



From the Left

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The Many Scales and Spaces of the Global

Saskia Sassen
University of Chicago

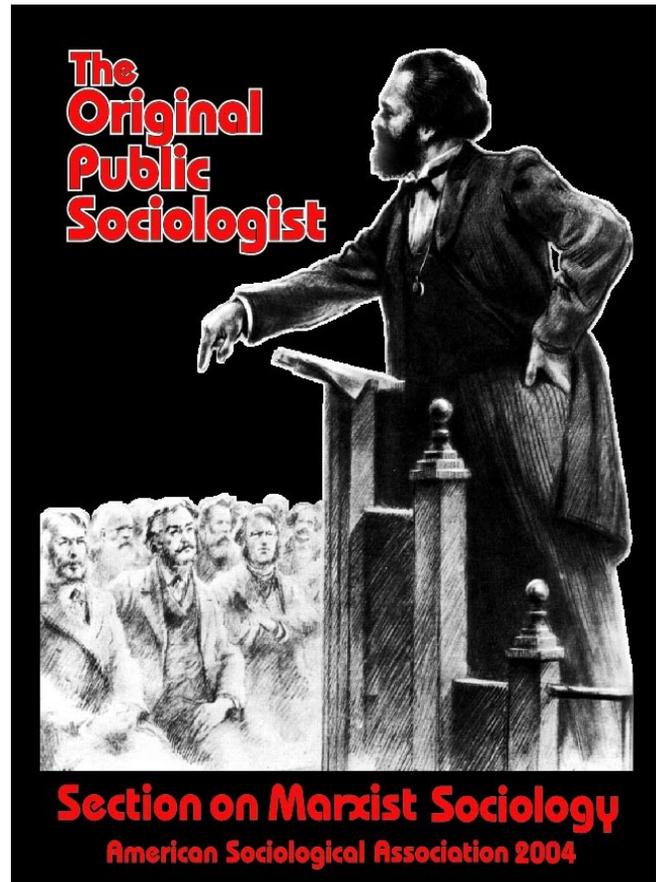
This is an extract from the paper presented at the Critical Globalization Studies conference, held at University of California, Santa Barbara, and forthcoming in the conference volume edited by Appelbaum and Robinson.

In this short essay I want to work on two key features of the many that we need to develop for critical globalization studies. One of these is the need to destabilize the accepted narratives and explanations of globalization in order to generate new questions for research, questions excluded by dominant narratives. A second feature is the need to develop conceptual architectures that allow us to detect what we might think of as countergeographies of globalization. There are multiple instances of these countergeographies. In this essay I am particularly interested in types of spaces where we can find resistance/contestation to global power and as yet undetected forms of participation by actors typically represented as powerless, or victims, or uninvolved with global conditions. Such new narratives and conceptual architectures can help us critically remap the terrain of the global.

These two needed features for critical globalization studies stem in part from a basic assumption in my own fifteen years of research, to wit, that the global is partly endogenous to the national rather than a formation that stands outside and in opposition to the national. Endogeneity can be the result of an originally national condition that becomes reconstructed as global, for example, the fact that what we call global capital is an amalgamation of what are often in their origin national capitals. Global capital can then be seen as denationalized national capital. Or endogeneity can result from the partial endogenizing of global dynamics and entities into national institutional orders, e.g. the fact that global electronic financial markets are partly embedded in and dependent on a network of national financial centers.

Such an approach has theoretical, empirical and political implications for developing critical globalization studies. The global is not simply defined as that which is outside and in contestation to the national, nor is the global only that which is part of a space of flows that cuts across borders. There are, in my view components of globalization that we still

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code or represent in national terms, and there are global actors whom we think of as local, because they do not move across borders, and lack the characteristics of what have become dominant representations of the global. If we understand the global as indeed partly endogenous to or endogenized into the national, we expand the range of actors who are conceivably global. We can then include even those who are immobile, resource-poor, not able to travel global circuits.

I. THE SUBNATIONAL: A SITE FOR GLOBALIZATION

One starting point for me, then, has been to keep on asking the question What is it we are trying to name with the term globalization? In my reading of the evidence it is actually two distinct sets of dynamics. One of these involves the formation of explicitly global institutions and processes, such as the World Trade Organization, global financial markets, the new cosmopolitanism, the War Crimes Tribunals. The practices and organizational forms through which these dynamics operate are constitutive of what is typically thought of as global scales.

But there is a second set of processes that does not necessarily scale at the global level as such, yet, I argue, is part of globalization. These processes take place deep inside territories and institutional domains that have largely been constructed in national terms in much, though by no means all of the world. What makes these processes part of globalization even though localized in national, indeed subnational settings, is that they involve transboundary networks and formations connecting or articulating multiple local or "national" processes and actors. Among these processes I include crossborder networks of activists engaged in specific localized struggles with an explicit or implicit global agenda, as is the case with many human rights and environmental organizations; particular aspects of the work of states, e.g. certain monetary and fiscal policies critical to the constitution of global markets that are hence being implemented in a growing number of countries; the use of international human rights instruments in national courts; non-cosmopolitan forms of global politics and imaginaries that remain deeply attached or focused on localized issues and struggles, yet are part of global lateral networks containing multiple other such localized efforts. A particular challenge in the work of identifying these types of processes and actors as part of globalization is the need to decode at least some of what continues to be experienced and represented as national.¹

A focus on such sub-nationally based processes and dynamics of globalization requires methodologies and theorizations that engage not only global scalings but also sub-national scalings as components of global processes, thereby destabilizing older hierarchies of scale and conceptions of nested scalings. Studying global processes and conditions that get constituted sub-nationally has some advantages over studies of globally scaled dynamics; but it also poses specific

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challenges. It does make possible the use of long-standing research techniques, from quantitative to qualitative, in the study of globalization. It also gives us a bridge for using the wealth of national and subnational data sets as well as specialized scholarships such as area studies. Both types of studies, however, need to be situated in conceptual architectures that are not quite those held by the researchers who generated these research techniques and data sets, as their efforts mostly had little to do with globalization.

One central task we face is to decode particular aspects of what is still represented or experienced as "national" which may in fact have shifted away from what had historically been considered or constituted as national. In many ways this effort is illustrated by the research and theorization logic developed in global city studies. But while today we have come around to recognize and code a variety of components in global cities as part of the global, there are many domains where this work has not yet been done.

