

# DAVID M. KOTZ

## Curriculum Vitae

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**Position:** Professor, Department of Economics, Thompson Hall, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01003, U.S.A.; and Distinguished Professor, School of Economics, and Co-Director of the Department of Political Economy, Shanghai University of Finance and Economics, Shanghai, China.

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### Education

<u>Institution</u>	<u>Degree</u>	<u>Year Awarded</u>
University of California, Berkeley	Ph.D. in Economics	1975
Yale University	M.A. in Economics	1966
Harvard College	A.B. in Physics	1965

### Positions Held

September 1978 to present: Faculty (Assistant, Associate, then full Professor), Department of Economics, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA.

September 2010 to present: Distinguished Professor, School of Economics, and Co-Director of the Department of Political Economy, Shanghai University of Finance and Economics, Shanghai, China.

September 1994 to August 2013: Graduate Program Director, Department of Economics, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA.

January to June, 1984: Visiting Associate Professor, Department of Economics, University of California, Berkeley, CA.

October 1977 to September 1978: Visiting Staff Economist, Bureau of Economics, Federal Trade Commission, Washington, D.C.

September 1974 to August 1978: Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, American University, Washington, D.C.

### Memberships and Affiliations

Vice-President, World Association for Political Economy.

Member, Union for Radical Political Economics.

Member, Massachusetts Society of Professors.

Staff Economist, Center for Popular Economics, Amherst, MA.

## Books and Monographs

- The Rise and Fall of Neoliberal Capitalism*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, January 2015. Chinese language edition: Renmin University Press, forthcoming 2015.
- Contemporary Capitalism and Its Crises: Social Structure of Accumulation Theory for the Twenty-First Century*, edited volume with Terrence McDonough and Michael Reich, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Russia's Path from Gorbachev to Putin: The Demise of the Soviet System and the New Russia*, coauthored with Fred Weir, London and New York: Routledge, 2007. A revised and updated version of *Revolution from Above: The Demise of the Soviet System*, 1997. Turkish language edition: Kalkedon Yayinlari, Istanbul, 2012. Russian language edition: URSS Press, Moscow, 2013. Chinese language edition: Renmin University Press, Beijing, 2014.
- Revolution from Above: The Demise of the Soviet System*, coauthored with Fred Weir, London and New York: Routledge, 1997. Japanese language edition: Shin-Hyoron, Tokyo, 2000. Chinese language edition: Renmin University Press, Beijing, 2002; reissued edition 2008.
- Social Structures of Accumulation: The Political Economy of Growth and Crisis*, edited volume with coeditors Terrence McDonough and Michael Reich, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Bank Influence over the Merger Activity of Large Manufacturing Companies*, Washington, D.C.: Public Interest Economics Foundation, 1982.
- Bank Control of Large Corporations in the United States*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978. Paperback edition: 1980. Japanese language edition: Bunshindo Ltd., Tokyo, 1982. Russian language edition: Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1983.

## Articles and Book Chapters

- "Russia and the Global Capitalist Crisis," in *The Global Capitalist Crisis and its Aftermath*, by Berch Bergeroglu (ed.), Ashgate, 2014, 191-209.
- "Can China's Rise Continue?," *China Policy Review* (in Chinese), November 2013, 101-103.
- "The Current Economic Crisis in the U.S.: A Crisis of Over-Investment," *Review of Radical Political Economics*, vol. 45 no. 3, Summer 2013, 284-294.
- "Why Did Transition Happen?," in *Handbook of the Economics and Political Economy of Transition*, by Paul Hare and Gerard Turley (eds), Routledge, 2013, 108-115.
- "Social Structures of Accumulation, the Rate of Profit, and Economic Crises," in *Capitalism on Trial: Explorations in the Tradition of Thomas E. Weisskopf*, by Robert Pollin and Jeannette Wicks-Lim (eds), Edward Elgar, 2013, 335-349.
- "Changes in the Postwar Global Economy and the Roots of the Financial Crisis," in *The Handbook of the Political Economy of Financial Crises*, by Gerald Epstein and Martin H. Wolfson (eds), Oxford University Press, 2013, 395-410.
- "The Current Financial and Economic Crisis and the Prospects for the Socialist Movement," *International Critical Thought*, vol. 1 no. 3, September 2011, 257-266. Published in Chinese in *Hongqi Wengao*, volume 4, 2013.
- "The Demise of the Soviet Union and the International Socialist Movement Today," in *Historical Reflection after 20 Years following the Soviet Union's Collapse*, by Li Shenming (ed.), Beijing: Academy of Social Sciences Press, 2011, 538-546.
- "Over-Investment and the Economic Crisis of 2008," *World Review of Political Economy*, vol. 2 no. 1, spring 2011, 5-25.
- "The Dependence of China's Economic Growth on Exports and Investment," with Andong Zhu, *Review of Radical Political Economics* Special Issue on "China and Global Capital

