

URPE Newsletter

Union for Radical Political Economics

Editor's Note: One of the subjects discussed at this year's Summer Conference was the significance of anarchism within the contemporary global justice movement. The following article by Peter Bohmer, who was not able to attend this Conference, continues the discussion.

Marxism, Anarchism and the Global Justice Movement

by Peter Bohmer

The Evergreen State College, Olympia, Washington, United States

Presented at the 2nd International Conference on Marxism,

Havana, Cuba

May 7, 2004

The most significant contemporary progressive social movement in the United States, particularly among young people, is the global justice movement. For the most part this movement is indifferent, hostile to and not knowledgeable about Marxism and socialism. In so far as there is a dominant ideology among the more radical parts of this movement, it is anarchism. However, the trajectory of the global justice movement has been towards an increasingly anti-capitalist ideology with a growing class analysis, although primarily of working class oppression in the third world.

If this movement expands its understanding of global justice to include economic and social justice inside the United States, it has the potential of becoming a mass and inclusive movement for a socialist transformation of the United States. Moreover, Marxism will be isolated from popular struggles if it makes one sided criticisms of anarchism and groups who call themselves anti-authoritarian. Marxism, the socialist tradition and the global justice movement have much to offer each other. My comments refer to the global justice movement in the United States but I believe they have some relevance for many other countries.

The Global Justice Movement did not reach national prominence in the United States and become part of popular consciousness until the "Battle of Seattle" against the WTO meetings in 1999. After the large protests against the IMF and World Bank meetings in Washington, D.C. in spring 2000, a young participant said to me that for the first time since the anti-Vietnam War movement, young people have a movement of their own, that they lead, identify with and participate in.

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Printing: Prompt Printing Press**URPE**

The Union for Radical Political Economics (URPE) is a membership organization of academics and activists who share an interest in a radical analysis of political and economic topics. Founded in 1968, URPE's members use this analysis to advance various progressive political and social agendas. URPE publishes the *Review of Radical Political Economics*, runs a set of presentations at the academic professional meetings of the Allied Social Science Associations, sponsors a resource/speakers bureau called *Economy Connection*, and holds a Summer Conference on political and economic topics at a family-friendly summer camp in Connecticut. Its members are active in a wide array of professional and activist projects.

The URPE Newsletter

The **URPE Newsletter** is published quarterly by the Union for Radical Political Economics. The Newsletter is a place for URPE members to publish shorter articles and speeches as well as make announcements of upcoming events that might be of interest to fellow members. Articles and announcements can be sent to the Newsletter Editor in the body of an e-mail message, or as an attached file; send to paddyquick@aol.com, or by regular mail to: *Paddy Quick, Economics Department, St. Francis College, 180 Remsen Street, Brooklyn NY 11201.*

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The URPE Newsletter is a good place to publish advertisements for new books! Rates are \$300 per full page (7.5W x 9.3H); \$160 for a half page, and \$85 for a quarter page. Exchange ads are also considered. Please write or call the National Office for more information on this.

Deadlines for submission to Newsletter are January 7 for Winter issue; April 7 for Spring issue; July 1 for Summer issue, and October 7 for fall issue.

Reminder

URPE members should check the membership expiration date on the upper right hand corner of the address label. If your membership has expired or is about to expire, this will be the last newsletter you will receive. Please renew your membership now. (See page 27 for membership form, or contact the URPE National Office.)

Marxism, Anarchism and the Global Justice Movement *(continued from page 1)*

The global justice movement, more than many of the international solidarity and anti-war movements in the United States, has made economic oppression and exploitation central to its praxis. However, only a small minority within it identifies as Marxist or even is familiar with Marxism although a much larger number are explicitly anti-capitalist.

There is unity among activists against neoliberalism in the global justice movement but there is also a divide in ideology, program, forms of organization and tactics. This movement can be divided into two broad tendencies. The first tendency, which includes most of the more established and well funded organizations and individuals, is reformist. Their objective is to reform the international financial institutions and treaties such as the WTO, IMF and World Bank to achieve transparency and public accountability of these institutions, to further environmental and labor rights and standards, to regulate the international flows of capital, and to further representative democracy and sovereignty. These groups and many of the labor unions, human rights and church groups working with them are anti-corporate but not anti-capitalist. These organizations lobby for legislative changes and organize large rallies and demonstrations where they work closely with police and city officials.

For the rest of this paper, I will focus on the more radical and predominantly younger in age wing of the global justice movement. Among the more active and militant participants, the most common ideology is anarchism. This connects with a strong concern and belief by many groups and individuals in community, small scale production for local markets, an environmental sensibility, valuing decentralization, and a hostility to large and bureaucratic institutions as much for their size and power as for what they actually do. Demands have usually called for abolishing the international financial institutions, canceling third world debt, organizing against sweatshops and for fair trade. There has been an emphasis on building alternatives. These include: zines which are self-produced magazines written from an anarchist perspective, IndyMedia, which is developing independent media centers in several cities, developing cooperative forms of production and living arrangements, and building an alternative culture. Protest tactics have usually focused on non-violent direct action, where protesters have tried, usually unsuccessfully to shut

down major institutions that support and further global capitalism. Protesters are often organized into autonomous affinity groups which coordinate and make decisions through consensus.