Three instances serve to illustrate some of the conceptual, methodological and empirical issues in this type of study. One of these instances concerns the role of place in many of the circuits constitutive of economic and political globalization. A focus on places allows us to unbundle globalization in terms of the multiple specialized crossborder circuits on which different types of places are located. I would include here the emergence of forms of globality centered on localized struggles and actors that are part of cross-border net-

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Global Marxism: Imperialism and Hegemony: Some Thoughts on My Colleague Bill Robinson

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.

It is time to think carefully about the current conjuncture and the crisis caused by the Bush administration's actions in Iraq. In this short essay, I wish to suggest the dimensions of a reply to the positions advanced by my friend and colleague Bill Robinson, in his influential work on globalization generally, and specifically in his piece in the last issue of *From the Left*. It should go without saying that I value this exchange as something precious, and see the present piece as only another step in a discussion that I hope will be engaged by many, not least by Bill and myself.

Bill is justly known for developing a theory of global capitalism, capped most definitively in his 2004 book of the same title. The core components of this theory are: "the rise of truly transnational capital and the integration of every country into a new global production and financial system; the appearance of a new transnational capitalist class (TCC), a class group grounded in new global markets and circuits of accumulation, rather than national markets or circuits, [and] the rise of a transnational state (TNS), a loose network comprised of supranational political and economic institutions together with national state apparatuses that have been penetrated and transformed by transnational forces" (2004a: 1, emphasis in original). The hallmark of Bill's position is the insistence on the increasing salience of these global/transnational actors vis-à-vis national states and classes, even when linked by a world-system, as in Wallerstein's model of the world economy.

The main problem with this powerful and elegant model, which Bill has taken the pains to study empirically as well, much to his credit, is that it is too relentless in its focus on the transnational level of analysis. It should not be a question of adopting either a transnational approach or a nation-state centric one in trying to grasp the current conjuncture, and this is doubly evident in a period of acute conflict and transformation. Bill is at his best when he qualifies his approach by acknowledging this transitional moment, one that

is neither yet global nor still inter-national. A more fluid, flexible approach to the ways in which various layers of power and action are all in play will get us further, even if it is messier and less satisfying in assigning causal or analytical primacy to one level over the others.

A critical case in point is, as Bill observes, the debates that are emerging among scholars and activists (and increasingly even in mainstream public discourse) about the Bush

"global elites need the defeat of the Bush administration (and the election of John Kerry) to get back to the project of neo-liberal globalization that took shape under Clinton, for with Bush, the chances of a rather acute crisis of global capitalism appear far greater."

administration's new imperial project. Bill acknowledges the "disarray within the globalist ruling bloc as different groups push distinct strategies and tactics," rightly noting that "In the post 9/11 period the Bush regime militarized social and economic contradictions, launching a permanent war mobilization to try to stabilize the system through direct coercion." But he too quickly concludes that "The U.S. state is the *point of condensation* for pressures from dominant groups around the world to resolve the problems of global capitalism and to secure the legitimacy of the system overall" (2004a: 11, emphasis in original). If this means only that the different elements of the global elite are concerned about U.S. actions, which are therefore at the center ("point of condensation") of their conflicting views, I can certainly agree. But it seems to mean more that the U.S. is taking the lead on behalf of that elite, an interpretation which is echoed in *A Theory of Capitalism*, where Bill argues that the September 11 attacks allowed the transnational capitalist class to reverse the challenge posed by the global justice movement: "Led by the U.S. state, the transnational elite regained the offensive.... The Bush Doctrine may be less a campaign for U.S. hegemony per se than a contradictory political response

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Imperialism and Hegemony (Continued from page 3)

to the rise of global capitalism – to economic stagnation, legitimation problems, and the rise of counterhegemonic forces” (2004: 172, emphasis mine).

Here is where a less global analysis may permit a more nuanced understanding of the current conjuncture and its possible outcomes. We do not, as Bill feels about that those of us who worry about a new U.S. imperial project, all see “a new U.S. empire competing with other nation-state capitalists” (2004a: 11). It is rather that the emergent transnational elite and state of the 1990s, led in many respects by Bill Clinton’s smarter project of neo-liberal capitalist globalization, view with great unease the actions of the U.S.-based group of military-industrial capitalists around the present administration. Truly transnational capital is not well served by the doctrine of unilateral pre-emptive war, disregard for the United Nations, the enormous U.S. budget deficit, or the war on terror’s impact on the global economy. The governments of France and Germany spoke for this group in the lead-up to the war, the new socialist government of Spain for the enormous popular aversion to U.S. foreign policy in the spring of 2004. Most transnational corporations are not benefiting from the occupation of Iraq, and many will be hurt by its long-run economic, political, and social consequences.

Bill tries to resolve this contradiction too quickly by stating that “we face an *empire of global capital* headquartered, for evident historical reasons, in Washington. There is little disagreement among global elites, regardless of their formal nationality, that U.S. power must be rigorously applied ... in order to sustain and defend global capitalism.... The question for global elites (and the point of contention among them) is, in what ways, under what particular conditions, arrangements, and strategies should U.S. state power be wielded?” (2004a: 12). The last sentence is the one that should be followed to its logical political consequence: global elites need the defeat of the Bush administration (and the election of John Kerry) to get back to the project of neo-liberal globalization that took shape under Clinton, for with Bush, the chances of a rather acute crisis of global capitalism appear far greater.

As I said in a previous column: “My position in this essay and in the longer piece on which it is based (Foran, 2003) 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” (2003a: 3). This means that a deep understanding of the current crisis must go far beyond an economic analysis, no matter how powerful that analysis may be. For if imperialism is primarily (and not by any means solely) economic in nature, *hegemony* is primarily a non-economic process, for it requires consent, both within the global elite and then from

global civil society more generally.

The U.S. imperial project of the Bush team faces many opponents: the Iraqi resistance, the global justice movement, world public opinion, *and the reservations of key states* (from France, Germany, and Spain to Brazil, India, and China) and transnational capitalists, both of which play important roles at the WTO, the U.N., and in their respective regional institutions (the European Economic Community, the Organization of American States, OPEC, et al.). All of this should be enough to bring it down in November, if a proper focus on defeating Bush is kept in view by these disparate opponents of U.S. empire. If it is not enough, the next four years will witness an epochal battle between a re-invigorated Bush vision and its multiple sub-national, national, and transnational opponents. The risks of war, repression, ecocide, and depression that a Bush victory would bring are such that all the progressive forces in its way would do well to keep at the center of their attention.✂

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2004 ASA Election Results

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Resolution on Gay Marriage

The resolution opposing a U.S. constitutional amendment banning same-sex marriage was approved with a three-quarters voting in favor, 13% of voters opposing, and 8% abstaining (4% did not mark any choice). In a separate opinion poll item, which asked, “Do you personally favor or oppose legislation that bans same sex marriage?”, 2,394 member voters indicated that they opposed such legislation (79%), 256 indicated that they favored such legislation (9%), 260 abstained (8%), and 125 did not make a selection (4%).



