Considered one of the most important intellectuals in Latin American social thought, Ruy Mauro Marini demonstrated that underdevelopment and development are the result of relations between economies in the world market and the class relations they engender. Marini showed that, as Latin America came to specialize in the production of raw materials and foodstuffs while importing manufactured goods, a process of unequal exchange took shape that created a transfer of value to the imperialist centers. This encouraged capitalists in the periphery to resort to the superexploitation of workers—harsh working conditions where wages fall below what is needed to reproduce their labor power. In this way, the economies of Latin America, which played a fundamental role in facilitating a new phase of the industrial revolution in Western Europe, passed from the colonial condition only to be rendered economically “dependent” on, or subordinated to, imperialist economies.

Written during an upsurge of class struggle in the region in the 1970s, this is the first authorized publication in English.

RUY MAURO MARINI (1932–1997) was one of the originators of Marxist dependency theory. As a result of his activism, the Brazilian sociologist and revolutionary was forced into two decades of bitter exile in Chile and Mexico—and in the process introduced such concepts as “superexploitation” and “subimperialism” to the revolutionary lexicon. AMANDA LATIMER is a senior lecturer in Politics and international relations at Kingston University, UK. JAIME OSORIO is a Chilean social scientist and former colleague of Marini who has resided in Mexico since the military coup of Augusto Pinochet.

“In these times of deepening inequalities across the continents, Ruy Mauro Marini returns to us in this book with his stiletto-sharp Marxist analysis of dependency.”—VIJAY PRASHAD, TRICONTEMPORAL: INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
Endless Holocausts
Mass Death in the History of the United States
David Michael Smith

The rise of the U.S. Empire has relied upon an almost unimaginable loss of life, from its inception during the European colonial period, to the present. And yet, in the face of a series of endless holocausts at home and abroad, the doctrine of American exceptionalism has plagued the globe for over a century.

In *Endless Holocausts*, Smith demolishes the myth of exceptionalism by demonstrating that manifold forms of mass death, far from being unfortunate exceptions to an otherwise benign historical record, have been indispensable in the rise of the wealthiest and most powerful imperium in the history of the world. At the same time, Smith points to an extraordinary history of resistance by Indigenous peoples, people of African descent, people in other nations brutalized by U.S. imperialism, workers, and democratic-minded people around the world determined to fight for common dignity and for the sake of the greater good.

DAVID MICHAEL SMITH has a doctorate in political science from the City University of New York Graduate Center and is a former professor of government at College of the Mainland. He has also taught at the University of Houston–Downtown, York College, Brooklyn College, and Stevens Institute of Technology. His writings have appeared in *Peace Review, International Encyclopedia of Revolution and Protest, Journal for the Study of Peace and Conflict*, and *Socialism and Democracy*, among other publications.
The Fault in Our SARS

COVID-19 in the Biden Era

Rob Wallace

The Trump administration’s neglect and incompetence helped put half a million Americans in the ground, dead from COVID-19. Joe Biden was elected president in part on the promise of setting us on a science-driven course correction, but a little more than a year later, another half-million Americans were killed by the virus. What happened? In The Fault in Our SARS, evolutionary epidemiologist Rob Wallace catalogs the Biden administration’s failures in controlling the outbreak. He also shows that, beyond matters of specific political persona or party, it was a decades-long structural decline that put profits ahead of people that gutted U.S. public health.

COVID-19 isn’t just an American tragedy; countries around the world following the “profit-first” model failed their people. Global vaccination campaigns were bottled up by efforts to protect pharmaceutical companies’ intellectual property rights. Economies were treated as somehow more real than the people and ecologies upon which they depend.

Wallace and an array of invited contributors aim to strip down the capitalist social psychology that in effect protected the SARS virus, proposing instead new approaches in health and ecology that appeal both to humanity’s highest ideals and to the pragmatic changes we must make to survive COVID and the worst of the new diseases on the horizon.

ROB WALLACE is a co-founder of the Agroecology and Rural Economics Research Corps. He is author of Big Farms Make Big Flu and co-author of Neoliberal Ebola. He is also a member of Pandemic Research for the People and has consulted for the Centers for Disease Control and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

"Probably more than any other individual, Rob Wallace has clarified the social determination of COVID-19 and similar zoonotic epidemics. The Fault in Our SARS is likely to change your life, or at least your understanding of life. A masterpiece."
—HOWARD WAITZKIN, PROFESSOR EMERITUS AND AUTHOR, MEDICINE AND PUBLIC HEALTH AT THE END OF EMPIRE
How the Workers' Parliaments Saved the Cuban Revolution

Reviving Socialism after the Collapse of the Soviet Union

Pedro Ross

After the Soviet Union fell to pieces in the 1990s, Cuba embarked upon a remarkable collective effort to cope with its dire circumstances and escape the starvation, disease, death, and violence that often plague poor countries facing similar conditions. Not only did Cuba manage to evade collapse, it maintained its high life expectancy, low infant mortality, and universal access to healthcare and education, preserving many of the gains of the Revolution.