Why Anarchism?

Anarchism is often seen as something new and not tainted with the supposed failures of the social movements of the 1960's and 1970's and the Soviet bloc. Although anarchism was influential in the early 20th century, few radicals in the 1930's and 1960's called themselves anarchists. For the most part the current self-identification as anarchist follows an already loosely defined set of beliefs and actions rather than activists first identifying as anarchists and then determining their principles and actions from their political philosophy. There is a strong and fundamental criticism of authoritarian and hierarchical structures. This is one of the major criticisms of the international financial institutions, the multinational corporations and the U.S. government. State power is seen as the primary source of oppression.

Fundamental to this world view is a strong anti-state and anti-bureaucratic stance. This part of the global justice movement favors small scale production, often organized in cooperatives, and believes that power should reside in small communities both in the present and future. There is limited criticism and often support for small business, particularly when using local inputs and producing for local markets. In discussion of alternative economic organization of society, the emphasis is often on barter and voluntary exchange. Similar to much of Marxism, there is hostility to developing models of desirable economic alternatives, claiming that this is social engineering.

Unlike Marxism, there is usually little or no separation between means and ends. One's lifestyle is seen as a defining aspect of social change. So is constructing alternatives. For most but not all groups, there is a commitment to non-violence not only as a tactic but also as a guiding philosophy. Within this part of the global justice movement, some participants support the Green Party, although most do not see the electoral system as an avenue for achieving global justice.

For the most part, there is little knowledge of or interest in Marxism. Marxism is identified with the failure of the Soviet model and with support for large scale centralized industries and governments, with bureaucracies, with a lack of individual freedom, with

a focus only on the working class and with a neglect of the social relations of race, gender and sexual orientation. Given the growth of identity politics in the last 25 years and a labor movement on the defensive and declining and whose praxis is primarily business unionist, a Marxist analysis and socialist practice whose emphasis is on the working class is seen as an anachronism, as relevant for the 1930's but not for 2004.

Another factor is that most of the global justice activists in this wing of the movement are also college students or ex-students. In recent years, most of the non mainstream faculty they have studied with have been post-modernists and usually anti- or non-Marxist. Perhaps most important, the alienation and rebelliousness of many of the young people attracted to anarchism, including the significant minority who have not gone to college, find affinity with anarchism because of its emphasis on the individual and on individual and small group action. The socialist focus on mass movements and collective action does not fit in with their experience.

Strengths and Weaknesses of the Global Justice Movement

The global justice movement in the U.S. has made global inequality and its causes a public issue. It has increased public awareness of the exploitation of workers in the third world by multinational corporations and fostered solidarity across borders, e.g. in the anti-sweatshop movement. As part of a global movement, it has put the WTO, the IMF and World Bank, NAFTA and the FTAA on the defensive. This movement has furthered understanding of the dynamics of capitalism and of capitalism as a global and oppressive system that is unsustainable environmentally. It has shown a lot of creativity in its actions, e.g. the use of puppets, and courage and commitment by its members. Its theory and practice of radical democracy in decision-making and as a goal is very important.

The global justice movement I have been examining is primarily white and workers are under-represented. A primary cause of this is the conceptualization of neoliberalism as primarily policies that occur in the third world not at home, i.e. the inability to connect theoretically and strategically oppression and exploitation of working people, particularly Blacks and Latinos, inside the United States to oppression outside its borders. These connections are absolutely necessary if this movement is to become

inclusive along lines of class and "race", if it is to have a sufficient base and power to change the United States in a progressive direction internally and externally. Because of its conceptualization of globalization and also its related strategy of direct nonviolent action organized at a national or international location where key international financial institutions are meeting, the global justice movement has not been able to build an effective national structure, or ongoing organizations rooted in local communities, or a strategy beyond mobilizing for the next protest. Public consciousness against global capitalism has grown since the protests in Seattle but the numbers of people protesting have declined. The unquestioned belief in consensus as the only way to make decisions, and the distrust of leadership, no matter how accountable has also limited participation and organizational growth and longevity.

Protests and events such as the World Social Forum which have brought together global justice activists from many nations where socialist and Marxist analysis is more common have furthered interest in anti-capitalism, Marxism and socialism. A Marxism and a socialist perspective that is not class reductionist and economic, that emphasizes environmental sustainability, that examines and challenges all forms of oppression, and supports a substantive democracy as means and end will get a serious hearing in the current global justice movement and beyond. Bridging this divide between anarchists and Marxists will increase the possibility of a global justice movement that incorporates the needs of working class people and people of color in the United States, that becomes more inclusive in its constituency and membership, and that understands and challenges state power. It has the potential of crossing age lines and developing an ongoing infrastructure and base. It would be more effective in its solidarity with the people of Cuba and around the world challenging neoliberalism, imperialism and global capitalism. This synthesis will make possible the growth and development of a significant force for a democratic and participatory alternative to capitalism. It is a necessary development for the people of the United States and globally to overcome exploitation, inequality within and between countries, war, the destruction of the environment, repression and furthering a world based on the dignity and needs of all people.