Bush and Sharon: Securing the Realm

Andrew Austin

University of Wisconsin, Green Bay

On May 19, 2004, in what Israelis dubbed "Operation Rainbow," IDF swarmed into Rafah refugee camp in Gaza, killing dozens of civilians, wounding hundreds more, and bulldozing Palestinian homes. IDF's demolition operations were ostensibly to widen Philadelphia Road, the corridor dividing Gaza and Egypt, and to destroy tunnels allegedly used to smuggle arms to terrorists. The U.S., in a passive show of support for Israel's actions, permitted passage of a UN resolution condemning Israel by abstaining from voting rather than using its veto as it usually does when the international community admonishes Israel for its colonial excesses. President Bush said he needed to study Israel's explanation for the attacks before he could make a definitive judgment. The best he could muster was to call on Israel to "exercise restraint," and to remind Israel's leaders of the importance of respecting "innocent life for the sake of peace."

Even if he wanted to, Bush is hardly in a position to criticize Israel's behavior in Rafah. Soon after coming to power, Bush reversed Clinton's Middle East peace strategy, which had focused on diffusing tensions by forging peace between Israel and Palestine, and instead openly aligned the U.S. with Israel's policy of violently suppressing Palestinian struggle. Under Bush, the U.S. would no longer be an honest broker for peace in the region. Indeed, the White House signaled to Sharon the go ahead to abandon Oslo. Propagandists on both sides of the Atlantic rationalized heightened Israeli aggression, which included assassinating Palestinian leaders, with the rhetoric of the war on terrorism. Killing and maiming civilians and demolishing homes in Rafah rot among the many bitter fruits of Bush's foreign policy.

An important moment in the policy shift was January 30, 2001 at a NSC meeting attended by President Bush, Vice-President Cheney, Secretary of State Powell, National Security Advisor Rice, Treasury Secretary O'Neill, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Shelton, and CIA director Tenet. According to O'Neill, the president began the meeting by announcing that his administration was "going to correct the imbalances" of the Clinton approach. "We're going to tilt it back towards Israel," Bush said. Powell cautioned the president strongly against this move. "The consequences of that could be dire," he said, "especially for the Palestinians." Powell explained that pulling out of the peace process could unleash Sharon and the Israeli army. "Maybe that's the best way to get things back in balance," Bush remarked. "Sometimes a show of strength by one side can really clarify

things." The president then turned to Rice and asked her what was on the agenda for the meeting. She responded, "How Iraq is destabilizing the region, Mr. President."

"Clearly there were many forces destabilizing the region, most particularly the Arab-Israeli conflict itself, which we were now abandoning," O'Neill reflected on the meeting; "Who exactly, was pushing this foreign policy, and were they asking themselves hard questions about choices and consequences?"

A little over two weeks before that NSC meeting, Zacharia, writing for *The Jerusalem Post*, characterized those at the center of policymaking in the Bush administration as "Arik's American Front." Among those noted in her feature were Paul Wolfowitz, future Deputy Secretary of Defense, Richard Perle, future chair of the Defense Policy Board, and David Wurmser, future Middle East advisor for the Vice-President. What she failed to note was that these three, along with Douglas Feith, the current Undersecretary of Defense, had, at points in their careers, represented the interests of the Likud, Israel's ruling political party. They were not simply Sharon "admirers," as she had put the matter.

In 1996, while serving with the prominent Israeli think tank, the Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies, Perle, along with Feith and Wurmser, authored *A Clean Break: A New Strategy for Securing the Realm*, a report advising then prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu to walk away from the Oslo accord. In 1997, in *A Strategy for Israel*, Feith advised Israel to re-occupy the areas then under the control of the Palestinian Authority. "The price in blood would be high," he wrote, but this was, in his view, "the only way out of Oslo's web." In these documents, Israel's rejection of the peace process was linked to a neoconservative obsession with the rule of Saddam Hussein and the Ba'ath regime. "Removing Saddam from power," they argued, was "an important Israeli strategic objective."

In a panel discussion at the Washington Institute in June 1999, Wolfowitz dwelled on the connection between the Iraq problem and the peace process. He argued that the first Iraq war pacified Yasser Arafat. "The U.S. needs to accelerate Saddam's demise if it truly wants to help the peace process," Wolfowitz argued. Perle likewise emphasized this connection. "The removal of Saddam would be a tremendous step forward for the peace process. We need to take decisive action, and when we do and are successful, it will greatly strengthen our ability to do other things in the

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Bush and Sharon (Continued from page 5)

region." In 2000, the Project for a New American Century (PNAC), a think tank promulgating Wolfowitz's vision of U.S. global dominance, released a report, *Rebuilding America's Defenses*, stating that "the unresolved conflict with Iraq provides the immediate justification for comprehensive intervention in the region."

To answer O'Neill's first question, it was these intellectuals who advised the president to jettison the previous administration's approach. As Cirincione put it, "They finally found an empty vessel, a president with very little foreign policy experience, that they can convince of their ideas." The neoconservatives linked Saddam with terrorist groups operating in Palestine, claiming that, with Saddam Hussein in power, terrorists had a place to hide. Perle told the administration to "give Sharon full support" in his suppression of Palestine. "We need to bring the maximum pressure to bear on Arafat, not Israel." In an April 3, 2002 letter signed by William Kristol and others, PNAC commended Bush for his "strong stance in support of the Israeli government as it engaged in the present campaign to fight terrorism." Characterizing Israel as "a liberal democracy under repeated attack by murderers who target civilians," the letter writers stressed that "only the United States has the power and influence to provide meaningful assistance to our besieged ally... a fellow victim of terrorist violence." Israel is a target of terrorism because "it is an island of liberal, democratic principles—American principles—in a sea of tyranny, intolerance, and hatred." "You have declared war on international terrorism, Mr. President," the letter emphasized, "Israel is fighting the same war."

