen as a serious candidate. That same thought occurred to me when I shopped for my own groceries. Yet I couldn't bring myself to ask my campaign manager or my mother (who devotedly moved into my apartment in the last two months of the campaign to become a

full-time volunteer) to wash my dirty laundry or do my food shopping!

I also sometimes felt uncomfortable bicycling around town, often clothed in dress pants, collared shirt, tie and jacket. I suspected bicycling around might discredit me as a candidate in the eyes of at least some of those voters who saw me. However, as a low-income graduate student, I couldn't afford the expense of a car, and walking and public transportation usually took too much of my precious time as a candidate.

The Gap Between Making History & Making Everyday Life

As amusing as the above story is, it underscores a contradiction of values fundamental in American society (and probably much of the world). As Americans, we may expect our most powerful politicians to know about supermarket scanners and other basic conditions of life for ordinary citizens, but we do not expect them to do the shopping and other routine chores that would expose them first hand to those conditions. To have our president clean the White House floors seems patently ridiculous; let the White House janitor clean the floors because the president has much more important things to do.

There is, as political sociologist Richard Flacks pithily explains, typically a yawning gap between those who make history and those who make everyday life. In his book, *Making History*, Flacks – a 1960s activist turned sociologist – makes a simple yet extraordinarily significant observation: in elite-dominated societies, "those positioned to participate in elite transactions can influence the terms and conditions of a collectivity's daily life as an inherent part of their own daily routine. Those without such position can influence history to the degree that they have the ability to disrupt elite plans or the processes of daily life" (Flacks 1988: 70). Hence, politicians and other well-positioned elites routinely "make history" while the majority of citizens routinely make their everyday lives.

There is a corollary point to Flack's observation: the more powerful one is, the less one engages in manual chores, and the less powerful one is, the more manual chores dominate one's life. This relationship may be so longstanding that it seems inherent to human society, but its existence and ideological support are hardly immutable.

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Aristocrats in aristocratic ages presumably didn't tend to do their own laundry because such labor was beneath them. In the modern age of capitalism though, people in power don't do their own laundry because their time is too precious. It is less that such mundane chores are beneath powerful people than that their resources or responsibilities in the labor process – whether in government or business – are simply too important to be wasting their time with manual labor. Of course, the line between these two convictions is often thin, but the distinction is important to understanding capitalist ideology as it concerns the division of labor. The pervasive yet usually unspoken belief in capitalist societies is that the best and brightest should devote their fullest time and attention to the most important occupations in order that wealth may be produced most efficiently. (And of course, under capitalism, the efficient production of wealth is assumed to be one of, if not the most important goal of a society). This logic pervades in all spheres, not just business. And the logic may be growing in strength if we take the growth in the number of personal chefs, personal assistants and other caterers to elites in the United States as measures. Hence, when I suggest that perhaps politicians as well as doctors, lawyers, professors, and other professionals should occasionally clean floors, do laundry, fill potholes, and perform other manual chores necessary for the reproduction of society, most people give me looks which suggest that I am unreasonable, if not slightly crazy.

In politics, Americans may want politicians *of* the people, but the existing division of labor tends to produce politicians *over* the people. Politicians rule over citizens, but they do not live among citizens either in terms of location or practice. Indeed, it may be that the more power a politician has over the lives of more Americans, the more removed he or she is from the people. In my first bid for the lowest elected position in Massachusetts state government, I could get away with bicycling, doing my own laundry, and buying my own groceries. But as one moves up the political hierarchy and one's routine work becomes accordingly more important to more people, the "necessity" to delegate such chores to others grows. When I was not elected in November 2002, I quickly resumed my life, becoming comfortable again with doing my own laundry, food shopping, and bicycling to work. If I had been elected State Representative, I may have continued doing my own laundry, but I would probably have purchased a car and biked less to work, eaten out more often and shopped less. Further up the political hierarchy, a U.S. Representative in turn is probably even less likely to bicycle to work, more likely to drive or be driven, eats out regularly, and rarely shops for food. The President in turn is probably forbidden from bicycling to work, rarely drives and is usually driven, eats food prepared (and tested for poisoning?) by others, and probably hasn't set foot in a supermarket in years.