Thank you!

GRADUATE STUDENT NEWS AND

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Useful Tips for URPE Student Reps

Fadhel Kaboub, University of Missouri – Kansas City

Most students would think that it's difficult to be an URPE student rep on a college campus and promote progressive economic ideas through community events. Here are some basic tips that can help you be a successful URPE student rep:

Don't start from scratch; your campus and community already have organizations that are involved in some kind of community activism of a liberal nature; contact those organizations, let them know about URPE, and try to cosponsor events with them to promote progressive economic forums.

Think big; you can invite big-name-speakers to your campus. Most universities always seek to attract large crowds from the surrounding community, so they will be willing to co-sponsor such large events.

Seek support from faculty, staff and fellow students to organize panels at local conferences, set up seminars for undergraduate students, and distribute flyers around campus.

Timing is important; try to organize events based on current events (e.g. elections, hot-topics in local or national media) so people can relate to them.

Expect difficulties; not everyone will be receptive to your ideas and proposals. Try to work around obstacles (e.g. sometimes you have to change the title of the event, or tone-down its description) and negotiate with the other party. Don't be discouraged by failure, rather use it as a learning experience to build a stronger approach in the future.

Editor's Note: Student interested in serving as URPE Student Reps should contact the URPE National Office for information on how to apply. Representatives receive a stipend of \$250 per semester to cover expenses.

NEW SCHOOL ECONOMIC REVIEW

The graduate students of the Economics department at the New School have launched a brand new online journal entitled the *New School Economic Review*.

The *NSER* will be open to scholars, practitioners, and students primarily to publish opinion-based political economy. Our objective is to provide a forum for critical voices from all perspectives in economics. Possible topics for submissions include reflections on the state of economics as a discipline, comments on current world political and social affairs, or good old fashioned economic analysis. The first issue has no single theme so that we can accept a diverse set of submissions.

Papers should be 3-10 pages long. The first issue will be published in the early fall.

The website is now live at the following address: www.newschool.edu/gf/nser. Submission guidelines are posted on the site. Please also take a look and make any comments, inquiries, ideas for essays to submit, questions, accusations, tirades, or aspersions to the editorial board.

For now, think about what you'd like to write... because you all have to do is write! We look forward to hearing from each of you.

The Editors, *NSER*

Articles Wanted for URPE Newsletter

Graduate students are encouraged to submit short articles or news pieces for publication in the URPE Newsletter. Although it is obviously not a "refereed journal" it can be a good way to get your ideas in print. This may even be useful to you when you are applying for jobs in institutions which are open to radical political economics. [Some universities may consider Newsletter articles as evidence of "Community Service" or "Teaching" as distinct from "Scholarly Activity."] See page 2 for deadlines for submission of copy.

UPDATE ON ECONOMY CONNECTION (URPE'S RESOURCE/SPEAKERS BUREAU)

by Ruthie Indeck, Coordinator (201-792-7459 or soapbox@comcast.net)

Do the students on your campus think unions are important? Do they know that the labor movement is under attack in the US? If not, you might want to organize a teach-in on labor rights. This suggestion was broached to URPE members at the Summer Conference in a rousing workshop led by Boston area AFL-CIO organizer Yael Foa. She described lax enforcement of labor laws and attempts by employers to thwart union organizing efforts, but kept our spirits up with inspiring stories of labor victories. She went on to describe the "Workers' Rights are Human Rights" teach-in project. A teach-in generally includes a faculty speaker, a union organizer, a worker and a student. If you want to organize a teach-in on your campus, the AFL-CIO can provide a packet with sample flyers and detailed suggestions for content, discussion questions, publicity, resources, etc. (*See more details in following article on page 7.*)

Another Summer Conference highlight was Ann Markusen's David Gordon Lecture: "Communicating Political Economy." Ann had some great advice for EC speakers and writers—she discussed techniques for finding your "powerful voice" and figuring out what you really want to say, blending passion about values with analysis of economics, knowing and engaging with your audience, avoiding specialized language, and creating venues conducive to interaction.

EC enlisted several new members at the Summer Conference, and provided resource suggestions for a number of others. We gave suggestions for people to interview and sources of short, clear economics articles to a man who edits a newsletter. One activist wanted names of economists to whom he could refer journalists; another was interested in speakers and written material on the economics of NYC.

Other recent requests for resources include a professor looking for experts on corporate corruption, an NYC tenant looking for information on public housing, a children's writer looking for background information on sweatshops for a children's book, and an URPE member looking for detailed statistics on

African-American wealth.

Because most political activity at this point seems to be focused on the upcoming election, EC has been trying to encourage URPE participation in events that provide non-partisan background to the economic issues behind the election. Ellen Frank, John Miller, Bill Tabb and others have been organizing economics panels at the Boston Social Forum in late July. Doug Henwood will be part of an NYC panel on the responsibilities of the Left in the election, sponsored by the The Alliance of Radical Academic/Intellectual Organizations, of which URPE is a member. And NY URPE hopes to have a panel on election-year economic questions at the Brecht Forum this fall.