- Accumulation," vol. 43 no. 1, winter 2011, 9-32.
- "Financialization and Neoliberalism," in *Relations of Global Power: Neoliberal Order and Disorder*, by Gary Teeple and Stephen McBride (eds), Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011, 1-18. Published in Hungarian in *Fordulat*, Winter 2008/Spring 2009, 65-81; and in Chinese in *Foreign Theoretical Trends*, No. 11, 2011, 5-14.
- "What Can Cause a System-Threatening Crisis of Capitalism?," *Science and Society*, vol. 74 no. 3, July 2010, 362-279. Published in Russian in *Alternatives* No. 3, Summer 2010; in Portuguese on website <http://resistir.info>, September 2010; and in Chinese in *Foreign Theoretical Trends* No. 12, 2010, 34-42, and in *Theoretical Economics* No. 3, 2011, 3-9; and in Greek in *Marxist Thought*, vol. 2, May-August 2011, 284-299.
- "Global Neoliberalism and the Contemporary Social Structure of Accumulation," with Terrence McDonough, in Terrence McDonough, Michael Reich, and David M. Kotz (eds), *Contemporary Capitalism and Its Crises: Social Structure of Accumulation Theory for the Twenty First Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, 93-120.
- "A Re-conceptualization of Social Structure of Accumulation Theory," with Martin Wolfson, in Terrence McDonough, Michael Reich, and David M. Kotz (eds), *Contemporary Capitalism and Its Crises: Social Structure of Accumulation Theory for the Twenty First Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, 72-90; and reprinted in *World Review of Political Economy*, vol. 1 no. 2, 2010, 209-225.
- "The Financial and Economic Crisis of 2008: A Systemic Crisis of Neoliberal Capitalism," *Review of Radical Political Economics*, vol. 41 no. 3, Summer 2009, 305-17. Also in Russian translation in *Alternatives* no. 4, 2009, 130-51; and in Chinese in *Journal of Hebei University of Economics and Business*, vol. 31 no. 158, January 2010, 9-17, and in *Journal of Shanghai Finance University*, vol. 98, No.2, 2010, 10-18.
- "Economic Crises and Institutional Structures: A Comparison of Regulated and Neoliberal Capitalism in the U.S.," in *Heterodox Macroeconomics: Keynes, Marx and Globalization*, by Jonathan Goldstein and Michael Hillard (eds), London and New York: Routledge, 2009, 176-88.
- "What Economic Structure for Socialism?" in Chinese in *Chinese Social Sciences Press Journal* 10:4, 2008, 105-11.
- "Contradictions of Economic Growth in the Neoliberal Era: Accumulation and Crisis in the Contemporary U.S. Economy," *Review of Radical Political Economics*, vol. 40 no. 2, Spring 2008, 174-188; also an earlier version in Chinese translation in *Review of History of Economic Thought*, June, 2006, 138-159, and in *Foreign Theoretical Trends*, v. 12, 2007, 6-11. Abbreviated version published in *Chinese Social Science Digest*, v. 3, 2008, 25-26.
- "The Erosion of Non-Capitalist Institutions and the Reproduction of Capitalism," in *Political Economy and Global Capitalism: The 21<sup>st</sup> Century, Present and Future*, by Robert Albritton, Bob Jessop, and Richard Westra (eds), London and New York: Anthem Press, 2007, 160-76.
- "The Role of the State in Economic Transformation: Comparing the Transition Experiences of Russia and China," in Chinese in *Foreign Theoretical Trends* (Beijing), January 2005, 7-12, and February 2005, 32-36; and in Chinese in *Issues of Contemporary World Socialism*, No. 3, September 2005, 3-14. Published in Russian translation as "Gosudarstvo i ekonomicheskaya transformatsiia: rossiiskii i kitaiskii opyt perekhoda k pynku," in *Vestnik Sankt-Peterburgskogo universiteta* (Bulletin of St. Petersburg University), vol. 5 no. 2, 2005, 1-16.
- "Deja Vu All Over Again: The 'New Economy' in Historical Perspective," coauthored with Martin Wolfson, *Labor Studies Journal*, vol. 28 no. 4, Winter 2004, 25-44.
- "Neoliberalism and the Social Structure of Accumulation Theory of Long-Run Capital Accumulation," *Review of Radical Political Economics*, vol. 35 no. 3, September 2003, 263-

- 270.
- "Neoliberalism and the U.S. Economic Expansion of the 1990s," *Monthly Review*, vol. 54 no. 11, April 2003, 15-33. Published in Russian translation in *Problemy teorii i praktiki upravleniia* (Problems in the theory and Practice of Management), No. 1, 2003, 41-46. Published in Chinese translation in *Foreign Theoretical Trends*, August 2003, 15-20; and in *Globalization and Neoliberalism*, edited by Qiqing Li and Yuanqi Liu, Guangxi Normal University Press, 2003, 175-192.
- "Globalization and Neoliberalism," *Rethinking Marxism*, vol. 14 no. 2, summer 2002, 64-79. Reprinted in *Armies and Politics*, edited by Evgeny N. Pashentsev and Constantine V. Miniar-Beloroutchev, Moscow, 2002, 182-203. Published in Chinese translation in *Foreign Theoretical Trends*, September 2003, 7-10; and in *Globalization and Neoliberalism*, edited by Qiqing Li and Yuanqi Liu, Guangxi Normal University Press, 2003, 3-14.
- "Socialism and Innovation," *Science and Society*, vol. 66 no. 1, spring 2002, 94-108. Published in Chinese translation in *Foreign Theoretical Trends*, November 2002, 19-21.
- "System Change and State Disintegration in the Demise of the Soviet Union," in a special issue on "The Fall of the Soviet Union: Ten Years After" of *Oost-Europa Verkenningen (Eastern European Explorations*, Netherlands), No. 166, December 2001, 6-19.
- "Is Russia Becoming Capitalist?" *Science and Society*, vol 65, no. 2, summer 2001, 157-181. Also published in Russian as "Stanovitsia li rossiia kapitalisticheskoi?" *Al'ternativy* (Alternatives), No. 1, 2000, 18-38, and in *Ten Years of Transformation: Did Russia Become Capitalist*, edited by Alexander Buzgalin, Moscow: Economic Democracy, 2000, 51-70.
- "The State, Globalization, and Phases of Capitalist Development," in *Phases of Capitalist Development: Booms, Crises and Globalizations*, edited by Robert Albritton, Makoto Itoh, Richard Westra, and Alan Zuege, Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Press, 2001, 93-109. Book also published in Chinese translation, Beijing: Economic Science Press, 2004.
- "Socialism and Capitalism: Lessons from the Demise of State Socialism in the Soviet Union and China," in *Socialism and Radical Political Economy: Essays in Honor of Howard Sherman*, edited by Robert Pollin, Cheltenham and Northampton: Edward Elgar, 2000, 300-317.
- "Lessons from Economic Transition in Russia and China," in *Political Economy and Contemporary Capitalism*, edited by R. Baiman, H. Boushey, and D. Saunders, Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2000, 210-217.
- "Neoliberal Economic Policy, State Desertion, and the Russian Health Crisis," with Mark G. Field and Gene Bukhman, in *Dying for Growth: Global Inequality and the Health of the Poor*, edited by J.Y. Kim, J.V. Millen, A. Irwin, and J. Gershman, Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 2000, 155-173. An abbreviated version published in Russian translation in *Problemy teorii i praktiki upravleniia* (Problems in the theory and Practice of Management), No. 4, 1998, 62-66.
- "More Aid, Fewer Strings: A New Western Aid Policy for Russia," *Central Europe Review*, v. 1 n. 18, October 25, 1999.
- "Russia's Financial Crisis: The Failure of Neoliberalism?," *Z Magazine*, January, 1999, 28-32. Published in Turkish in *On the Threshold of the Twentieth Century: Myths and Reality*, edited by O. Orhangazi and C. Sari, Ankara, Turkey: Utopya Yayınevi, 2002, pp. 73-83.
- "Uroki piatiletnei ekonomicheskoi transformatsii v Rossii" (Lessons from Five Years of Economic Transition in Russia), *Problemy teorii i praktiki upravleniia* (Problems in the theory and Practice of Management), No. 5, 1997, 15-21.
- "Rezultaty preobrazovaniia ekonomiki Rossii" (Remaking the Russian Economy: A Report Card), *Problemy teorii i praktiki upravleniia* (Problems in the theory and Practice of Management), No. 3, 1996, 40-44.
- "Strategiia dvykhsektornoii ekonomicheskoi transformatsii dlia Rossii"(A Two-Sector Economic