Re-Thinking Democracy and Social Change

This might all seem like an amusing but trivial discussion if it were not for the profound social consequences of this relationship between power and chores, between making history and making everyday life. If we depart from the capitalist assumption that the fundamental purpose of society is to efficiently produce wealth, if we instead begin with a socialist assumption that the fundamental purpose of society is to develop human beings to their fullest potential, then the existing division of labor quickly becomes problematic.

In *Making History*, Richard Flacks conceives of democracy in an original way. He does not define democracy simply as rule by the people, or by their elected representatives. Rather, Flacks defines it as "a social arrangement in which the gap between history and everyday life is permanently closed because society's members achieve the ability to make history (i.e., to influence and decide the terms and conditions of their lives) in and through their everyday lives" (1988: 87). Hence, in a real democracy, that yawning gap between those who make history and those who make everyday life is closed. In a real democracy, decision-making is decentralized as much as possible so that elites do not make a career of deciding things for citizens while citizens just make a living. In a real democracy, ordinary citizens routinely engage in the decision-making which affects their lives. In a real democracy, ordinary citizens thus make history as they make their everyday lives.

Accordingly, this and any radical conception of democracy must problematize the existing division of labor wherein some clean floors and others make the decisions that affect all our lives. Just as we may be moving toward more egalitarianism in the distribution of *private chores* in the household, so too might we consider *public chores* – the countless menial tasks outside the household we currently relegate to some citizens from cleaning library floors to bagging groceries – a collective responsibility in which all must participate for the reproduction of society. Just as each has their turn cleaning floors in an egalitarian household, each citizen should have their turn cleaning the floors in society. Yes, I am arguing that politicians, professors, lawyers and other professionals spend some time periodically cleaning floors, or doing other necessary chores in society as they may do at home. The devil is, of course, in the details, and such routine practice and principle will certainly seem foreign in capitalist society, but it goes much farther toward producing genuine equality than most policy prescriptions.

Thus, moving toward real democracy may be just as much about redistributing labor as it is about redistributing decision-making, or capital for that matter. If, as Marx underscored, labor is central to our experience as human beings, then the sharp divisions of labor in capitalist society sharpen inequalities in human experience even as they advance the efficient production of wealth for some. In so doing, we impoverish the ranges of experience and responsibility of some, as we enrich those of others. These inequali-

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The Gender Trap: Women's Position in the Japanese Labor Demographics

Johnnie Spraggins
Our Lady of the Lake University

The demographics of Japan present a problem for the government in terms of workers and the structure of social programs. With the longest life span in the world, early retirement, and a low birthrate, the potential for support of the aging workforce is problematic for the future of social programs in Japan. There are serious problems anticipated in whether enough workers will be available for supporting the elderly in the future. Some of the suggested solutions to the dilemma are to import guest workers, expand the opportunities available to women, or impose higher taxes on workers.

The importation of guest workers has been a solution to labor problems in the past in Japan, particularly in the late 1980s, when wages were quite high and not enough workers could be secured for the lower wage work. While a workable solution, the visa granted these workers were of relatively short duration. Many workers remained, illegally, where the state regularly rounded them up and deported them, depending on various factors. Using this experience as a solution, guest workers are a questionable solution to the labor shortage in Japan. The treatment and status of non-Japanese in Japan does not meet with wide acceptance. For another instance, Koreans who live there, and have for several generations, are not granted citizenship status easily. Gaining the rights which accompany Japanese citizenship is not easily accomplished or often achieved (Fukuoka, 2000). One implication of this suggests a temporary solution to a long-term problem. While workable as a stopgap measure, the long-term implications are not readily predictable.

Another solution would be to look to women as a solution to the labor shortage. With quite different opportunities for men and women, what is the potential for women gaining similar opportunities as men to serve as a solution to this dilemma? Will women be accepted as workers with the same status as men?