Once again an URPE voice was heard over the airwaves of Portland, Oregon's KBOO FM, as Bill Resnick interviewed Ilene Grabel on the "Old Mole Variety Hour" in late June. Bill reported that "we discussed the economics of 'nation building,' and the familiar story of the failure, the terrible results of the imposition of neoliberalism around the planet." Ilene defined the collection of neoliberal policies known as the "Washington Consensus," and described the devastating effects of these policies on developing countries. A case in point is Iraq. The interview concluded with a discussion of whether alternative policies are possible—Ilene feels strongly that they are, and she explains what these policies might be in her new book, *Reclaiming Development: An Alternative Economic Policy Manual*, written with Ha-Joon Chang.

Paul Cooney participated in a "Symposium on Globalization" organized by Erol Balkan in early May at Hamilton College. Paul's topic was "Neoliberal Globalization and Crisis in Latin America." He spoke about the latest crisis in Argentina, and also about Brazil and about globalization in general. Audience members were eager to hear opinions about what Latin America's future might hold.

Good luck to Paul, and also to Chris Rude, both of whom are leaving NYC this summer (but staying in Economy Connection!). Paul is going to live in Brazil for a while, and Chris will be teaching in Toronto. Both Paul and Chris have given their time generously over the years, responding to many EC requests for speakers. They have spoken in high

school and college classrooms; at teach-ins on the IMF and on the Iraq War; to peace groups, Unitarian Church groups, and environmental organizations; and have consulted with students, reporters and labor activists. Chris and Paul have both participated in Brecht Forum and Socialist Scholars panels. I will miss them, and I hope they come back soon!

Can URPE Help Build a Campus Teach-ins Movement in Support of Workers Rights?

In late 2003, in response to calls from the AFL-CIO's Voice@Work Campaign and national student organizations, 13 campus teach-ins were held on the theme Workers Rights are Human Rights. Their purpose was to educate and mobilize students. The educational goals were to impart the knowledge that workers freedom to form unions is, and should be, a fundamental human right; that calling something a human right imposes obligations on government and business; and that suppression of freedom to form unions is widespread in the U.S. and costly for workers and society.

The major mobilization goal was to convince students that they had a stake in the struggle for workers freedom to form unions, and that they could make a difference. Students were encouraged to support organizing under way on their campus. They were asked to support the Employee Free Choice Act, proposed federal legislation to protect workers freedom to form unions. They were encouraged to apply to the AFL-CIO's Organizing Institute and Union Summer programs.

The AFL-CIO developed a Teach-ins Tool-kit, a student power point presentation and pass-out materials, and helped teach-in organizers find worker speakers.

For more information contact Sarah McKenzie: smckenzi@aflcio.org. To insure that URPE members' contributions are coordinated, please send a copy of your email to Ruthie Indeck (Economy Connection Coordinator) at: soapbox@comcast.net.

Report on the 2004 URPE Summer Conference

The temperature was pretty cool for summer, and it was generally overcast. Not a lot of swimming or boating, to be sure! The Steering Committee has for years been wondering if a June date would draw better than our usual late August date, so this forced one-time shift was a test. We drew about 1/3 less people than last year. So next year it's back to August and sun and swimming!

The weather notwithstanding, people were excited about the plenaries, workshops, and the David Gordon Lecture. One change from last year that worked well was that the sessions were all longer, and there was a bit more time between sessions. We still had to break up lots of sessions, people did not want to stop, but I guess we might face that if we made them all twice as long! It shows that people were finding the material engaging. For those of you who were not there, if you are wondering what sort of topics were presented, you can still see the schedule at www.urpe.org.

We have several organizational changes in mind for next year. But maybe the biggest complaint concerning content was the lack of a specifically graduate student session. In fact, we did try to organize such a session, but there were not enough graduate students who were able to participate. The difficulty is that beginning graduate students often feel they have not yet even begun to do the research and so they haven't anything to say, while graduate students near completion can do just as good a job as professors, so we have them run workshops just like anyone else. So what we have concluded is that in order to have a *(Continued on page 9)*

URPE News and Announcements

URPE Steering Committee Report

The next meeting of the Steering Committee will take place on New York on September 18-19. All members are welcome to correspond with members of the Steering Committee if they wish any particular items to be discussed. (See page 2 of this Newsletter for contact information.)

Summer Conference Business Meeting Minutes June 6, 2004

I. Budget (presented by Germai Medhanie, National Office Coordinator and Paul Cooney, Treasurer)

Germai provided the fiscal year budget information from October 1, 2003 to date; the data will appear in the next newsletter. Paul discussed the changes from the previous fiscal year and the change in the timing of our fiscal year. The move to Amherst incurred costs but the new office is free. There is complicated data connected to payments from the publishers. There are reasons to believe our revenue might fall and some reasons for optimism.

The audience asked: Do we need to trim our budget to fit within possible lower royalty payments from the publisher? Is there a structural deficit of 15k? It was moved, seconded and passed that a contingency austerity budget be developed.

[Editor's Note: See pp. 10-11 of this Newsletter for the budget information presented at the Business Meeting.]