At the center of this collective effort were lifelong revolutionaries like Pedro Ross. As head of Cuba’s labor federation throughout the “Special Period,” Ross developed a nationwide series of “labor parliaments” that turned the country into an immense school of economics and politics. Over a 45-day span in 1993, women’s rights activists, farmers’ organizations, youth movements, and academic associations came together for tens of thousands of meetings, successfully restored the production cycle, and ultimately revolutionized nearly every aspect of life in Cuba. In this seminal account, Ross gives us an insider’s view of a society mobilized from below, buttressing the Revolution when it was under maximum stress.

Beginning as a young construction worker in Cuba, Pedro Ross became a teacher during Cuba’s great literacy campaigns of the 1960s, and came to serve three terms as General Secretary of Cuba’s labor federation, the CTC (The Workers’ Central Union of Cuba). Upon retirement, he was appointed Ambassador to Angola. Now in his eighties, he remains active in Cuba’s ongoing Revolution.

“In highlighting the little-known role of the Cuban working class during the Special Period, Pedro Ross Leal has produced a book essential to understanding the survival of revolutionary Cuba.”

— STEVE CUSHION, AUTHOR, A HIDDEN HISTORY OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION
As the American people delude themselves once more into thinking of the United States as a liberating force for peace in the world, *Washington’s New Cold War* invites us, instead, to think for ourselves. Behind the scenes, plans to wage war have been laid, whether by proxy, as in Ukraine, or directly, against the U.S.’s old twentieth-century foes. The aim of this latest set of American military escapades remains the same as ever: maintenance of U.S hegemony in the global financial system.

This cogent collaboration by three left intellectuals illustrates that while the Cold War against the Soviet Union ended, the “cold war” against the “enemies” of the United States did not. The authors provide evidence that the U.S. establishment has been willing to risk nuclear winter to hold onto economic primacy. They show that, while Russia and China can each be criticized, justifiably, for their violations of human life and dignity, neither on its own threatens the eruption of a Third World War and the end of the human race as we know it. *Washington’s New Cold War* is an intelligent text that strengthens our struggle against the cynical machinations of the American military behemoth and its propaganda machine.

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**JOHN BELLAMY FOSTER** is a professor of sociology at the University of Oregon and editor of *Monthly Review*. **JOHN ROSS** is a senior fellow at Chongyang Institute for Financial Studies, Renmin University of China. He was formerly director of economic policy for the mayor of London. **DEBORAH VENEZIALE** is a journalist and editor who has worked in the global supply chain sector for 35 years. **VIJAY PRASHAD** is the Executive Director of Tricontinental: Institute for Social Research.
Capital and Politics
Socialist Register 2023
Edited by Greg Albo, Nicole Aschoff, and Alfredo Saad-Filho

This collection examines the growth of corporate power and other organizational trends in global capitalism. Rejecting such notions as “stakeholder capitalism,” it reviews the organization and strategies of unions and the Left as it searches for new routes to socialism.

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GREG ALBO is a professor in the department of political science at York University, Toronto. ALFREDO SAAD-FILHO is a professor of International Development at King’s College, UK, and author of The Age of Crisis: Neoliberalism, the Collapse of Democracy, and the Pandemic. NICOLE ASCHOFF is the author of New Prophets of Capital and The Smartphone Society.
Beyond Plague Urbanism

Andy Merrifield

COVID-19 upended urban life everywhere. But long before the pandemic struck, our cities were plagued by economic injustices and inequalities. *Beyond Plague Urbanism* delves into this zone of urban pathology and asks: what do successive lockdowns and exoduses, remote work and small-business collapse, redundant office space and unaffordable living space portend for our society in cities?

Andy Merrifield journeys intercontinentally as he reflects on these questions, in a narrative that moves imaginatively between plague and populist politics, the U.S. Main Street and the British High Street, overcrowding and undercrowding, the right to the city today and eco-cities of tomorrow. Blending jazz with French Surrealism, Thomas Pynchon’s rocket science with the odyssey of James Joyce, Henri Lefebvre’s Marxism with the street ballets of Jane Jacobs, this challenging book appears at a timely moment in our fraught political history and opens up an urgent humanist conversation about the future of city life.