At the January NSC meeting, Bush was articulating a policy designed by neoconservative warhawks who, with split national loyalties complicating their motives, pushed the president towards the extreme edge of foreign policy thinking. If the U.S. transformed Iraq into a beacon of democracy, the hawks reasoned, other Middle Eastern countries would follow suit. Democracies in Syria, Iran, and other countries would diffuse anti-American anger and create a context leading to a resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (in favor of Israel), ushering in a new age of peace and liberal economic development in the region. At the same time, by the U.S. stepping back from Israel, Sharon could not only neutralize Arafat, but also enlarge the state of Israel. Indeed, with a green light from Washington, Israel intensified operations in Palestinian territory and stepped up hostilities towards Lebanon and Syria. Heightened Jewish-Muslim antagonism has compounded the regional instability resulting from the U.S. occupation of Iraq. These developments contradict the neoconservatives' grand theories of peace in the Middle East, which answers O'Neill's second question. The neocons were not asking themselves hard questions about choices and consequences. From their point of view, reshaping the world would be a relatively easy task, purchased at a minimal cost of human life and financial resources.

There are indications that the neoconservative domina-

tion of U.S. foreign policy is coming undone. The fall from grace of CIA-trained INC head Ahmed Chalabi from U.S. favor, the persistence and fierceness of Iraqi resistance forces, and the shocking images and stories of torture of Iraqis at the hands of Americans at the Abu Ghraib prison, suggests the United States is not politically, militarily, or morally up to the task of nation building in Iraq. Virtually every claim the neoconservatives made in the run up to the war has been stomped flat by a brutal truth. Moreover, there are indications that many Israelis are running out of patience with Likud policies. In one of the more poignant criticisms of Israeli policy, Israel's Justice Minister Yosef Lapid compared a photograph of an elderly Palestinian woman sitting atop the rubble of a home destroyed by the Israeli military to his memory of his grandmother's suffering during the Holocaust. There is, he said, "no forgiveness for people who treat an old woman in this way." ☞

Endnotes:

1. O'Neill provided the account of this meeting to Ron Suskind in *The Price of Loyalty: George W. Bush, the White House, and the Education of Paul O'Neill* (Simon & Schuster, 2004).
2. Janine Zacharia, "Arik's American Front." *The Jerusalem Post* 1-5-2001, 4b.
3. Francis FitzGerald, "Threat of War: How Hawks Captured the White House." *The Guardian* 9-24-2002, 4.
4. Philip Dine, "U.S. Role as Mediator is Questioned," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* 4-21-2002, A10.
5. "Jack Spencer and Joseph Cirincione discuss the latest on the situation with Iraq." NPR 3-4-2003.
6. Peter Slevin and Glenn Frankel, "If U.S. Wants to Engage, Analysts See Many Options." *The Washington Post* 3-21-2002, A17

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Refining the Work Ethic

Barry Brooks
udreamer@earthlink.net

Should we go home and open cans to keep our can openers busy? The waste of spoiled food would be much worse than the imagined waste of can openers waiting to be used again. Human labor is no different. Producing too much will reduce our wealth. We can continue to waste scarce natural resources to avoid the "waste" of idle labor, but that is not sustainable.

Some people believe that labor is scarce and natural resources are abundant, but really resources are increasingly limited and labor is increasingly surplus due to automation. Now that we have machines we don't need everyone's full labor, but the existence of surplus labor has been obscured because we have been able to waste enough to keep most workers busy, so far.

For most workers "employment" is not just a matter of economics. It's a matter of being a member of society, of individual satisfaction and identity, of being human. We have made work so important that many people doubt that life has any purpose without work. We may give thanks to God for the gift of food, but we really believe that we earn our livings.

Our capitalist system has two kinds of income: earned income and unearned income. While most people are dependent on wages, our system also allows various kinds of unearned income such as interest, dividends and rents. The IRS has its own definition of unearned income, from the IRS form W4(2004), "Note: You cannot claim exemption from withholding if: (a) your income exceeds \$800 and includes more than \$250 of unearned income (e.g., interest and dividends) and (b) another person can claim you as a dependent on their tax return." Merriam-Webster online defines 'earn' as, "to receive as return for effort and especially for work done or services rendered." Although many people work hard for their unearned income, the biggest fortunes have been inherited.

Whether a particular kind of income is earned or unearned is beside the point. Looking at the big picture how can we ever feel that we deserve the many gifts we have received? We are parasites on natural systems, which are free to us. Unearned income is our most basic kind of income.

Now, we face great pressure to address the limits to growth. The greatest obstacle to building an efficient and durable world has been our failure to separate the economic and the social functions of work. Today we need full employment only because of wage dependence. Automation has ended the need for full paid employment, and the pressing need to conserve will require the replacement of our job-creating consumer economy with a new economy designed to just deliver goods and services, rather than also keeping

us busy.

The potential of conservation is underestimated. The use of increased durability is a powerful method of conservation which will allow vast wealth to be supported by low rates of resource consumption, but increased durability conflicts with our goal of using all human labor. Most automation can be designed to operate with low energy consumption, and without the need to transport many workers to and from work the economy could operate very well on a fraction of the present energy consumption.

Without the use of demand stimulation, war, and other methods of increasing waste, there will be a shortage of paid work in any automated economy. But there will always be plenty of unpaid work, like motherhood, that could be done properly if people weren't too busy being wage slaves. If human dignity hinges on work why not give unpaid work its due respect? Must money be involved for work to be good?

We may even say thanks for the gift of food occasionally, yet we may still think that unearned income is good for the rich and bad for the poor. If dividends are worth fighting for why is welfare so bad? We could try a form of capitalism in which ordinary people have some income from capital. It would allow an end to hyperactive waste.

We have lost sight of the goal of economic activity. It is to provide goods and services. Any work that may be involved is just a means to an end. We have let the means become the end.