II. Economy Connection (presented by Ruthie Indeck):

Ruthie presented a written summary report. She suggested that people participate in the Mainstream Media Project. She would like suggestions for accessible reading materials. She is organizing people to participate in the Boston Social Forum just before the Democratic Convention. She is still looking for an assistant. The website project is being developed and the organizers would like information about websites to be linked to ours.

Glenn Kissack is our representative to the Alliance of Radical Academic and Intellectual Organizations. There is a written report. They are organizing a symposium to respond to the Republican Convention in NYC.

Ruthie was thanked with a round of applause.

III. Review of the Review (presented by Gil Skillman for the Editorial Board)

On the day-to-day basis the journal is on time, there is a steady flow of submissions, and there are special issues under way. The EB plans more membership promotions. They are following up on people whose subscriptions expired and regaining them. The real money comes from institutional subscriptions. We have received a letter from SAGE saying these are lower than the proposed numbers when the contract was negotiated. We need to increase subscriptions to increase revenues.

A second issue concerning the EB was to begin to be again back listed in the Social Sciences Citation Index. The RRPE had been included but when the journal fell behind when the then Managing Editor was gravely ill it was dropped. Elsevier, the last publisher, was not on schedule having outsourced the production. SAGE, the current publisher, is helping with this.

Third, there is a project being pursued to digitalize back issues to make them web accessible. Hazel Gunn, Managing Editor of the RRPE, and David Barkin have researched costs and found out what really needs to be done to complete this project. David is trying to find a lower cost to do this in India if done at the same quality and under fair trade conditions. David Barkin will provide this information to the SC and to the newsletter. Al Campbell and others are doing some fundraising for digitalization. The Steering Committee supports the project but has not agreed to any specific budget.

IV. Steering Committee results

Ellen Frank was elected by the Women's Caucus as the representative to the Steering Committee. Cyrus Bina, Peter Bohmer, Graham Cassano, Robert Kemp, Doug Koritz, Patty Lee Parmalee, Paddy Quick and Alfredo Saad-Filho were elected at-large. Al Campbell, Lester Henry and Laurie Nisonoff continue. Paul Cooney, Rebecca Hovey, and Nomi Prins were thanked for their service as they leave the board.

V. New Business

Jim Garst was happy to learn who the camera men at the Summer Conference were and about the programs they will create. Jim suggested that we both tape the programs they create and add this to the Archive at Cornell University.

The Steering Committee continues to discuss whether to hold SC elections at the Summer Conference or by mail ballot. It was suggested that perhaps absentee ballots might help.

One URPE member reminded Gil that the RRPE is returning to the bookstores. The changes of publishers and distributors had interrupted this process. SAGE has been good on this subject. There are three distributors - a large general one; a medium sized one that targets academic stores; and a small third one to target alternative stores. We need URPE members to go to these bookstores and talk it up. There will be a serious sales effort by the distributors and SAGE, but they need volunteers to cover areas besides NYC and Boston. The group thanked those who worked on this project. Members at institutions need to make sure the journal is subscribed to and that the electronic links are functioning. Patty Lee Parmalee suggested a packet/newsletter/web page instruction sheet be sent to help people approach the bookstores and college libraries.

The Editorial Board elections will take place in July or August by a mail ballot.

Germai thanked Paul Cooney for his work as Treasurer. Paul made valuable suggestions and was a working colleague. The group thanked Paul.

Julie Matthaai reminded us that IAFFE is international. How could URPE be more international?

Martha Herman wondered what happened to the wonderful graduate student evening panel? Al Campbell says the graduate students are hesitant. The hope is that the new outreach programs to the graduate students at the heterodox programs will encourage more students to participate in the presentations and submit work to the RRPE.

Julie Matthaai called for thanks to the conference organizers, SC members, and EB members.

Minutes taken by Laurie Nisonoff

Report on 2004 URPE Summer Conference

(Continued from page 7)

graduate session we will have to recruit for it. We have an idea of how we hope to do this, tying it in with the system of graduate representatives we are working to build on campuses with heterodox econ departments. We will see if we succeed or not - but we are working on it for next year!

There were presentations by individual graduate students, and there were a number of less advanced graduate students present. These latter initiated a very valuable process, that maybe we can repeat in the future. As a group they would decide what talk they wanted to go to, and then after the workshops they would have discussions and analysis amongst themselves concerning the contents of the workshop - something they found to be very valuable.