- Transformation Strategy for Russia), *Problemy teorii i praktiki upravleniia* (Problems in the theory and Practice of Management), No. 1, 1996, 32-36.
- "Lessons for a Future Socialism from the Soviet Collapse," *Review of Radical Political Economics*, vol. 27 no. 3, Sept., 1995, 1-11. Published in Russian translation as "Krakh sovetskoi systemy i uroki dlia budushchego sotsializma," *Al'ternativy* (Alternatives), No. 4, 1995, 25-37. Also published in Russian translation as "Krushenie gosudarstvennogo sotsializma b SSSR: uroki dlia budushchego sotsializma," *Problemy teorii i praktiki upravleniia* (Problems in the theory and Practice of Management), No. 6, 1995, 40-44.
- "Analyzing the Transformation of the Family," *Review of Radical Political Economics*, vol. 27, no. 2, June, 1995, 116-123.
- "New International Institutions and Renewed World Economic Expansion," coauthored with Terrence McDonough and Michael Reich, in *Social Structures of Accumulation: the Political Economy of Growth and Crisis*, edited by D. Kotz, T. McDonough, and M. Reich, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, 307-315.
- "Household Labor, Wage labor, and the Transformation of the Family," *Review of Radical Political Economics*, Vol. 26, no. 2, June, 1994, 24-56.
- "Al'ternativa 'shokovoi terapii': postepennyi reguliruemyi perekhod k pynochnoi ekonomike (An Alternative to Shock Therapy: Gradual Transition to the Market)," *Voprocy ekonomiki* (Problems of Economics), Moscow, December, 1992, 130-136.
- "The Transformation of the Economic Reform Process in the USSR," *Review of Radical Political Economics*, vol. 24, no. 2, 1992, 124-131.
- "The Direction of Soviet Economic Reform: From Socialist Reform to Capitalist Transition," *Monthly Review*, vol. 44, no. 4, September, 1992, 14-34.
- "Accumulation, Money, and Credit in the Circuit of Capital," *Rethinking Marxism*, vol. 4, no. 2, Summer 1991.
- "A Comparative Analysis of the Regulation Theory and the Social Structure of Accumulation Theory," *Science and Society*, v. 54 n. 1, spring 1990, 5-28. Published in Chinese in *Advanced Political Economics: The Newest Developments in Marxist Economics*, Beijing, Economic Science Press of China, 2002, ch. 17.
- "Long Waves and Social Structures of Accumulation: A Critique and Reinterpretation," *Review of Radical Political Economics*, v. 19 n. 4, 1987, 16-38.
- "Radical Theories of Inflation," in R. Cherry et.al. (eds.), *Imperiled Economy, Book I: Macroeconomics From A Left Perspective*, Union for Radical Political Economics, 1987, 83-91.
- "Market Failure: The Rationale for and Effects of Deregulation," in Sam Bowles and Lyuba Zarsky (eds.), *Economic Report of the People*, South End Press, 1986, 159-184.
- "The False Promise of Financial Deregulation," in U.S. Congress, House Committee on Banking, *How the Financial System Can Best Be Shaped to Meet the Needs of the American People: Hearings on H.R. 5734, 98th Congress, 2nd Session*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1984, 195-209.
- "Monopoly, Inflation, Economic Crisis," *Review of Radical Political Economics*, vol. 14 no. 4, Winter 1982-83, 1-17.
- "The Significance of Bank Control over Large Corporations," *Journal of Economic Issues*, vol. 13 no. 2, June 1979, 407-426. Reprinted in U.S. Congress, House Committee on Small Business, *Conglomerate Mergers -- Their Effects on Small Business and Local Communities*, 96th Congress, 2nd Session, Washington, D.C., 1980, 1029-1048.
- "Finance Capital and Corporate Control," in Richard Edwards, M. Reich, and T. Weisskopf (eds.), *The Capitalist System*, 2nd Edition, Prentice Hall, 1978, 147-158.
- "Inflation, Depression, and the Working Class," *Leviathan*, September 1969. Reprinted in Spanish in

*Imperialismo Hoy*. Ediciones Periferia S.R.L., Buenos Aires, 1971, 221-262.

### **Economic Policy Reports**

- "Economics for the 99%," with 10 coauthors, for the Center for Popular Economics, May 2012.
- "A Progressive Program for Economic Recovery and Financial Reconstruction," with 17 co-authors (primary author Gerald Epstein), for the Schwartz Center for Economic Policy Analysis and the Political Economy Research Institute, January 1, 2009.
- "The Racial Test Score Gap in the Northampton Public Schools," coauthored with Sevinc Rende, a report for the Northampton Public Schools, April, 2005.
- "The Record of Economic Transition" and "Sources and Features of the 'Uzbek Growth Puzzle'," chapters 1 and 2 of *Growth and Poverty Reduction in Uzbekistan*, a report by the United Nations Development Programme, coauthored with Giovanni Andrea Cornia, Terry McKinley, and Max Spoor, 2003.
- "A Program for Resolving the Economic Crisis in Russia," a report coauthored with Nicholas N. Kozlov and Lance Taylor, for the Roundtable of the Parliament, Government, and Main Political Forces of the Russian Federation, March, 1993.
- "Macroeconomic Policy Options for Russia," prepared for the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, January, 1993.