ANDY MERRIFIELD is an independent scholar and a prolific writer about urbanism, politics, and literature. His books include *Dialectical Urbanism*, *Marx: Dead and Alive, The New Urban Question*, and *Magical Marxism*. He has also published intellectual biographies of Henri Lefebvre, Guy Debord, and John Berger; a popular existential travelogue, *The Wisdom of Donkeys*; a manifesto for liberated living, *The Amateur*, along with a memoir on cities and love inspired by Raymond Carver’s short stories, called *What We Talk About When We Talk About Cities (and Love).*

"Andy Merrifield partakes of the grand tradition of political literary criticism."
—PUBLISHERS WEEKLY
Proxy wars, it seems, are fought more openly than ever before—and yet one of the worst of these was suppressed and “forgotten,” even in its own time. At the height of the McCarthy era and the inception of the Cold War, the great journalist I. F. Stone released *The Hidden History of the Korean War*, a courageous work of investigative journalism. Unable to find a publisher, Stone’s chance meeting with Paul M. Sweezy and Leo Huberman—editors of the fledgling *Monthly Review* magazine—resulted in the birth of Monthly Review Press in 1952.

As the war spiraled to its conclusion, Stone closely analyzed openly available U.S. intelligence narratives on the war’s official start and the actions of key players. The result of his investigation was this controversial book that raised questions about the origin of the war, making the case that the U.S. government manipulated the United Nations, and that the U.S. military and South Korean oligarchy dragged out the war by sabotaging peace talks.

With a new introduction by Tim Beal and Greg Elich, *The Hidden History of the Korean War* remains a powerful exploration of the story behind the dominant historical narrative—one that remains as relevant as ever.

I. F. Stone (1907–1989) was an American journalist and publisher. After working at the *New York Post*, *The Nation* (as editor from 1940 to 1946), and *PM*, he started his own journal, *I. F. Stone’s Weekly*, in 1953. Stone also published more than a dozen books and was considered one of the most influential journalists of the postwar period. Tim Beal is a retired New Zealand academic with a special interest in U.S. imperialism particularly with respect to Asia. Gregory Elich is a Korea Policy Institute associate and is on the Board of Directors of the Jasenovac Research Institute.

“A testament to Stone’s search for a way to strengthen his readers to think for themselves, rather than be overwhelmed by official stories and war propaganda.”—Jay Hauben, Formerly of Columbia University
For five centuries, the development of capitalism has been inextricably connected to the expropriation of working people from the land they depended on for subsistence. Through ruling-class assaults known as enclosures or clearances, shared common land became privately owned capital, and peasant farmers became propertyless laborers who could only survive by working for the owners of land or capital.

As Ian Angus shows, mass opposition to dispossession has never ceased. His dramatic account provides new insights into an opposition that ranged from stubborn noncompliance to open rebellion, including eyewitness accounts of campaigns in which thousands of protesters tore down fences and restored common access to pastures and forests. Such movements, he shows, led to the Diggers’ call for a new society based on shared ownership and use of the land, an appeal that was more sophisticated and radical than anything else written before the 1800s.

This unique historical account of ruling-class robbery and poor people's resistance offers fresh insights and answers to key questions about the history of capitalism.

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**IAN ANGUS** is author of several books and editor of the online ecosocialist journal *Climate & Capitalism*. He is coauthor of the *Belem Ecosocialist Declaration*. 

Return to the Source
Selected Texts of Amilcar Cabral, New Expanded Edition
Edited by Tsenay Serequeberhan

“For us,” said Amilcar Cabral, “freedom is an act of culture.” Guided by the concrete realities of his people, Cabral called for a process of “re-Africanization,” a return to the source. With a system of thought rooted in an African reading of Marx, Cabral was a deep-thinking revolutionary who applied the principles of decolonization as a dialectical task, and in so doing became one of the world’s most influential and effective theoreticians of anti-imperialist struggle. Cabral and his fellow Pan-African movement leaders catalyzed and fortified a militant wave of liberation struggles beginning in Angola, moving through Cabral’s homelands of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde, and culminating in Mozambique. He translated abstract theories into agile praxis and in under just ten years steered the liberation of three-quarters of the countryside of Guinea Bissau from Portuguese colonial domination.

In this new, expanded edition, we have access to Cabral’s warm and humorous informal address to the Africa Information Service. We also revisit several of the major speeches he delivered during trips to the United States in the final years before his assassination in 1973.