Hope to see many of you next (sunny and warm) August.
Al Campbell for the SC

URPE Budget May 2004

(URPE's fiscal year is currently from Oct 1st to September 30th)

	Actual Nat.Office 10/02 -9/03	Actual RRPE 2003 10/02 -9/03	Actual URPE 10/02 -9/03	Proposed Nat.Office 10/03-10/04	Proposed RRPE 10/03-10/04	Proposed URPE 10/03-10/04	Proposed URPE 10/04-9/05
Outflow							
National Office Staff							
Salaries	25,172		25,172	25,903		25,903	28,000
Tax Contribution	2,212		2,212	2,400		2,400	2,500
Health Insurance	3,312		3,312	4,188		4,188	5,045
General Administration			0			0	
Rent	2,700		2,700	828		828	1
Liability Insurance	989		989	750		750	750
Email	258		258	600	200	800	600
Accounting Services	900		900	1,100		1,100	1,100
License & Permit	95		95	100		100	100
Bank: Fees inc. Bad chks	331	3	334	350	25	375	400
Telephone	1,460	229	1,690	1,180	400	1,580	1,400
Office Supplies	661	489	1,149	1,300	700	2,000	1,580
Postage	370	419	789	1,100	800	1,900	1,950
Office Equipment	369	812	1,181	750	1,500	2,250	1,200
Advertising	1,280		1,280	2,500	250	2,750	2,500
Business Meeting	147		147	300		300	400
D & O Insurance							
Newsletter and Web Site			0			0	
Printing	3,195		3,195	3,700		3,700	3,500
Web Site	272		272	200		200	200
Travel	2,992	2,667	5,659	7,500	5,000	12,500	6,000
RRPE Reserve Fund			0			0	
Managing Editor Compensation			0			0	
Salary		27,869	27,869		25,903	25,903	28,000
Taxes		2,475	2,475		2,400	2,400	2,500
Health Insurance			0		4,188	4,188	5,045
Administrative Expenses		706	706			0	
Book Review Expense		2,000	2,000		2,000	2,000	1,000
Economy Connection			0			0	
EC Coordinator 'Stipend'	4,000		4,000	4,000		4,000	4,000
Speakers' Bureau Reimbursement	1,018		1,018	1,000		1,000	1,000
EC Assistance			0	1,500		1,500	
URPE NYC	55		55			0	
New Initiative Barkin's Proposal			0	4,750		4,750	
URPE T-shirt			0	900		900	
Summer Conference	11,507		11,507	13,000		13,000	13,000
			0			0	
Occasional Expenses			0			0	
Membership To Sage (Transfer Money)585			585			0	0
Attorney's fees for lawsuit	4,090		4,090			0	0
Publisher Set-aside			0			0	0
Support Progressive Projects			0	2,000		2,000	5,000
Moving Expenses	723		723	850		850	0
Total Expenses	68,695.34	37,669	106,364	82,749	43,366	126,115	116,771

Revenues:

Membership							
Limited	1,420		1,420	2,000		2,000	2,000
Full (After Paying Sage)	7,306		7,306		8,000	8,000	8,000
RRPE			0				
Contractual management Fee	50,000	20,000	70,000		70,800	70,800	71,600
(\$ 50,000 to NO; \$20,000 to RRPE),			0				
Estimated profit share (ELS)	42,583		42,583			0	0
Sale of back issues/Other	387	26	413		1,000	1,000	500
Conference			0				
Gross Revenue	16,922		16,922	16,000		16,000	16,000
Miscellaneous (Cash Return +Contri)			0				
Newsletter			0				
Ads, URPE List, and Back Issues	1,355		1,355	1,200		1,200	1,200
Libraries	1,022		1,022	1,500		1,500	1,500
Contribution			0				
Sustainer appeal	2,316		2,316	3,000		3,000	3,000
Legal defense fund			0				
URPE T-Shirt			0	1,013		1,013	607.5
Other Income			0				
ASSA fees	1,000		1,000	1,000		1,000	1,000
Interest on saving/Investment	509		509	500		500	1,000
Speakers Bureau donations/NY URPE65			65	100		100	100
Endowment Income			0				
Reader	66		66			0	0
Total Revenues (a)	124,950	20,026	144,976	26,313	79,800	106,113	106,508
Less Expenses (b)	100,745.62	5,619	106,364			126,115	116,771
Net Income/Loss (a - b)	24,205	14,407	38,612			-20,002	-10,264

Balance Sheet (As of Sept. 30, 2003)

	Beginning Oct. 1, 2002	Changes Oct. 1, 2002 DR	Sept. 30, 2003 CR	Ending Sept. 30, 2003	Beginning Oct. 1, 2003
ASSETS					
RRPE Account	-	14,407.63		14,407.63	3,000.00
Cash (Checking, Saving & CD)	74,106.31	22,918.04		97,024.35	108,431.98
Account Receivable	270.00	573.00		843	843
Inventory	2,100.00		700.00	1,400.00	1,400.00
Prepaid : Insurance	509.00	480.00		989.00	989.00
Health	669.00	246.00		915.00	915.00
Fixed Asset	772.00	1,180.22	551.00	1,401.00	1,401.00
Total Assets	78,426.31			116,979.98	116,979.98
LIABILITIES					
Payroll	606.32		247.30	853.62	1,100.92
RRPE	1,230.00	1,230.00		0.00	0.00
Legal Defense	3,871.80	3,871.00		0.00	0.00
Summer Conference			720.00	720.00	720.00
Total Liabilities	5,708.12			1,573.62	1,573.62
NET FUND BALANCE					
Unrestricted	69,518.19			112,206.36	109,206.36
Restricted (Matt Edel Book Project)	3,200.00			3,200.00	3,200.00
RRPE Reserve Fund					3,000.00
TOTAL LIABILITIES + NET FUND BALANCE	78,426.31			116,979.98	116,979.98

Review of Radical Political Economics

2003 Review of the Review

2003 saw a continued strong group of high quality articles published in the *RRPE*. There were 54 papers submitted, of which 10 were accepted, or a 19% acceptance rate, down from a 27% rate in 2002. There were 39 book reviews received, with an acceptance rate of 90%. David Barkin continues to do an outstanding job of finding reviewers for books, especially those authored by URPE members, past and present.