While oil is still abundant we can easily build systems that don't need high consumption to operate, and we can stop wasteful busy-work any time. Are we just going to fight for the dwindling space, water, air, and oil, while ignoring the possibility of painless conservation? It would be much better to address these issues now. We can change and we will, and sooner would be better than later. ☞

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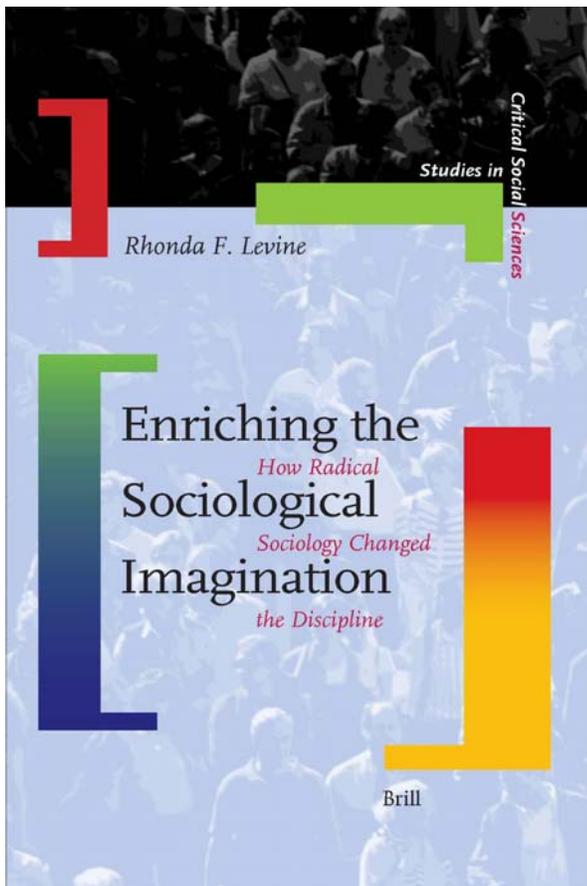
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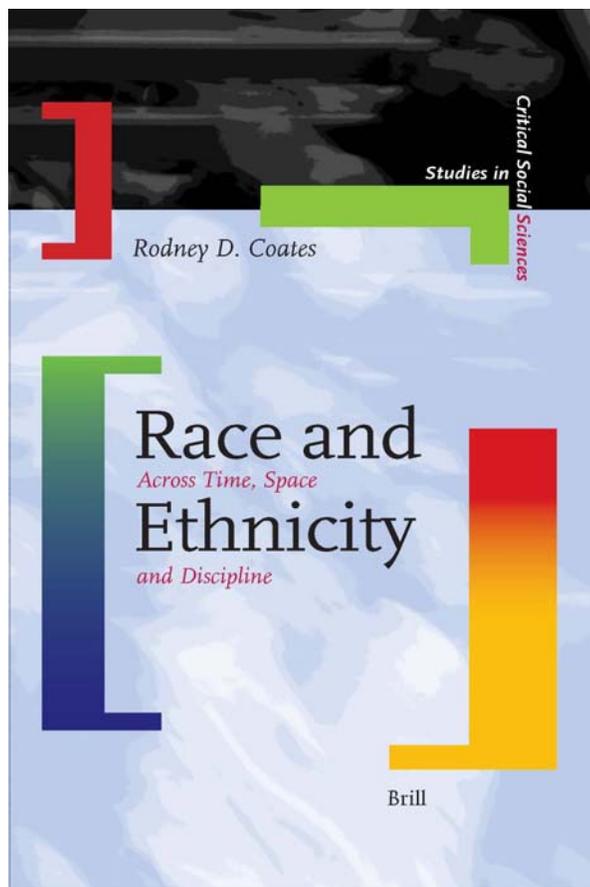
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Edited by Rodney D. Coates

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Program Guide

Section on Marxist Sociology

ASA Annual Meeting in San Francisco
August 13-17, 2004

Calendar of Events

Friday, August 13- Symposium on Critical Sociology, Renaissance Parc 55, 12:15pm- 5:30pm

Saturday, August 14– Monday, August 16– t-shirt sale (see logo on front cover, \$12 for members, free for new members), 8:30am-4:30pm, Hilton (next to ASA registration)

Saturday, August 14- (Section Day)
Business Meeting- Renaissance Parc 55, 9:30-10:10am

Saturday, August 14 (6:30pm- 8:15pm)- Marxist Section Joint Reception– co-sponsored with Brill Academic Publishers; Race, Class, and Gender; and Labor and Labor Movements (Renaissance Parc 55)

Sunday, August 15- Marxist Section Hospitality Suite– 3-7pm Hilton

Sunday, August 15 (evening)- Marxist Section Dinner/Party, 7:30 pm- Marxist Section Hospitality Suite, Hilton

**Symposium on
CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY**

Renaissance Parc 55
Friday August 13, 2004

Within its journal pages **Critical Sociology** encourages dialogue and debate on a wide range of issues and topics that address contemporary social problems and analyze social processes within our capitalist society. This symposium (hopefully the first of many) seeks to build upon that dialogue through formal and informal discussions among progressive social scientists working in both academic and non-academic settings. There are no registration requirements or fees.

GREETINGS AND INTRODUCTIONS (12:15pm)

David Fasenfest, Wayne State University, and Editor, Critical Sociology (Conference Organizer)

I. PUBLIC SOCIOLOGY (12:30pm)

Rhonda Levine, Colgate University (Moderator)

"The Critical Turn To Public Sociology"
Michael Burawoy, University of California, Berkeley

Comments:

Rose Brewer, University of Minnesota
Joan Acker, University of Oregon

II. GLOBALIZATION AND RESISTANCE (2:00pm)

Chris Chase-Dunn, University of California, Riverside (Organizer and Moderator)

1. *"De-globalization and the democratization of global governance,"* Walden Bello, Department of Sociology, College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines Diliman, and Focus on the Global South, c/o CUSRI, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok
2. *"Get rid of them all' and Become a Zapatista: Autonomy in the Anti-Globalization Movement,"* Amory Starr, Sociology Department, Chapman University
3. *"How can We Disempower Transnational Corporations?"* Kevin Danaher, Global Exchange

Comments:

Lauren Langman, Loyola University, Chicago

III. POWER AND POLITICS (3:30pm)

G. William Domhoff, Dept. of Sociology, University of California, Santa Cruz (Organizer, Moderator and Commentator)

1. *"Transcending the Movement Versus Party Dichotomy,"* Leo Panitch, Department of Political Science, York University
2. *"Five Ways the American Left Misunderstands Electoral Politics,"* Clem Brooks, Dept. of Sociology, Indiana University and Jeff Manza, Dept. of Sociology, Northwestern University

CLOSING COMMENTS:

David Fasenfest, Editor, Critical Sociology



Section Sessions

Section on Marxist Sociology

Roundtables

Saturday, 8/14/2004 (Renaissance Parc 55)

8:30 a.m. - 9:25 a.m.