AMILCAR CABRAL (1924–1973) was a Pan-African freedom fighter and anti-imperialist theorist. He was born in Bafatá, Guinea Bissau, under Portuguese colonial dominion. He studied agronomy in Portugal alongside other African colonial subjects, who joined together to form student movements dedicated to opposing the ruling dictatorship of Portugal and to promoting the cause of independence for all Portuguese colonies in Africa. Upon his return to Africa in the 1950s, he managed, in under a decade, to lead Guinea Bissau toward near total independence before his assassination on January 20, 1973, by Portuguese agents. TSENAY SEREQUEBERHAN is a professor of philosophy at Morgan State University in Maryland.
Radek
A Novel
Stefan Heym
INTRODUCTION BY VICTOR GROSSMAN
TRANSLATED BY ALEX LOCASCO

Originally published in German in 1995, this is the first-ever English translation of Heym’s final historical novel. Karl Radek (1885–1939) is revealed as a brilliant Bolshevik journalist and politician who found himself at every turn of fate’s wheel, from his early beginnings as Lenin’s companion at the dawning of the October Revolution, to his days as Stalin’s favorite intellectual, through his final moments scripting his own trial.

STEFAN HEYM (1913–2001) authored more than two dozen books in English and German including Nazis in America (1938), Goldsborough (1953), and The King David Report (1973).

Beyond Leviathan
Critique of the State
István Mészáros
EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY JOHN BELLAMY FOSTER

István Mészáros (1930–2017) was one of the greatest political theorists of the twentieth century. Left unfinished at the time of his death, Beyond Leviathan is written on the magisterial scale of his previous book, Beyond Capital, and meant to complement that work. It focuses on the transcendence of the state, along with the transcendence of capital and alienated labor, while traversing the history of political theory from Plato to the present. Aristotle, More, Machiavelli, and Vico are only a few of the thinkers discussed in depth.

ISTVÁN MÉSZÁROS was a professor at the University of Sussex and a renowned philosopher and critic. He was the author of more than a dozen books.
Work Work Work
Labor, Alienation, and Class Struggle
Michael D. Yates

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Explains the reality of labor markets, the nature of work in capitalist societies, and the nature and necessity of class struggle, which alone can bring exploitation—and the system of control that makes it possible—to a final end.

MICHAEL D. YATES is Editorial Director of Monthly Review Press. He has helped organize labor unions and has written extensively about them. His most recent book is Can the Working Class Change the World?

Dead Epidemiologists
On the Origins of COVID-19
Rob Wallace

“In his brilliance and in the extraordinary depth, range, and courage of his thinking, Rob Wallace is unique. Dead Epidemiologists makes sense of the COVID-19 pandemic like no other work I’ve encountered anywhere. This is radical thinking in the very best sense. Written in perfect, pissed-off, punk-rock eloquence and fury.”—BEN EHRENREICH, AUTHOR, DESERT NOTEBOOKS: A ROAD MAP FOR THE END OF TIME

ROB WALLACE is an evolutionary epidemiologist with the Agroecology and Rural Economics Research Corps. He is author of Big Farms Make Big Flu and has consulted with the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.
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"The boundless courage and abiding heroism of Americans who risked everything to fight against fascism is illuminated beautifully in this moving and unforgettable account of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade."—OLIVER STONE AND PETER KUZNICK

MIGUEL FERGUSON is a professor, author, and educational entrepreneur. PAUL BUHLE is a retired Senior Lecturer at Brown University. ANNE TIMMONS is a Portland-based painter and illustrator. FRASER M. OTTANELLI teaches the history of U.S. radicalism and immigration at the University of South Florida.

Anne Braden Speaks
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"A wonderful jolt of insights from a remarkable anti-racist white southern woman who broke the bounds of respectability."—MICHAEL K. HONEY, AUTHOR, TO THE PROMISED LAND: MARTIN LUTHER KING AND THE FIGHT FOR ECONOMIC JUSTICE

A representative collection of Anne Braden’s (1924–2006) writings, speeches, and letters, giving the full spectrum of their subject matter: from the relationship between race and capitalism, to the role of the South in American society, to the function of anti-communism.

BEN WILKINS is a longtime activist in labor and civil rights struggles. He organizes low-wage workers across the U.S. South from his home base in North Carolina.
A Left Green New Deal
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BERND RIEXINGER has been co-leader of the German political party DIE LINKE since 2012. LIA BECKER has been a strategic advisor for DIE LINKE since 2014. KATHARINA DAHME is the head of Riexinger’s office and one of the founders of Bewegungslinke. CHRISTINA KAINDL has been head of DIE LINKE’s Department for Program and Strategy since 2012.

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ERIC SCHUTZ is Professor Emeritus at Rollins College, where he taught from 1987 to 2015. He is the author of Markets and Power: The Twentieth Century Command Economy, as well as numerous articles and essays.
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ESTHER FARMER is a Palestinian Jew who uses theater as a tool for community development. ROSALIND PETCHESKY is Distinguished Professor Emerita of Political Science at City University of New York. SARAH SILLS is an artist-activist and event producer.

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JAMES W. RUSSELL is an authority on retirement policy in the United States, Europe, and Latin America. He has taught at universities in the United States and as a Fulbright professor in Mexico and the Czech Republic. He is the author of eight previous books.
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