David is also spearheading the digitization project. In spite of tight funding by the Steering Committee, we are going ahead with digitizing a limited number of back issues. The total operating budget for the *RRPE* is \$11,000/year; the remainder of Sage's "editorial stipend" is returned to the URPE National Office. Gary Mongiovi has done a yeoman's job as liaison to the Steering Committee, particularly in regard to financial issues.

We currently have special issues in the works on the Regulation of Global Capital, the Radical Political Economy of Consumption, the History of Radical Economics, and the Political Economy of Food. Under consideration are special issues on: 1) Worker Health & Safety, Compensation, Trade Unions & Politics, and 2) Social Security and Health Insurance.

URPE members have been working with Sage on a project to get the *RRPE* back into a limited number of independent and college/university bookstores. Sage is in the final process of signing with three distributors to make this happen. It is our hope that bookstore sales will lead to an increase in subscribers. Our heartfelt thanks to those who have worked on this project.

The border tour in San Diego before the ASSAs was well attended. We have made plans for a "reality tour" of Philadelphia in January 2005 (see below).

Subscription numbers remain constant, with about 250 individual subscribers and about 530 institutions. We have a good working relationship with Sage, in spite of the many turnovers in personnel, which seem so characteristic of the publishing industry.

All in all, I can report (with pride, of course) that the journal is better than ever.

Hazel Dayton Gunn, Managing Editor

Philadelphia "Reality Tour"

The Review is sponsoring a "reality tour" of the Kensington area of Philadelphia on January 6, the day before the ASSA meetings. The tour will be led by the Kensington Welfare Rights Union (<http://www.kwru.org/>), "a multi-racial organization of, by and for poor and homeless people," started in 1991 by a remarkable group of women based in Kensington, the poorest district in the state of Pennsylvania. Their story is well worth learning about.

Small vans will leave the URPE convention hotel at 1p and return at 4p. Following the tour there will be a roundtable/discussion from 4p-5:30p, coordinated by Randy Albelda (UMass/Boston), Heather Boushey (Center for Economic & Policy Research/DC), Nancy Rose (California State University/San Bernardino), and Dawn Saunders (University of Vermont). I am investigating dinner arrangements at the White Dog Cafe (<http://www.whitedog.com/>), which can be reached by "e1" or subway-surface trolley from downtown.

The cost of the tour is \$30.00 per person, which covers the cost of the vans and a contribution to KWRU. Please send your checks (made out to RRPE) to Hazel Dayton Gunn, City & Regional Planning, 106 W. Sibley Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853. Please include your email address. Further details will be sent to tour participants as the time draws closer.

Hazel Dayton Gunn, Managing Editor

Call for Papers

Review of Radical Political Economics

Special Issue on the Political Economy of Food

The early 1990s saw a wealth of great studies in the political economy of food. Since then, manifestations of neo-liberal privatization and deregulation, along with new geopolitical developments, have further altered post-WWII patterns of food production and distribution. Yet, little systematic work has been done to take stock of these changes. What does this new organization of food production and distribution mean for the politics of food given the centrality of food as biological necessity, cultural marker, source of environmental transformation, and producer of income? What constitutes a radical response to these changes?

For this special issue we seek articles that highlight and explain changes in food governance, production, distribution, and consumption during the neo-liberal era, as well as those that explore the implications of these changes. We especially welcome papers that provide critical investigations of the changing institutions of food provision - from NGOs to the WTO in the realm of governance, from small producers to transnational corporations in the realm of food provision. We are also interested in papers that analyze the dynamics of these transformations. Finally, we seek explorations of socially just and ecologically-oriented forms of resistance.

Specific topics might include:

1. government subsidies, changing intellectual and ecological property rights, and how they affect the struggle for 'comparative advantage'
2. labor in food production, distribution, and consumption
3. the influence of new actors in food provision, from Walmart to Transfair
4. globalisation of malnutrition and the global food security debate: the complementarities of obesity and hunger
5. agrarian populist, localist, traditionalist and other political struggles over sustainability and food sovereignty
6. the implications of GMOs for any or all of the above.

Submissions are due by May 1, 2005. They must follow the Instructions to Contributors listed in the back of the *Review*, and available from the Managing Editor (hg18@cornell.edu). All submissions are subject to *RRPE*'s usual review procedures, and they should not be under review with any other publication. We strongly encourage authors to send a brief title and abstract as soon as possible, so the editorial collective can coordinate timely production of the issue.

Send to:

Hazel Dayton Gunn, Managing Editor, *Review of Radical Political Economics*, 106 West Sibley Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853, U.S.A.