Organizer: Paul B Paolucci

Table 1. Cultural Identities, Cultural Consumption

Karen Bettez Halnon - Pennsylvania State University (Presider)

1. Janet Armentor, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, "Digital Cultural Spaces in Late Capitalism."
2. Jacqueline Carrigan, California State University, Sacramento, "Consuming Capitalist Contradictions."
3. Deborah L Rapuano, Loyola University, Chicago, "Between Country and City: The Cultural Production of Traditional Irish Music."
4. Peter Chua, San José State University, "Sexing Capitalism: Condoms And Industrial Change."
5. Kimberly P. Barton, University of North Florida, Harry F. Dahms, Florida State University, "Revolution in the Matrix: A Cue Call for Reflexive Sociology."

Table 2. Teaching about Racism and Exploitation in the Global Economy

Joanna Hadjicostandi, University of Texas of the Permian Basin (Presider)

1. Alan Spector, Purdue University, Calumet, "What Changes and What Persists in the Racialized Class Structure"
2. Clifford Staples, University of North Dakota, Teaching and Learning about Class Exploitation." Joanna Hadjicostandi, University of Texas of the Permian Basin, "Sociology and Activism: Reaching Silenced Minorities."

Table 3. Class Processes

Barry Truchil, Rider University (Presider)

1. W. David Gartman, University of South Alabama, "The Rise of Modern Architecture in Postwar America: Class and Spatial Roots of Aesthetic Change."
2. Lloyd Klein, Bemidji State University, "Exporting the American Dream: Outsourcing and the New Economic System."
3. Barry Truchil, Rider University, "The Limitations of Spontaneous Grassroots Movements: The Case of the Bucks County Pump."

Table 4. Bush's War and the 2004 Election from a Marxist Perspective

Celia Winkler, University of Montana (Presider)

1. Paul B Paolucci, Eastern Kentucky University, "The War in Iraq from a Marxist Perspective."

2. Steve Rosenthal, Hampton University, "Marxist Analysis of the 2004 Elections."

3. Paul B Paolucci, Eastern Kentucky University, "The 2004 Presidential Election from a Marxist Perspective."

Table 5. Researching Right-Wing Social Movements

Carolyn Gallaher, American University (Presider)

1. Arthur J. Jipson, University of Dayton, "Demanding Dissent: The Growth of Published Voices Critical of the Right Wing."

Table 6. Marxist Analysis of Contemporary Trends in Public Opinion

Michael Lichter - University at Buffalo, SUNY (Presider)

1. Louis Kontos, Long Island University, "A Marxist Analysis of Current Trends in Public Opinion."

Table 7. Class Processes II

1. John D. Arena, Tulane University, "Labor, Globalization, and African American Liberation: The Case of the Charleston 5 Dockworker Struggle."
2. Anna Paretskaya, New School for Social Research, "Revisiting Contemporary Class Analysis: Eclecticism or Convergence?"
3. Roderick D. Bush, St. John's University, "When the Revolution Came."

Section on Marxist Sociology, Paper Session
(co-sponsored with the Section on Environment
and Technology)

Marxism and the Environment

Saturday, 8/14/2004 (Renaissance Parc 55)

10:30 a.m. - 12:10 p.m.

Organizers: John B. Foster, University of Oregon and Martha E. Gimenez, University of Colorado

Participants:

Martha E. Gimenez - University of Colorado (Organizer and Presider)

1. Jason W. Moore, University of California, Berkeley, Brett Le Clark, University of Oregon, "Dripping with blood and dirt': Capitalist Agriculture & Ecological Crisis in World-Historical Perspective, 1450-2001."
2. Alexander Shvarts, University of Toronto, "Marxism and Ecology: Are they complementary?"
3. John B. Foster, University of Oregon, "Metabolism, Energy, and entropy in Marx's Critique of Political Economy: Transcending the Podolinsky Myth."
4. Brian Gareau, University Of California, "We Have Never Been 'Human': Ontological and Methodological Arguments."



Section on Marxist Sociology, Paper Session

Marxism and Culture

Saturday, 8/14/2004 (Renaissance Parc 55)

2:30 -4:10pm

Organizer:

Jeffrey A. Halley, University of Texas, San Antonio

Participants:

Randy Martin - New York University (Presider)

1. Deborah L Rapuano, Loyola University-Chicago, "Between Country and City: The Cultural Production of Irish Traditional Music."
2. Randy Martin, New York University, "Empire and the Culture of Economy: American Power Under the Sign of Financialization."
3. Judith R. Halasz, City University of New York Graduate Center, "Gender Politics and the Critical Gaze: Jean-Luc Godard's 'Masculin-Feminin.'"
4. Michael E. Brown, Northeastern University, "Marxist Theory and the Problem of 'Culture.'"

Section on Marxist Sociology: Paper Session

Marxism and Globalization

(co-sponsored with the Section on Political Economy of the World System)

Saturday, 8/14/2004 (Renaissance Parc 55)

4:30 -6:10 pm

Organizer:

Ellen I. Rosen, Brandeis University)

Participants:

Ellen I. Rosen - Brandeis University (Presider)

1. Keith Gunnar Bentele, University of Arizona, "The Temporal Dynamics of Income Inequality in the U.S. States, 1976-1995."
2. Alexander Hicks, Emory University, Linda Beer, Emory University, "Who Benefits from Growth?"
3. Brian Klocke, University of Colorado, Boulder, "Narrating Global Preeminence: U.S. Elites and National Discourse of the War on Terrorism."
4. Ellen I. Rosen - Brandeis University, Discussant)

Section on History of Sociology Paper Session
(co-sponsored with the Section on Marxist Sociology)

Refugees, Radicals, and Revolutionaries in the Development of American Sociology

Sunday, 8/15/2004 (Hilton)

12:30 - 2:10pm

Organizer:

Vasilikie Demos, University of Minnesota, Morris

Participants:

Vasilikie Demos - University of MN, Morris (Presider)

1. Daniel S. Geary, University California- Berkeley, "C. Wright Mills and American Sociology."
2. Michael Lee Siegfried, Coker College, "Is W.E.B. Du Bois a Classical Sociologist?"
3. Susan E. Cavin, New York University, "O.S.S. & the Frankfurt School: Recycling 'the damaged lives of cultural outsiders'"
4. David A. Nock, Lakehead University, "The Myth About 'Myths of the Chicago School': Evidence From Floyd Nelson House."

Teaching Workshop.