### **Short Articles, Op-Eds, and Reviews**

- "Plummeting Oil Prices Could Bring Radical Change to Russia. What Comes Next?," TheNation.com, <http://www.thenation.com/article/194081/plummeting-oil-prices-could-bring-radical-change-russia-what-comes-next#>, January 6, 2015.
- "Developed Economies are not Suffering from the Consequences of a Financial Crash, but from a Structural Crisis of Neoliberal Capitalism," EUROPP Blog, <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/>, November 10, 2014.
- "Acceptance Speech for the Marxian Economics Award [from the World Association for Political Economy], *World Review of Political Economy*, forthcoming.
- "Mississippi Freedom Summer – A Personal Account," Truthout (online journal), <http://truth-out.org/opinion/item/24860-mississippi-freedom-summer-a-personal-account>, July 9, 2014.
- "A Higher Minimum Wage Will Help the People it is Intended to Help," Center for Popular Economics Website, <http://www.populareconomics.org/blog/>, March 4, 2014.
- "Capitalism," in Stephen L. Schechter (ed.), *Encyclopedia of American Governance*, Macmillan, forthcoming 2014.
- "The Financial Crisis and the Real Economy," in Dollars and Sense, *Real World Banking and Finance*, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition, 2014, pp. 132-135.
- "Dialogue on Occupy Wall Street Movement between Sino-American Economists," with Cheng Enfu, David Laibman, James Craven, Yang Chengxun, and Zhang Xinning, *International Critical Thought*, v. 2 no. 4, December 2012, 419-430.
- Four encyclopedia entries: "Neoliberalism," "Neoliberalism as Public Policy," "The Great Recession of 2008," and "Social Structures of Accumulation," for *The Oxford Encyclopedia of American Business, Labor, and Economic History*, by Melvin Dubovsky (ed), forthcoming.
- "Neoliberalism: the Rebound," discussion with Gerard Dumenil and four others, in French in *Actuel Marx* No. 51, Paris: University Press of France, 2012, 12-26.
- "Art and Money," *Truthout* (online journal), <http://www.truth-out.org/art-and-money/1305314268>, June 4, 2011.
- Abstract of "The Demise of the Soviet Union and the International Socialist Movement," in Chinese in *Chinese Social Sciences Today*, May 5, 2011.

- "Ökonomische Restrukturierung: drei Wege aus der Krise [Economic Restructuring: Three Ways to Resolve the Crisis], in German translation, in *Luxemburg* No. 1, 2009.
- "Crisis and Neoliberal Capitalism," in *Dollars and Sense*, November-December 2008.
- "Shocked Disbelief: Greenspan's Admission," Truthout, <http://www.truth-out.org/>, Nov. 2, 2008.
- "Ownership, Property Rights, and Economic Performance: Theory and Practice in the USA," in Chinese in *Comparative Economic and Social Systems*, No. 3, 2008, 10-14.
- "The State of Official Marxism in China Today," *Monthly Review*, vol. 59 no. 4, September 2007, 58-63.
- "The Capital-Labor Relation: Contemporary Character and Prospects for Change," in Chinese in *Economic Study of Shanghai School*, vol. 20, 2007, 9-14.
- "Hurricane Katrina and the American State," in Russian in *Alternatives*, No. 4, 2005, 175-180.
- "The Social Structure of Accumulation Theory and Problems of Contemporary Capitalism," in Chinese in *Foreign Theoretical Trends*, February 2005, 17-20.
- Review of *Building Capitalism: The Transformation of the Former Soviet Bloc*, by Anders Aslund, *Slavic Review*, vol. 62 no. 1, spring 2003, 147-148.
- "Response to George DeMartino's Comment on 'Globalization and Neoliberalism'," *Rethinking Marxism*, vol. 14 no. 4, 2002.
- "Is Russia Becoming Capitalist? Reply," reply to "Is Russia Becoming Capitalist? Comment," by David Laibman, *Science and Society*, vol. 66 no. 3, fall 2002, 388-393.
- Comment on "Democratic Coordination: Toward a Working Socialism for the New Century," by David Laibman, *Science and Society*, vol. 66 no. 1, spring 2002, 132-134.
- Comment on "In Defense of Participatory Economics," by Michael Albert and Robin Hahnel, *Science and Society*, vol. 66 no. 1, spring 2002, 22-24.
- "Reply to Comments on 'Socialism and Innovation,'" *Science and Society*, vol. 66 no. 1, spring 2002, 114-115.
- "The Rule of Law and Russia's Economic Predicament," Op-ed in *The Moscow Times*, January 30, 2001, 14.
- "The Russian Money Laundering Scandal," Op-ed for Knight-Ridder/Tribune Information Services, September 27, 1999.
- "Capitalist Collapse: How Russia Can Recover," *Dollars and Sense*, November/December, 1998, 10-11, 39. Also published in Turkish in *Ozgur University Forum*, January, 1999, 96-100.
- "Russia Needs a Change in Direction," Op-ed for Knight-Ridder/Tribune Information Services, September 2, 1998.
- Review of *Reinventing Marxism*, by Howard J. Sherman, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995, for *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, September, 1997.
- "Why Did the USSR Fail?" with Fred Weir, *Dollars and Sense*, July/August, 1997, 22-26.
- "Shock Therapy in Russia," with Fred Weir, *Bankcheck*, September, 1996, 4-6. "Rossii ne trebuetsia inostrannoe finansirovanie" (Russia Does Not Need Foreign Financing), *Pravda*, June 25, 1996, 1.
- "The Economic Program of Gennadi Zyuganov," *Moscow Tribune*, June 14, 1996, 7.
- "Russia's New Economic Plan: End of the Market Romance," *The Nation*, February 28, 1994, 263-265.
- "How Capitalist Shock Therapy is Destroying Russia's Economy," *Dollars and Sense*, June, 1993, 9-11, 17.
- "Shock Therapy in Russia: the Cure that Could Kill," *The Nation*, April 19, 1993, 514-516.
- "No More Radical Reform," Op-ed piece in *The New York Times*, December 15, 1992.
- Review of *The Business Cycle: Growth and Crisis under Capitalism*, by Howard J. Sherman, Princeton University Press, 1991, for *Journal of Economic Literature*, vol. 30, September, 1992, 1511-1512.