When considering women's position in society, status and role inside and outside the household is usually addressed. England (1993) argues that low pay and primary responsibility for housework and childcare are a double disadvantage in the lives of U.S. women. The issues she identifies related to the paid workforce are access to jobs, comparable worth, and human capital issues as the most significant challenges to equality. Using this paradigm, I will address the situation in Japan. With many aspects of society comparable, this comparison will be useful in addressing the labor shortage and the potential for women solving the dilemma.

The institutional structures which operate to control and

enforce gender roles are not the same in Japan and the U.S. In the U.S. we find religious institutions/moral entrepreneurs, medicine, and the state to be particularly powerful in the enforcement of gender roles. In Japan, the state, neighborhood, and family are particularly powerful in similar roles.

The modernization of Japan can arguably be viewed from the Meiji Restoration following its agreement to allow more contact with nations outside its borders. This modernization proceeded on many levels in society & culture, and popular political participation. Women outnumbered men in the paid labor force until 1930. They were concentrated in the textile industries, sometimes working as indentured servants which provided needed cash for their families of orientation. This situation is not unlike that currently found of female workers at the turn of the last century (nineteenth to twentieth). Currently in Japan, female workers are employed (in order of importance) in clerical, production and craft, professional, sales, and service occupations. Their pay is about 60% that of male workers (Lebra).

"Women [in Japan] have always ruled inside the home. They are the ones who must attend to family education and other matters. What would happen if women joined political associations or engaged in political discussions? Family education would be hindered terribly...If they are allowed to join political associations, they will neglect their duties as women" (Garon, 1990:119).

The popular view of women as 'good wife and wise mother' evolved from the lowly status of women prominent during the feudal and Tokagawa Era, until the 1890s.

Mothers were more likely to be engaged in productive labor, with young girls hired to care for young children in households. The 'social hygiene' model adopted from the West in the late 19th century was the impetus for women to become involved in household duties and child care and child education. The proclamation by the state in 1890 that women's primary duties were household management and children's education was thought to bring them in line with the U.S. and Britain.

Women were denied political participation on several levels—no suffrage; they couldn't sit in the gallery of the Diet; 'political meetings' [of women] were prohibited until well into the 20th century. Wartime mobilization was an exception to utilize women outside the home, beginning with the Russo-Japanese War.

Women were appealed to for household frugality, savings, charity work, moral education, and public hygiene.

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The Gender Trap (Continued from page 7)

Women were prohibited from joining political groups until 1945. Little was done to encourage women's suffrage.

Women were most successful in terms of their relationship with the state when they worked toward the goal of separable gender spheres; they fashioned authoritative household roles. This promotion of women's "natural abilities/roles" made them allies with the state, where they came to be increasingly recognized as the nation's mothers, housewives, and community activists.

Garon argues this relationship and understanding facilitated state intervention in families in ways not previously possible, e.g., when men were the heads of households. Women facilitated the state goal of savings—social hygiene—social management.

Following the war and during occupation, the state drew upon this belief in the expertise and domain of women to provide welfare services—using women as unpaid workers to provide and administer services. The healthy economy was one reason for steadily declining demand for these services through the 1960s, although the state's strict means testing discouraged the use of or dependence on welfare. Any movement in establishing more welfare-type services was short-circuited by the oil crisis of the 1970s.

This sets the stage for the current crisis in terms of a shortage of workers. While Japan certainly has no shortage of people, the demography of the country present problems which are shared somewhat by other countries, and are certainly indicative of the future of many. The economic success has led to low fertility levels, so low that expressions of concern have surfaced about the survival of the race. While the concerns are certainly exaggerated, the low fertility has to a surfeit of working age taxpayers. In the presence of the world's longest life span, the crisis lies in support of the elderly by working age, tax paying adults. This shortage of workers is further complicated by a highly educated workforce—not tolerant of minorities, particularly guest workers, and accustomed to high wages supporting an expensive way of life, by world standards. Workers are further characterized as possessing a strong work ethic. A wife at home who manages the household, the income earned by the male worker, the children, their education, and makes household decisions, is an active and influential member of the community.