Teaching about Marxist Sociology

Sunday, 8/15/2004 (Hilton)

2:30 - 4:10pm

Martha E. Gimenez - University of Colorado
(Organizer)

Participants:

Martha E. Gimenez - University of Colorado (Presider)

Larry M. Miller, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth
Walda Katz-Fishman, Howard University and Project South
David Fasenfest, Wayne State University

PANEL DESCRIPTION:

This teaching workshop is intended to explore how a theoretical commitment to Marxist theory can affect our teaching practice. The workshop elaborates how our theoretical understanding of society informs, structures and transforms our pedagogy. Please attend not just to listen to the presenters but to share your own teaching practices and understanding of the relevance of Marxist theory to teaching.



Other Sessions of Interest

Society for the Study of Social Problems (SSSP) Movement Building in the Era of Globalization I: Project South Workshop

Friday, 8/13/04 (Cathedral Hill Hotel) 8:30-11:45am
Model popular education as a strategy for grassroots leadership development & bottom-up movement building. Develop a shared analysis of today's globalization & reflect on lessons from our history of struggle. Develop & deepen the local-national-global link in our consciousness, vision & strategy for movement building.

Organizers:

Walda Katz Fishman, Howard University and Project South and Jerome Scott, Project South

Facilitators:

Walda Katz Fishman, Howard University and Project South; Jerome Scott, Project South; Kianda Bell, American University; Carla Braily, Howard University Rose Brewer, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis; Vernese Edghill, Howard University; Tomas Encarnacion, Howard University & Project South; Ralph Gomes, Howard University; Rachel Herzog or Rose Braz, Critical Resistance; M. Bahati Kuumba, Spelman College; Nicole Rousseau, Howard University

ASA Panel for Sociologists without Borders Are Sociologists being held hostage by conservatism in the current culture war?

Saturday, 8/14/04, 6:30-8:15pm, Location: TBA

Organized by: Natalia Deeb-Sossa, UNC Chapel Hill

The conservative agenda is taking hostage public and private universities. Conservative organizations have continued the attacks on the liberal orthodoxy in colleges and universities. They are well-financed and promote their agenda invoking patriotism, the need for "a plurality of methodologies and perspectives" and the idea of safeguarding our youth from faculty that use their courses "for the purpose of political, ideological, religious or anti-religious indoctrination." Sociology departments and sociologists are not immune to these attacks. How can sociologists engage in debate and challenge the status quo when there is a right wing assault on academia? How must we respond so we can ensure that critical voices will be heard, activist work can continue and academia is not a hostage anymore?

Tentative Speakers: Kent Sandstrom - University of

Northern Iowa; Krista McQueeney, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; Lisiunia (Lisa) A. Romanienko - Louisiana State University; Karen Booth and Elyse Crystal - University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Regular Paper Session:**Marxism and Critical Theory**

Sunday, 8/15/04 (Renaissance Parc 55) 8:30 -10:10am

Kevin B. Anderson - Purdue University (Organizer and Presider)

1. Lauren Langman, Loyola University of Chicago, Warren S. Goldstein, University of Central Florida, "The Dialectic of Unenlightenment."
2. David N. Smith, University of Kansas, "Critical Theory and the Realm of Freedom."
3. Kevin Fox Gotham, Tulane University, Daniel Krier, College of William and Mary, "From Culture Industry to the Society of the Spectacle: Theoretical Affinities of the Frankfurt School and the Situationist International."
4. Stanley Aronowitz, CUNY, Graduate School, William DiFazio, St. Johns University, "Quantum Measures for a Jobless Future"

PANEL DESCRIPTION:

The papers discuss a range of issues in critical and Marxist theory. Two papers discuss critical theory's foundations in German idealism, Marxism, the Frankfurt School, and the Situationist International. The other two papers use Marxism and critical theory to discuss the contemporary problems of joblessness and religious fundamentalism.

ASA Thematic Sessions Paper Session:**Community Organizing in the Era of Globalization: Why? How? For Whom?**

Tuesday, 8/17/04 (Hilton), 8:30 -10:10am

Participants:

Walda Katz-Fishman - Howard University and Project South (Organizer and Presider)

1. M. Bahati Kuumba, Spelman College, "Scholar-Activists Arise!"
2. Mark Levine, Western Service Workers Association, "Strata Organizing: A Proven Method for Organizing Unrecognized Workers"
3. Andrea Smith, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor and Incite! Women of Color Against Violence, "The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex"
4. Jerome Scott, Project South, "Visioning – What is the World We are Fighting For?"



The Many Scales and Faces of the Global (Continued from page 2)

works; this is a form of global politics that runs not through global institutions but through local ones and constitutes a horizontal, rather than hierarchical, space of globality. Global cities are particularly complex places in this regard. They are the place where global corporate capital hits the ground and makes evident its character as a social force; but they are also the place where mixes of disadvantaged workers, both minoritized citizens and immigrants, also can constitute themselves as a social force.² They make global corporate capital concrete in that each city is a distinct place where particular global circuits intersect and thereby position a city in particular structured crossborder geographies, each typically with distinct scopes, institutions and actors. For instance, at least some of the circuits connecting Sao Paulo, Frankfurt, Johannesburg or Bombay to global dynamics are going to diverge from each other. Further, distinct sets of overlapping circuits contribute to the constitution of distinctly structured crossborder geographies: we are, for instance, seeing the intensifying of older hegemonic geographies, e.g. the increase in transactions among New York, Miami, Mexico City and Sao Paulo, as well as newly constituted geographies, e.g. the articulation of Shanghai with a rapidly growing number of cross-border circuits. This type of analysis produces a different picture about globalization from one centered on global markets, international trade, or the pertinent supranational institutions. It is not that one type of focus is better than the other, but rather that the latter, the most common focus by far, is not enough.

A second of these instances, partly connected to the first, is the role of the new interactive technologies in repositioning the local, thereby inviting us to a critical examination of how we conceptualize the local. Through these new technologies a financial services firm becomes a microenvironment with continuous global span. But so do resource-poor organizations or households: they can also become microenvironments with global span, as might be the case with activist organizations. These microenvironments can be oriented to other such microenvironments located far away, thereby destabilizing both the notion of context, often imbricated with that of the local, and the notion that physical proximity is one of the attributes or markers of the local. Further, a critical reconceptualization of the local along these lines entails an at least partial rejection of the notion that local scales are inevitably part of nested hierarchies of scale running from the local to the regional, the national, the international.