- "The Gulf War and U.S. Business Interests," with Mehrene Larudee, *In These Times*, v. 15 n. 16, 1991, 17.
- "Is Socialism Dead?" *In These Times*, v. 14 n. 16, 1990, 17.
- "Supply Side or Demand Side Expansion?" *In These Times*, v. 13 n. 33, 1989, 17.
- "Defending Full Employment," *Dollars and Sense*, No. 148, July/August, 1989, 16-17.
- "The Savings and Loan Crisis," *In These Times*, v. 13 n. 31, 1989, 20-21.
- "Budget Deficit: Real or Illusory?" *In These Times*, v. 13 n. 14, 1989, 17.
- "The Making of Europe, Inc.," with Ilene Grabel, *In These Times*, v. 13 n. 5, 1988, 16.
- "The Economic Program of Michael Dukakis," *In These Times*, v. 12 n. 40, 1988, 17.
- "Corporatist Vision Fills Economic Void," *In These Times*, v. 12 n. 39, 1988, 16.
- "Lessons of the Crash," *In These Times*, v. 12 n. 30, 1988, 16.
- "What Caused the October Market Crash?" *In These Times*, v. 12 n. 28, 1988, 16.
- "The New Overwork," *In These Times*, v. 12 n. 15, 1988, 17.
- Review of *The Power Structure of American Business*, by Beth Mintz and Michael Schwartz, *Science and Society*, v. 51 n. 1, 1987, 118-121.
- "The Road to Full Employment," *In These Times*, v. 12 n. 1, 1987, 17.
- "High Unemployment in the US Assures High Profits," *In These Times*, v. 11 n. 38, 1987, 17.
- "The Current Merger Wave," *In These Times*, v. 11 n. 23, 1987, 17, and v. 11 n. 27, 1987, 17.
- "The Many Causes of the Trade Deficit," *In These Times*, v. 11 n. 17, 1987, 17.
- "What to do About the Budget Deficit?" *In These Times*, v. 11 n. 11, 1987, 17.
- "Bank Deregulation in the United States," *The Mainichi Shimbun* (Tokyo), December 16, 1986, 28-35.
- "How Many Billionaires Are Enough?" Op-ed in *The New York Times*, October 19, 1986, F3.
- "Inequality and the Free Market," *In These Times*, v. 11 n. 4, 1986, 16.
- "The Broken Promise of Financial Deregulation," *In These Times*, v. 10 n. 40, 1986, 11.
- "Reaganomics: Failing in its Own Terms," *In These Times*, v. 10 n. 34, 1986, 12.
- "Reply to John Bellamy Foster, 'Monopoly Capital Theory and Stagflation: A Comment,'" *Review of Radical Political Economics*, v. 17 n. 1-2, 1985, 226-229.
- Review of *Corporate Profits and Cooptation*, by Ronald S. Burt, in *Journal of Economic Literature*, vol. 23, Sept. 1985, 1238-1239.
- Review of *Dangerous Currents: The State of Economics*, by Lester Thurow, in *In These Times*, July 13-26, 1983, 19-20.
- "A Jobs Program to Rebuild the U.S. and Expand Democracy," *In These Times*, March 9-22, 1983, 16-17.
- "The Nation's Banking System Needs Popular Control," *Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 18, 1982, Part II, 7.
- Review of *Corporate Control, Corporate Power*, by Edward S. Herman, in *Journal of Economic Literature*, vol. 20, March 1982, 124-126.
- "The High Cost of Deregulation," co-authored with Steven Shulman for the Popular Economics Research Group, published in *The Progressive*, vol. 45 no. 4, April 1981, 31-33. Reprinted in Peter D. McClellan (ed.), *Introductory Macroeconomics 1981-82: Readings on Contemporary Issues*, Cornell University Press, 1981, 139-141.
- "Reply to Edward Herman," *Monthly Review*, vol. 32 no. 9, February 1981, 57-60.
- "Bankruptcy or Bail-out? A Poll of Experts," *Saturday Review*, January 19, 1980, 31. (Comment on the Chrysler loan guarantee.)
- "Oil: Should the Government Control the Tap? Yes: Nationalization is the Answer," co-authored with Samuel Bowles, *Los Angeles Times*, Sunday Opinion Section, May 27, 1979, 1, 6. Reprinted in *Current*, July/August 1979, 3-7; and *Newsday*, June 28, 1979, 85, 88.
- Review of *The Dollar Barons*, by Christopher Elias, in *The Guardian* (New York), June 5, 1974, 18.



### **Selected Papers and Presentations**

- “Applying Social Structure of Accumulation Theory to China’s Economic Evolution,” at conference on Mathematical Political Economy and Social Structure of Accumulation Theory, School of Economics, Shanghai University of Finance and Economics, December 14, 2014.
- “Social Structure of Accumulation Theory and Ecology,” at conference on Mathematical Political Economy and Social Structure of Accumulation Theory, School of Economics, Shanghai University of Finance and Economics, December 14, 2014.
- “An Assessment of the Mixed Ownership Form of Enterprise,” at a conference “2014 Forum on China’s State-Owned Enterprise Development” sponsored by the China Center for Public Sector Economy Research, Beijing, December 13, 2014.
- “Roots of the Current Economic Crisis: Capitalism, Forms of Capitalism, Policies, and Contingent Events,” at a workshop on “The Great Meltdown of 2008: Systemic, Conjunctural, or Policy-Created,” Izmir University of Economics, Izmir, Turkey, October 14, 2014; and at the Political Economy Workshop, University of Massachusetts Amherst, November 4, 2014; and at a session sponsored by the Union for Radical Political Economics at the Allied Social Science Associations convention, Boston, January 5, 2015.
- “Neoliberal Capitalism and the Economic Crisis of 2008: A Social Structure of Accumulation Approach,” Institute of Philosophy of the Vietnamese Academy of Social Sciences, Hanoi, May 27, 2014.
- “The Demise of the Soviet Union: Lessons for Today,” Institute of Philosophy of the Vietnamese Academy of Social Sciences, Hanoi, May 27, 2014.
- “The Social Structure of Accumulation Theory and the Current Economic Crisis,” at conference of the Chinese Association for Evolutionary Economics, Renmin University, Beijing, May 17, 2014.
- “Capitalism, Economic Crisis, and Socialism: The Possibility of Transition to Socialism in the Developed Capitalist Countries,” Southwest University of Finance and Economics, Chengdu, May 6, 2014; the Ninth Forum of the World Association for Political Economy: Growth, Development, and Social Justice, Hanoi, May 25, 2014; and at the School of Economics, Jilin University, Changchun, China, December 12, 2014.
- “The Evolution of China’s Socioeconomic System: Lessons for a Future Socialism,” at Conference on Socialism: After the U.S.-China Economic Convergence, Brown University, April 29, 2014.
- “What Happened to Chinese Socialism?,” Marxism Research Center, Athens, April 15, 2014.
- “Russia Today and the Ukraine Crisis,” public lecture sponsored by Freedom and Democracy Party, Istanbul, April 11, 2014.
- “The Rise of Neoliberal Capitalism,” Revised Version, Bogazici University School of Economics, Istanbul, April 10, 2014.
- “Understanding Post-1980 Capitalism,” Revised Version, Marmara University School of Economics, Istanbul, April 9, 2014.
- “Can China’s Rise Continue,” Revised Version, Kadir Has University Department of Economics, March 26, 2014; and at Shanghai University of Finance and Economics, May 21, 2014.
- “Mao Zedong and China’s Rise,” at conference on Mao Zedong, School of Marxism of Renmin University, November 29, 2013.
- “Can China’s Rise Continue?,” at Fujian Normal University, Fuzhou, China, November 25, 2013; at Tsinghua University, Beijing, November 27, 2013; at Renmin University, Beijing, November 29, 2013; at the Graduate School of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, December 3, 2013; at Shandong University, Jinan, China, December 6, 2013; at the School of Marxism of Peking University, Beijing, December 11, 2013; and at the School of