Women are further the caretakers of the elderly, as is the case in other societies. The Japanese perception is one of a three-generation family, with the elderly being supported by children in primogeniture paternal relationship. In 1993, 56% of the elderly were living with their children. An even larger number live near their children, and 86% of the bed-ridden elderly are cared for by a family member, usually a woman. The state not only supports this system but encourages it, offering "life planning" seminars targeted at housewives and women's groups.

The populace has been warned against the 'Swedish disease' whereby the elderly are warehoused in cold, uncaring warehouses far from the family—or the 'English disease'

whereby creativity and the work ethic are lost—both brought on by the high taxes required for welfare programs.

As welfare levels are extremely modest in Japan by Western standards and models, the impending crisis of a tax resulting from fewer working, and working age, adults becomes interesting. ☞

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Photo Essay: "Paris McDonalds Squat"

David Fasenfest
Wayne State University

"Yes, this action was illegal, but I lay claim to it because it was legitimate." So states Jose Bove, who is now serving time in France, about his actions destroying genetically modified corn. Already under threat of a prison sentence for his part in ransacking a McDonald's fast food outlet in his native France, Bove is a determined campaigner who refuses to compromise his firmly-held principles and agitates against WTO and the globalization of food production. These photos were taken by me this summer at a McDonald's outlet in Paris, in a primarily working class and immigrant neighborhood in the northern part of the city proper. Activists have taken over the store, keep the food from being sold, and use it as a place to distribute literature or otherwise educate residents about the issues and the reasons to take action against globalism and its impact on food production and distribution. It is a striking example of taking politics down to the local level, of taking action where it matters to get the message to the people, of making a change where ever and when ever possible.



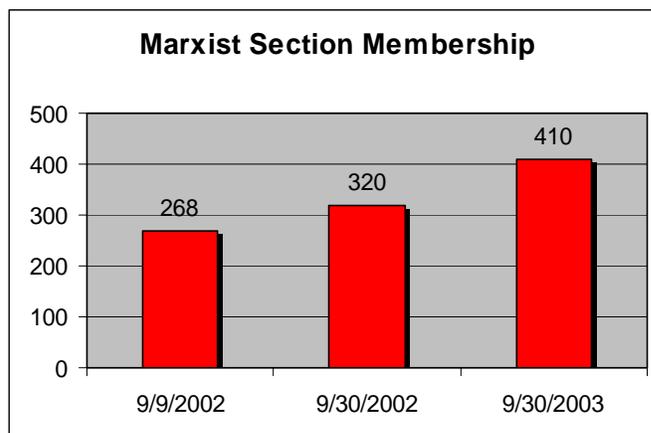


Marxist Section Hits 410 Members!!!



Walda Kata Fishman and Alan Spector presenting Robert Newby with the Lifetime Achievement award at the Marxist Section joint reception

Photo by Joanna Hadjicostandi



the 2003 annual meeting was discussed (strengths and weaknesses). It was agreed that the chair of the section would be responsible for making sure that all session organizers followed through on their responsibilities. Further, it was decided that the Marxist section suite should be for only one night and not be used to house students. Finally, t-shirt and tote bags as a mechanism to increase membership was considered to be successful; it was decided to do something equivalent for next year. Warren Goldstein agreed to organize these activities for the next annual meeting.

Annual Meeting Notes

Council Meeting:

Present: Lloyd Klein, Ellen Rosen (chair), John Foran, Jeff Halley, Johnnie Spraggins, David Fasenfest, Warren Goldstein, Alan Spector and Joanna Hadjicostandi

1) The first item on the agenda at the Marxist Section council meeting was to discuss sessions to propose to the business meeting for the ASA 2004 annual meeting in San Francisco. Among proposed sessions that were discussed were: Marxism and culture, After Foucault and Derrida: post-Marxism, a joint session on Marxism and Ecology with the Environment and Technology section. Also discussed were having sessions on gender, and race and class.