A third instance concerns a specific set of interactions between global dynamics and particular components of national states. The crucial conditionality here is the partial embeddedness of the global in the national, of which the global city is perhaps emblematic. My main argument here is that when specific structurations of the global inhabit what has historically been constructed and institutionalized as national territory, the result is a charged encounter that can go in many different directions --some more global, some

more national. One set of outcomes evident today is what I describe as an incipient, highly specialized and partial denationalization of specific components of national states, notably particular components of the work of ministries of finance, central banks, and regulatory agencies in key sectors such as finance and telecommunications.

In all three instances the question of scaling takes on very specific contents in that these are practices and dynamics that, I argue, pertain to the constituting of the global yet are taking place at what has been historically constructed as the scale of the national. With few exceptions, most prominently among which is a growing scholarship in geography, the social sciences have not had critical distance, i.e. historicized, the scale of the national. The consequence has been a tendency to take it as a fixed scale, reifying it, and, more generally, to neutralize the question of scaling, or at best to reduce scaling to a hierarchy of size. Associated with this tendency is also the often uncritical assumption that these scales are mutually exclusive, most pertinently for my argument here, that the scale of the national is mutually exclusive with that of the global.

Finally, the three instances described above go against those assumptions and propositions that are now often described as methodological nationalism. But they do so in a very distinct way. Crucial to the critique of methodological nationalism is the need for trans-nationalism because the nation as container category is inadequate given the proliferation of transboundary dynamics and formations (e.g. Taylor 2000; Beck 2001). What I am focusing on here is a different aspect, although it is yet another reason for supporting the critique of methodological nationalism: the fact of multiple and specific structurations of the global inside what has historically been constructed as national. ☞

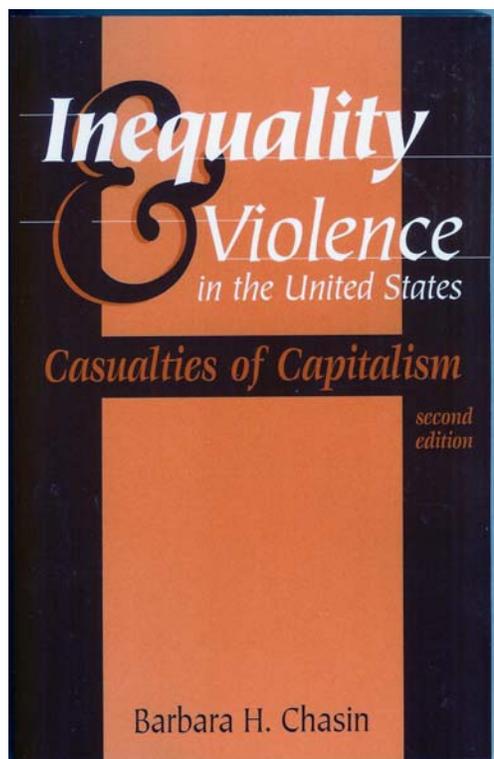
Notes:

1. One important issue that comes out of this type of approach is a critical stance toward scale, recognizing the historicity of scales and resisting the reification of the national scale so present in most of social science.
2. This is emerging as a new agenda for research and politics. See for example the conference "Labor in the Global City" being organized by Lowell Turner at the Industrial Relations Program, Cornell University, October 2004.

Saskia Sassen is the Ralph Lewis Professor of Sociology at the University of Chicago, and Centennial Visiting Professor at the London School of Economics. She is currently completing her forthcoming book *Denationalization: Territory, Authority and Rights in a Global Digital Age* (under contract with Princeton University Press 2004). Some recent books of hers include the edited *Global Networks, Linked Cities* (New York and London: Routledge 2002), the co-edited *Socio-Digital Formations: New Architectures for Global Order* (forthcoming Princeton University Press, January 2005) and *Globalization and Its Discontents: Essays on the New Mobility of People and Money* (The New Press 1999).



Book Announcements



Barbara H. Chasin, *Inequality and Violence in the United States: Casualties of Capitalism*, 2nd edition (Amherst, NY: Humanity Books, 2004). ISBN 1-59102-160-X, \$27, 428 pages

Why are many in the United States so concerned with street violence and murder and so unconcerned about untimely deaths resulting from the routine workings of our society? Why doesn't the fact that eighteen thousand Americans die annually because they cannot afford adequate health care receive as much press as the D.C. Sniper or the tragedy at Columbine High School? This book examines both the interpersonal violence with which the news media keep us familiar and the less visible, but more damaging, organizational and structural violence. Chasin stresses that organizational and structural violence are a result of decisions made in the pursuit of profit and are rarely punished.

Stressing the connections between various forms of violence and economic, ethnic, and gender inequalities, this second edition includes recent statistics and tables, material on the on-going war against Iraq and discussions of terrorism.

"Well-written, well-researched, with gripping detail and broad analysis; a revealing, hard-hitting book of much value to every student and concerned citizen." -Michael Parenti, author of *Democracy for the Few* and *The Terrorism Trap*

Barbara H. Chasin is professor of sociology at Montclair State University in Montclair, New Jersey

GLOBALIZATION AND CHANGE

The Origins, Development, and
Transformation
of Global Capitalism

Edited by

Berch Berberoglu

University of Nevada, Reno

Lexington Books

Lanham, Md.

(forthcoming in 2004)

PART I: DEVELOPMENT OF GLOBAL CAPITALISM AND CAPITALIST CLASS STRUCTURE

1. "The Rise of Global Capitalism: The Concentration and Centralization of Capital on a World Scale" by Howard Sherman
2. "Class Structure and Class Conflict in Advanced Capitalist Society" by Alvin Y. So
3. "Class Polarization and Class Struggle Under Advanced Capitalism" by Alan Spector

PART II: CONTRADICTIONS AND CRISES OF GLOBAL CAPITALISM

4. "Globalization Unmasked: The Dynamics and Contradictions of Global Capitalism" by James Petras and Henry Veltmeyer
5. "Globalization of Capital and the Imperial State: Global Capitalism in Crisis" by Berch Berberoglu
6. "Gender and the Exploitation of Female Labor under Global Capitalism" by Julia D. Fox

PART III: TRANSFORMATION OF GLOBAL CAPITALISM: OPPOSITION, RESISTANCE, AND CHANGE

7. "Global Capital and Labor Internationalism: Worker's Response to Global Capitalism" by Andrew Howard
8. "The Struggle against Capitalist Globalization: The Worldwide Protests against the WTO" by Marty Orr
9. "Global Capitalism, Class Struggle, and Social Transformation" by Walda Katz Fishman, Jerome Scott, and Ife Modupe