- Economics, Jilin University, Changchun, China, December 11, 2014.
- “The Current Financial and Economic Crisis and the Prospects for the Socialist Movement,” revised version, at Fujian Normal University, Fuzhou, China, November 25, 2013.
- “The Social Structure of Accumulation Theory and Marxism,” at conference on “Mathematical Approaches in Marxist Economics” at the Shanghai University of Finance and Economics, November 23, 2013.
- “Contemporary Marxism and its Future in the USA,” at conference on “Mathematical Approaches in Marxist Economics” at the Shanghai University of Finance and Economics, November 23, 2013; and at Shandong University Weihei Branch, Weihei, China, December 9, 2013.
- “The Rise of Neoliberal Capitalism: Why Did Capitalism Change its Form around 1980?,” University of Massachusetts Political Economy Workshop, October 28, 2013; at Shandong University, Jinan, China, December 5, 2013.
- “Understanding Post-1980 Capitalism: A Social Structure of Accumulation Approach,” Special Lecture at World Keynes Conference “Attacking the Citadel: Making Economics Fit for the Purpose,” Izmir University of Economics, Izmir, Turkey, June 28, 2013; and at conference “Socialism and the World Today,” Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, November 16, 2013..
- “Stagnation in Global Capitalism: The Roots of Slow Growth and Persistent High Unemployment,” Shanghai University of Finance and Economics,” June 13, 2013; and Fujian Normal University, Fuzhou, China, November 26, 2013.
- “Tax Cuts and Conservative Economic Policy in the US,” at Zhejiang College, Jinhua, China, June 4, 2013.
- “Marxist Political Economy in the USA Today,” at Seminar “Political Economy and Economic Policy,” at the Institute of Economics of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, March 22, 2013.
- “The State of the Left Movement in the United States,” at International Meeting “Social Forums, North-South Dialogue, and Lefts: West-Russia,” Moscow, March 22, 2013.
- “Problems of Russia’s Resource Export Dependent Economy,” at the Moscow Economic Forum, Moscow, March 20, 2013; and at the Moscow Commercial University, March 22, 2013.
- “A Circuit of Capital Approach to Explaining the Current Economic Crisis,” paper presented at Second International Congress on the Economy: Economic Growth, Monetary Policy, and the Financial System, Autonomous University of Puebla, Mexico, November 9, 2012.
- “The Relevance and Future of Progressive Visions of a Better Society,” at the New School-UMass Economics Graduate Student Workshop, Nov. 4, 2012.
- “The Current Crisis: Character, Cause, Resolution,” paper prepared (not presented in person) for round table discussion of theories of the current crisis at the Union for Radical Political Economics Summer Conference, High Fall, NY, August 10-13, 2012.
- “The Current Economic Crisis in the U.S.: A Crisis of Over-Investment,” revised version, conference on “Political Economy and the Outlook for Capitalism,” sponsored by the Association for Heterodox Economics, the French Association of Political Economy, and the International Initiative for Promoting Political Economy, Paris, July 7, 2012; and at a session sponsored by the Union for Radical Political Economics at the Allied Social Sciences Associations Convention in San Diego, January 5, 2013.
- “The Rate of Profit, the Circuit of Capital, and Economic Crisis,” a keynote presentation at the 7th Forum of the World Association for Political Economy, at the Autonomous Metropolitan University-Xochimilco Campus, Mexico City, May 26, 2012.
- “Problems of China’s Economic Development,” School of Economics, University of Technology and Business, Chongqing, China, May 17, 2012.
- “The World Bank-Development Research Center Report on China of April 2012: Good Advice or