2) David Fasenfest, editor of *Critical Sociology* and chair-elect of the Marxist section discussed Brill's (the publisher of *Critical Sociology*) interest in sponsoring a mini conference in conjunction with the ASA annual meeting next year. The purpose of the miniconference is to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the journal while announcing a book series.

3) The suggestion was made that the Nominations Committee in its selection of candidates to run for section office take race and gender into consideration to diversify section officers.

4) The overall organization of Marxist section activities at

Business Meeting:

Ellen Rosen chaired the meeting.

Book awards were announced, Bill and Cliff Staples, *Power, Profits, and Patriarchy* and Ellen Rosen, *Making Sweatshops*.

The following committees were established:

1) Nominations committee: Lauren Langman (chair), Lloyd Klein, and Warren Goldstein

2) Lifetime Achievement Award: Alan Spector (chair)

3) Student Paper Award: Paul Paolucci (chair)

4) Section Book Award: Karen Halnon (chair)

Paul Paolucci agreed to organize the roundtables for next year's meeting. Warren Goldstein agreed to edit the newsletter for another year.

David Fasenfest announced the miniconference for *Critical Sociology* (see Council Meeting notes)

The following sessions won approval for next year:

1) Marxism and the Environment (with Environment and Technology section)- John Bellamy Foster (organizer)

2) Globalization (with PEWS)- Ellen Rosen (organizer)

3) Marxism and Culture- Jeff Halley (organizer)

Sessions that did not win approval include: After Foucault and Habermas; Socialist Future; and Marxism, Genocide and War



Marxist Section Dinner/Party
at Marxist Section Suite at the Hilton

Photo by Joanna Hadjicostandi

field of labor process theory, but it goes beyond the work of Burawoy and others in a highly significant way to bring patriarchy fully alongside analysis of class relations to explain the changes in organizational structure at the firm as an outcome negotiated between workers and management and shaped by larger political-economic contexts. It does this with a fine-grained historical analysis that brings the changes it describes to life, and makes fundamental contributions to Marxism by its integration of feminism into a broad and convincing analysis. It is based on meticulous scholarship, and comes highly praised by such figures as Michael Burawoy and Sonya Rose. The centerpiece analysis of a 1913 strike is quite brilliant, and the writing of the book as a whole is of high quality. The book makes a profound and needed contribution to Marxist scholarship, insofar as it brings patriarchy into discussions of the labor process, and shows how both class and gender must be considered together for an adequate understanding of the fundamental historical turning points in the histories of the working class.

Ellen Rosen and William and Clifford Staples are thus the co-winners of the 2003 award for best book in Marxist sociology, given by the Marxist Section of the American Sociological Association.

Book Award 2003

This year's committee – Berch Berberoglu and John Foran – considered seven nominations for best Marxist book and found two books particularly deserving of the award.

These are Ellen Rosen's *Making Sweatshops: The Globalization of the U.S. Apparel Industry*, published by the University of California Press in 2002 and William and Clifford Staples' *Power, Profits, and Patriarchy: The Social Organization of Work at a British Metal Trades Firm, 1791-1922*, published by Rowman and Littlefield in 2001.

Ellen Rosen's *Making Sweatshops* provides a history of the apparel and textile industry in the U.S. and on a world scale. The expansion of the apparel industry worldwide is part of the globalization process. The transnational corporations are the driving force of this process and women workers are the primary victims throughout the world. While the transnationals immensely benefit from superexploitation of labor on a world scale, hence accelerating the global accumulation of capital, the process has detrimental effects on workers abroad and in the United States. Decline in wages, working conditions, and other consequences of globalization are thus felt by workers everywhere. Rosen thus provides an incisive analysis of the globalization process through her focus on this important sector of global capitalist production and identifies the winners and losers engaged in the global class struggle.

William G. Staples and Clifford L. Staples', *Power, Profits, and Patriarchy* is a focused case study of labor-capital relations at a single firm, one of the leading metal trades firms in the world for the time period it covers. Its approach lies in the

Graduate Student Papers and Roundtables

The Marxist Section of the ASA has an annual competition for graduate student papers. If you would like to submit a paper for the 2004 meetings in San Francisco, or know someone who would, please forward them to:

Paul Paolucci, Ph.D.