Golden Pencil award

The recipient of the seventh annual Golden Pencil award is Bruce Pietrykowski. The coveted award goes to the editorial board member who, in the opinion of the managing editor of the *RRPE*, has contributed the most to the journal above and beyond their regular duties. Bruce has served on the editorial board for eight years. He has taken the lead on two special issue collectives. His most recent contribution has been to convince the archival librarian at Cornell University to maintain the records of papers that have been rejected in the review process so that future historians can more fully understand phases in radical political economics. (Cornell University houses the URPE/*RRPE* archives, established here by Howard Wachtel.) Our collective thanks, Bruce, for a job well done.

Teaching Radical Political Economics

The URPE Newsletter is a place for those who teach economics to share their ideas. Readers are invited to share with others the materials they develop for their classes, both in the form of hand-outs and in the form of projects or assignments.

CINGULAR TAKEOVER OF AT&T WIRELESS

By Paddy Quick

Most of my students are fascinated by the “mysteries” of the stock market. An occasional news report provides enough information to build a (simplified) numerical model which can be used for discussion. The following example was used to discuss the concepts of mergers, economies of scale, and resulting lay-offs, as well as the increased productivity of the remaining workers. It was also used to illustrate how this increased productivity is “converted” into capital gains.

On February 18, 2004, Cingular announced that its \$41 billion offer for AT&T Wireless had been accepted. (Cingular is a joint venture of SBC Communications and BellSouth.) The combined Cingular-AT&T Wireless will have a combined revenue of \$32 billion. According to *The New York Times*, "Cingular estimates that the merger will save the combined company \$2 billion to \$3 billion a year starting in 2006, in part through thousands of layoffs of overlapping positions" (*The New York Times*, February 16, A1).

	Cingular	AT&T Wireless	Combined Cingular-AT&T Wireless
Total Revenue	17.0	15.0	32.0
Total Costs	12.5	12.0	22.5
Total Profits	4.5	3.0	9.5
Value of corporation (assuming a P/E ratio* of 10)	45.0	30.0	95.0

The result of the takeover is thus an increase in profits of \$2 billion. Assuming a Price-Earnings ratio of 10, this means that the merger leads to an extra \$20 billion in the value of the combined companies. The agreement must be approved by both Cingular and AT&T, so that the benefits must be divided between the shareholders of the two corporations. If the price of AT&T Wireless were set at \$30, the entire gain of \$20 billion would go to Cingular shareholders. If the price were \$50 billion, the entire gain would go to AT&T Wireless shareholders. The actual price that they agreed to was \$41 billion.

* The P/E ratio is the ratio of stock market price to annual earnings per share. It is thus the inverse of the rate of return on a stock. (A stock trading at \$20 with earnings per share of \$2 has a P/E ratio of 10 or a rate of return of 10%.)

Paddy Quick is a Professor of Economics at St. Francis College, Brooklyn and a member of the Union for Radical Political Economics.

PLEASE SEND YOUR SYLLABI

Letting others who want to teach heterodox economics know what resources you have dug up is a huge help to people who would like to start teaching something outside the mainstream. We even used to collect these and distribute them in pre-computer days, in the 1970s! Last fall we started to collect these on the Web, and got off to a good start with a dozen syllabi. Semester by semester we want to keep expanding that. As you approach the end of your semester, you certainly have your syllabi on hand that you are currently using. Please just send them as an attachment to an email, and I can get them up for others to see. Each of us duplicating each other's work in finding good materials is not a great way to spread heterodox economics! Please send these to Professor Al Campbell, Department of Economics, University of Utah, 1645 Campus Center Dr Rm 308 SLC, UT 84112-9300; email: Al@economics.utah.edu; Tel.: 801 585 3521; FAX 801 585 5649

URPE Membership

There are two types of membership in the Union for Radical Political Economics:

Full Membership with *RRPE* journal and Newsletter subscription

Limited Membership with Newsletter subscription only.

Both types of membership carry equal voting rights in URPE. (To participate in the URPE sessions at the Allied Social Science Associations meetings, you must be a member of URPE.)

Circle option chosen, and make checks payable to URPE.

Full Membership (includes one-year subscription to the *Review of Radical Political Economics* and the quarterly URPE Newsletter. Please note that *RRPE* subscriptions are entered on a calendar year basis.)

Low-income/student \$30

All other individuals \$55

Send **Full Membership** dues to:

Hazel Dayton Gunn,
Dept. of City and Regional Planning,
106 W. Sibley Hall,
Cornell University,
Ithaca NY 14853

Limited Membership (Includes subscription to the quarterly URPE Newsletter)

All individuals \$20

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Other Heterodox Organizations

- Calls for Papers
- Conferences, Meetings, and Rallies
- Contacts

Other Topics

- Heterodox Economics Jobs Postings (updated 7/3/04)
- Links
- Porto Alegre
Call of the World Social Movements. Porto Alegre, 1/27/2003. Endorsed by the URPE Steering Committee
Llamamiento de los Movimientos Sociales. Porto Alegre, 1/27/2003.

History of URPE

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c/o URPE National Office
Gordon Hall, U.Mass/Amherst
418 N. Pleasant Street
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