- Bad Advice?," Beijing Normal University, May 9, 2012, and at Marxist Student Association, Tsinghua University, May 9, 2012, and at the School of Economics at the Shanghai University of Finance and Economics, May 11, 2012
- "The Return of Pre-Keynesian Economics in the Form of Austerity Policy," School of Marxism, Tsinghua University, May 8, 2012.
- "The Social Structure of Accumulation Theory and Economic Crises in Capitalist Economies," Beijing Institute of Technology, May 7, 2012, and at the School of Economics, Southwestern University of Finance and Economics, Chengdu, China, May 15, 2012.
- "The Current Financial and Economic Crisis: a Structural Crisis of Neoliberal Capitalism," updated version, Economics Department, University of New Hampshire, April 6, 2012.
- "Recent Developments in Marxist Political Economy in the West," at the Shanghai University of Finance and Economics, December 21, 2011.
- "The Impact of the Current Financial and Economic Crisis," at the School of Marxism at Wuhan University, December 19, 2011.
- "Origins of the Occupy Wall St. Movement and its Potential Impact," at Fudan University, December 15, 2011; at Shanghai Finance University, December 20, 2011, at the Shanghai University of Finance and Economics, December 20, 2011, and at the Left Forum, New York City, March 17, 2012.
- "The Current Economic Crisis in the U.S.: A Crisis of Over-Investment," at the Third Triennial Research Conference of the International Confederation of Associations for Pluralism in Economics (ICAPE) at the University of Massachusetts Amherst, November 12, 2011.
- "Twenty Years after the Demise of the Soviet Union: Lessons for the Future," at international conference on "Twenty Years without the USSR" sponsored by the Russian Academy of Sciences, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, and the journal *Alternatives*, Moscow, November 7, 2011; and at the Shanghai University of Finance and Economics, December 14, 2011, and at the School of Economics, Southwestern University of Finance and Economics, Chengdu, China, May 15, 2012; and at Shanghai Maritime University, June 5, 2013.
- "Social Structures of Accumulation, the Rate of Profit, and Economic Crises," at "Capitalism on Trial: A Conference in Honor of Thomas E. Weisskopf," Political Economy Research Institute, University of Massachusetts Amherst, October 1, 2011
- "Economic Consequences of the September 11 2001 Attacks," at panel "After the Towers Fell: A September 11 Retrospective," University of Massachusetts Amherst, September 11, 2011.
- "Over-Investment and the Economic Crisis of 2008," at a conference on "Responses to Capitalist Crisis: Neoliberalism and Beyond," Sixth Forum of the World Association for Political Economy, University of Massachusetts Amherst, May 28, 2011.
- "The Current Financial and Economic Crisis and the Prospects for the Socialist Movement," at conference "New Global Order and International Critical Thought," Beijing, April 24, 2011, and at the Political Economy Workshop, University of Massachusetts Amherst, September 20, 2011.
- "The Demise of the Soviet Union and the International Socialist Movement Today," at the Institute of Marxism, Peking University, Beijing, April 22, 2011, and at "International Symposium on the 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Collapse of the Soviet Union," sponsored by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, April 23, 2011.
- "The Shift from Bailouts to Fiscal Austerity," Left Forum, New York City, March 19, 2011.
- "The Rate of Profit, Aggregate Demand, and the Current Economic Crisis in the U.S.: An Over-Investment Interpretation of the Crisis," at a session sponsored by the Union for Radical Political Economics at the Allied Social Sciences Associations Convention in Denver, January 7, 2011.

- "Marxist Political Economy: Past and Future," keynote address at founding of Political Economy Department at Shanghai University of Finance and Economics, December 19, 2010.
- "China's Dependence on Exports," Shanghai University of Finance and Economics, Dec. 17, 2010.
- "The Recent Return of Pre-Keynesian Economic Theory and Policy Proposals," Shanghai University of Finance and Economics, Dec. 16, 2010.
- "Structural Crisis or Great Recession: Marxist Crisis Theory and the Current Economic Crisis," Shanghai University of Finance and Economics, Dec. 16, 2010
- "The Role of Economic Crises in Changing the Dominant Economic Ideas: The Case of the Current Economic Crisis," public lecture sponsored by the Freedom and Solidarity Institute, Istanbul, June 25, 2010.
- "China's Growth Path, the Global Economy, and the Economic Crisis," at International Conference on China's Economy and the World Recovery from the Financial Crisis, School of Economics, Beijing Technology and Business University, June 5, 2010
- "Markets, Planning, and Socialism," at Tsinghua University, Beijing, June 4, 2010.
- "Globalization or Imperialism?: Understanding the Contemporary Global System and the U.S. Role in that System," at Tsinghua University, Beijing, June 3, 2010.
- "The Reappearance of Keynesian Ideas and Policies in the U.S.: Temporary Response to the Crisis or Serious Rethinking of Economic Theory?," at the Shanghai University of Finance and Economics, Shanghai, May 27, 2010
- "Marxist Political Economy vs. Neoclassical Economics: Which Theory Helps to Understand Contemporary Economic Problems?," at the Shanghai University of Finance and Economics, Shanghai, May 26, 2010; and at the Beijing Institute of Technology, June 2, 2010.
- "Structural Crisis or Great Recession," University of Massachusetts Amherst Political Economy Workshop, April 27, 2010; and Capital Normal University, Beijing, June 1, 2010.
- "Lenin's book *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* and Imperialism Today," 140<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Conference on Lenin, Moscow, April 24, 2010.
- "Lenin's Legacy and the Problem of Premature Revolution," 140<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Conference on Lenin, Moscow, April 23, 2010.
- "The Current Financial and Economic Crisis: A Structural Crisis of Neoliberal Capitalism," (updated version of lecture listed below on March 31, 2009) at Moscow Academy of Finance and Law, April 21, 2010; and at Moscow State University Department of Political Economy, April 22, 2010.
- "Who Destroyed the Economy and What Should Be Done about It?," Deerfield Progressive Forum, Deerfield Beach, FL, January 30, 2010.
- "Marxist Crisis Theory and the Severity of the Current Economic Crisis," at a session sponsored by the Union for Radical Political Economics at the Allied Social Sciences Associations Convention in Atlanta, January 4, 2010; at the Left Forum, New York City, March 20, 2010; and at the Fifth Forum of the World Association for Political Economy, Suzhou, China, May 29, 2010.
- "The Real Estate Crisis, Private Property, and the Prospects of Planning," at forum "Ten Days for Oppositional Architecture: Towards Post-Capitalist Spaces," New York City, November 14, 2009.
- "The Current Crisis of Capitalism and Marxist Crisis Theory," New Marxian Times Conference, Amherst, November 7, 2009
- "The Relevance of Hilferding's *Das Finanzkapital* Today," at panel on "Roundtable on Financial Capitalism: The Legacy of Rudolf Hilferding's *Das Finanzkapital*," New Marxian Times conference, Amherst, November 6, 2009.
- "The Sixtieth Anniversary of the People's Republic of China: Accomplishments and Problems,"