Department of Anthropology, Sociology, and Social Work

Keith Building

Eastern Kentucky University

Richmond, KY. 40475

Also: If you are interested in submitting a proposal for a roundtable at the same meetings, send your proposals to the address above.

Announcement

Congratulations to Walda Katz-Fishman, Howard University and Project South and Jerome Scott, Project South. They were co-winners of the 2003 Lee Founders Award of The Society for the Study of Social Problems. To learn more about Project South: Institute for the Elimination of Poverty & Genocide, visit www.projectsouth.org.



South Africanizing U.S. Sociology (Continued from page 1)

This year my address to the assembled South African sociologists was not about socialism but about public sociology. The audience was bemused. For how could sociology be anything other than public? Indeed! Only in America do we need to discover and defend the idea of public sociology, only in America is professional sociology so powerful that it calls forth an antidote of public sociology! With a wink and a nod, I told the assembled audience in Durban that my goal was to South Africanize U.S. sociology. They were amused.

They were amused not only because only in the United States do we have to defend sociology's public face, but because they were skeptical that we could learn from the periphery. But that is the hope, at least, for four days, August 14-17th in San Francisco. This year the American Sociological Association will host Arundhati Roy, Indian novelist, public intellectual at large, activist against population-destroying dams, as well as Mary Robinson, ex-President of Ireland, ex-High Commissioner for Human Rights at the UN, and thorn in President Bush's side. They will both make public addresses in San Francisco, bringing with them critical winds from abroad, from burgeoning transnational movements in human rights, from movements for environmental justice. They will be supported by a series of thematic panels and fora on public sociologies in different regions of the world – East Asia, Africa, Latin America, Post-Soviet World, Middle East, India, and, yes, the United States. Funded by the Ford Foundation, some 50 scholars and students will be coming from the farthest corners of the world to join us in a public debate – a sort of mini World Sociological Forum.

But we need to set our own house in order too! We need to think about the meaning of public sociology on our home terrain. This year instead of having the usual 14 Thematic panels and some 50 Special Panels, we will have only thematic panels, about 65 of them, dealing with different aspects of public sociology, many proposed by our members engaged in community and movement projects. There are thematics on public sociology in action, on the shifting boundaries between public and private (the colonization and erosion of the public), the multiple ways of reaching and engaging publics, and the multiple publics to be engaged. In addition, there will be thematics on how the discipline of sociology has confined public sociology, but also the possibilities the discipline has opened up. To top it all off we will have three plenaries: an opening plenary, co-sponsored with SSSP, ABS and SWS, on W.E.B. Du Bois at which Manning Marable, Aldon Morris, Patricia Hill Collins and Gerald Horne will discuss the 21st century lessons to be drawn from this preeminent public sociologist of the 20th century. That will be followed by two other plenaries, one on speaking to power organized by Immanuel Wallerstein with an international cast, and one on speaking to publics with such familiar figures as Frances Fox Piven, Barbara Ehrenreich, Eric Wanner, Juliet Schor, and William Julius Wilson. The conference will be closed by Fernando Henrique Cardoso, 8 years Presi-

dent of Brazil, who will give a public address on being a sociologist in power!

The outward looking character of the San Francisco meetings augments the expanding discussion of ASA's contributions to civic politics. The ASA has defended human rights abroad, such as those of the Egyptian sociologist, Saad Ibrahim. It has defended its own interests at home in the right to do research, fighting for a reasonable human subjects protocol or opposing attempts within Congress to defund research into sexual health. The ASA has also ventured into political debates about race, submitting an *amicus brief* to the Supreme Court that defended affirmative action, authoring a "race statement" that insisted that race still matters -- that there is racial discrimination and sociologists know a lot about its causes and consequences. The ASA opposed the Racial Privacy issue in California that would have prevented state collection of statistics by race. This Proposition 54 went down on the same day that Arnold Schwarzenegger was hoisted. The ASA waded even further into politics with an anti-(Iraq) war resolution that was passed in a member ballot with a two-thirds majority. We have become, in other words, more than a self-serving professional association. We have entered the democratic arena to defend commitments that lie at the heart of our vocation, commitments that underpin our scientific research.

Of course, public sociology is not without its perils and its opponents! If there were no perils we wouldn't have to do it, and if there were no opponents we wouldn't be devoting a whole meeting to it! Venturing into the public sphere could threaten our legitimacy among the powers that be. Those who don't like our views will try to make us appear unworthy of government support – even as we enhance our standing in various public eyes. Yes, taking public stances could lead to reprisals against us, collectively or individually. Furthermore, in our very engagement with publics there is always the incipient danger of know-it-all arrogance and vanguardism, or alternatively of pandering to publics. The traditional public sociologists who write op-ed pieces for *The New York Times* or best-selling books – with their invisible, thin, passive, mainstream publics – need to be complemented by and attentive to the less glamorous and more arduous organic public sociologists who work in the trenches of civil society, engaging with communities of faith, with neighborhood associations, social movements, labor, etc. That unmediated engagement has to be a dialogue in which each side protects its relative autonomy, in which the educator too has to be educated. For this our sociological research must be of the highest quality. It has to be because people's lives are at stake. Moreover, we need to think about this not just nationally but also globally, to discover the fertile ground of transnational civil society where women's and environmental movements, human rights and immigrant rights organizations, and a host of NGOs criss-cross the world. In short, there is not one public sociology, there is a myriad of public sociologies.

(Continued on page 13)



(Continued from page 12)

Why this stirring of public sociologies today? Why now? Sociology as we know it was born with civil society at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century in Europe and the United States – it was born as an engagement with political parties, trade unions, mass education, the proliferation of voluntary associations, all directly or indirectly tied to the state. Sociology disappeared with civil society under fascism and Stalinism. On the other hand, some of its most vibrant moments have coincided with the expansion of civil society, as in South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s or the U.S. in the 1960s and 1970s. But public sociology today emerges as a *defensive outpost* against the tyranny of the unconstrained market and the unilateralist state -- both at home and abroad.

September 11, 2001, consolidated, intensified and justifies these twin transformations that were set in motion a decade before (or some would say even earlier) by the collapse of Soviet Communism. Without Soviet political competition for world hegemony, the United States could now impose its will unilaterally and arbitrarily, just as failed economic competition undermined the plausibility of an administered economy. In rushed the market utopia. We are not political scientists who identify with state power and political order. Nor are we economists who identify with the wonders of the free market. We are sociologists who identify with the resilience of civil society. But in defending society against markets and states, we do not claim that this is some harmonious communitarian terrain. To the contrary it is covered by racial fissures, scattered hegemonies of sexuality and gender, it is suffused with deepening inequalities and disciplinary regimes – themselves the product of plundering states and invading markets. Working with the positive moment of civil society, sociology defends its own very existence, but at the same time defends the interests of humanity. Sociologists of the world unite for a renascent civil society – a vibrant, participatory, global counter-hegemony!☪

Michael Burawoy is President of the American Sociological Association

Running as a Green (Continued from page 6)

ties exist in politics as much as in economic life in capitalist society. In politics, as in economic life, moving toward real democracy means making sure elites participate in mundane public chores even as they share more in decision-making. It means making sure the George Bushes of the world never marvel again at supermarket scanners, and neophyte politicians like me never feel uncomfortable doing their own laundry.☪

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Position Announcement:

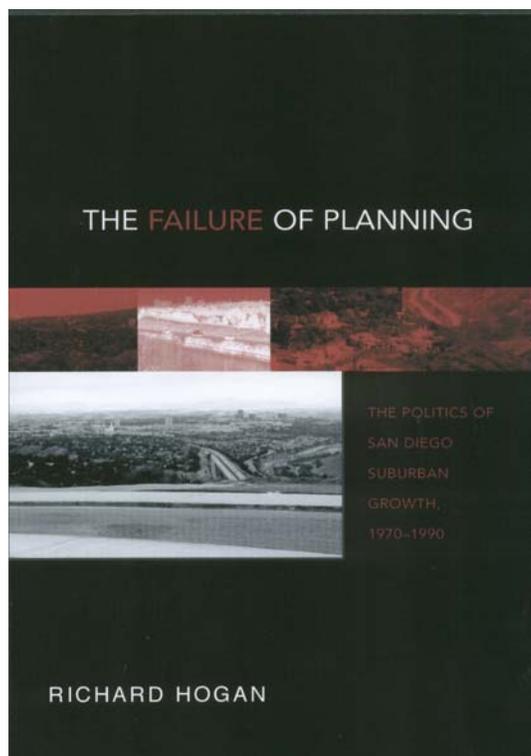
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Paul Lachelier ran in 2002 as a Green Party Candidate for Massachusetts State Representative (26th Middlesex district-Cambridge and Somerville). He received 37% of the vote. For more information on his 2002 campaign for State Representative, go to www.electpaul.info.



Announcements

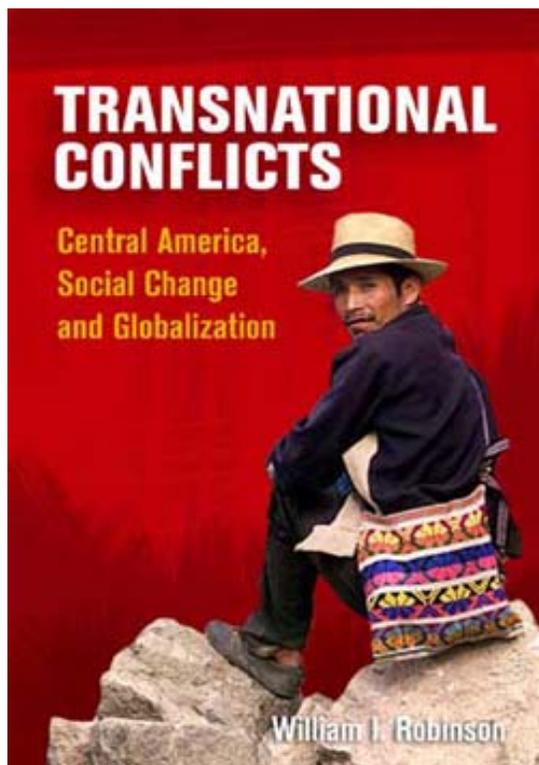


By 1970, uncontrolled growth plagued San Diego County suburbs and threatened to destroy the "paradise" of postwar San Diego, which had attracted a flood of immigrants since 1945. Fortunately, Mayor Pete Wilson, fresh from a Rockefeller Brothers land-use policy forum and armed with the latest progressive planning vision, sponsored a "big picture" planning solution, which has since been institutionalized as "smart growth." Despite the triumph of progressive planning, however, and the multimillion-dollar-planning effort that continues to characterize suburban development, suburban sprawl continues. Freeway gridlock continues. Already exorbitant housing costs keep rising. In short, progressive planning has failed. This book explains how and why this has happened, not only in San Diego but more generally, and considers conservative, liberal, and radical paths toward a more successful future.

In this critique of city planning based on "republican capitalism" (the supposed base of all things "American"), Richard Hogan argues that planning in San Diego has been an abysmal failure and offers his own utopian view for the future of urban planning. This book is sure to get attention from urban historians and city planners alike.

Richard Hogan is associate professor of sociology and American studies at Purdue University.

Ohio State University Press, April 2003



In this timely and provocative study, William I. Robinson challenges received wisdom on Central America. He starts with an exposition of the new global capitalism. Then, drawing on a wide range of historical documentation, interviews, and social science research, he proceeds to show how capitalist globalization has thoroughly transformed the region, disrupting the conventional pattern of revolutionary upheaval, civil wars, and pacification, ushering in instead a new transnational model of economy and society.

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William Robinson is Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of California, Santa Barbara. He is the author of several books, including *David and Goliath: The US War Against Nicaragua* and *A Theory of Global Capitalism* (forthcoming).

Verso Books, October 2003



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