- sponsored by the Chinese Students' Association, University of Massachusetts Amherst, October 2, 2009.
- "Marxist Crisis Theory and the Current Economic Crisis," School of Marxism, Renmin University, Beijing, May 21, 2009.
- "A Reinterpretation of SSA Theory," Academy of Marxism, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, May 19, 2009.
- "The Current Financial and Economic Crisis," five serial lectures, Shanghai University of Finance and Economics, May 11-15, 2009.
- "Reform vs. Radical Transformation in the Context of Today's Economic Crisis," Left Forum, New York City, April 19, 2009.
- "What Can We Learn from Marx's *Capital* Volume I?," Economics Department, Hyderabad University, India, April 3, 2009.
- "Lessons of the Demise of the Soviet Union," Economics Department, Hyderabad University, India, April 2, 2009; and at Zhejiang Science and Technology University, Hangzhou, China, May 12, 2009.
- "A Reconceptualization of SSA Theory in Light of Neoliberalism," Economics Department, Hyderabad University, India, April 1, 2009.
- "The Current Financial and Economic Crisis: A Systemic Crisis of Neoliberal Capitalism," University Distinguished Lecture, Hyderabad University, India, March 31, 2009; at Fudan University, Shanghai, May 13, 2009; at Shanghai Finance University, May 14, 2009; at Shanghai University of Finance and Economics, May 15, 2009; at conference on Neoliberalism and the Global Financial Crisis at Shandong University, Jinan, China, May 18, 2009; at Tsinghua University, Beijing, May 20, 2009; at Central Compilation and Translation Bureau, Beijing, May 22, 2009; at Peking University, May 22, 2009; at Utopia Bookstore, Beijing, May 23, 2009; at the Fourth Forum of the World Association for Political Economy, Paris, May 28, 2009; and at a conference on the Financial Crisis sponsored by the Union for Radical Political Economics at St. Francis College, Brooklyn, October 24, 2009.
- "The Financial/Economic Crisis and the Opportunities for the Left," Hyderabad Journalists Hall, Hyderabad, India, March 29, 2009.
- "The Financial and Economic Crisis of 2008: A Systemic Crisis of Neoliberal Capitalism," at a session sponsored by the Union for Radical Political Economics at the Allied Social Sciences Associations Convention in San Francisco, January 4, 2009; at the Political Economy Workshop, University of Massachusetts Amherst, Feb. 24, 2009; and at the Left Forum, New York City, April 19, 2009.
- "The Financial Crisis and the Labor Movement," Jobs for Justice meeting, Greenfield, MA, Oct. 23, 2008.
- "The Political Economy of the Putin Era: Has Russia Moved toward State Capitalism? (revised version)," Ministry of Education, Beijing, May 29, 2008.
- "The Emerging Financial Crisis in the U.S. Economy: Causes and Effects," Ministry of Education, Beijing, May 29, 2008; and at Tsinghua University, Beijing, May 31, 2008.
- "Origins and Effects of Neoliberalism (revised version)," Tsinghua University, Beijing, May 28, 2008.
- "Marxist Political Economy for the Contemporary World," at Academy of Marxism, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, May 26, 2008; and at the Central Compilation and Translation Bureau, Beijing, May 27, 2008.
- "What Economic Structure for Socialism?" International Conference on "Karl Marx and the Challenges of the XXI Century," Havana, May 6, 2008; and at conference on "Marxism and sustainable Development," sponsored by the World Association for Political Economy, Langfang City, China, May 24, 2008.

- "Neoliberalism and Financialization," at conference in honor of Jane D'Arista, Political Economy Research Institute, May 2, 2008.
- "The Future of Socialism," Deerfield Progressive Forum, Deerfield Beach, FL, January 12, 2008.
- "The Capital-Labor Relation: Contemporary Character and Prospects for Change," at the Second Forum of the World Association for Political Economy on "The Political Economy of the Contemporary Relationship between Capital and Labor in the World," University of Shimane, Hamada, Japan, October 27, 2007.
- "Economic Crises and Institutional Structures: A Comparison of Regulated and Neoliberal Capitalism in the U.S.," at conference on "Rebellious Macroeconomics: Marx, Keynes and Crotty," University of Massachusetts Amherst, October 20, 2007.
- "Marxist Political Economy for the Contemporary World," at the Political Economy Program at the National Autonomous University of Mexico, May 25, 2007.
- "Liberal and Regulated Forms of Capitalism: Explaining the Evolution of Capitalist Institutional Structures," at the Political Economy Program at the National Autonomous University of Mexico, May 22, 2007.
- "Social Structures of Accumulation and the Rate of Capital Accumulation: A Revised Understanding of the SSA Theory," at the University of Massachusetts Political Economy Workshop, May 7, 2007; and at a conference on "Economic Pluralism for the Twenty-First Century," sponsored by the International Confederation of Associations for Pluralism in Economics, Salt Lake City, June 1, 2007.
- "The Political Economy of the Putin Era: Has Russia Moved toward State Capitalism?" at conference on "Lessons of the USSR and the Future of Russia, at the Russian State Library, Moscow, April 19, 2007.
- "Eight Years of Economic Expansion in Russia: Economic Growth vs. Economic Health," at the Russian State Railway University, Moscow, April 18, 2007.
- "Crisis Tendencies in Two Regimes: A Comparison of Regulated and Neoliberal Capitalism in the U.S.," at a session sponsored by the Union for Radical Political Economics at the Allied Social Sciences Associations Convention in Chicago, January 6, 2007.
- "Ownership, Property Rights, and Economic Performance: Theory and Practice in the USA and other Countries," at international conference on "Ownership and Property Rights: Theory and Practice," at the Institute of World Socialism of the Central Compilation and Translation Bureau, Beijing, November 13, 2006.
- "Institutional Structure or Social Structure of Accumulation?" at conference on "Growth and Crises: Social Structure of Accumulation Theory and Analysis," National University of Ireland, Galway, November 3, 2006.
- "Post Soviet Russia," Tsinghua University, Beijing, October 19, 2006.
- "The Origins and Effects of Neoliberalism," keynote speech at annual conference of the Chinese Foreign Economics Research Society, Beijing, October 14, 2006.
- "The Soviet Union and its Demise," Tsinghua University, Beijing, October 13, 2006.
- "Research, Education, and New Developments in Marxism in the USA," Marxism Research Center, Tsinghua University, Beijing, October 12, 2006.
- "Neoliberalism in the U.S., Russia, and China," Chinese Social Sciences Journal, Beijing, October 12, 2006.
- "The Iraq War and the New US Imperialism" (Revised Version 2006), Marxism Research Center, Tsinghua University, Beijing, October 11, 2006; Central Compilation and Translation Bureau, Beijing, October 17, 2006; and Academy of Marxism, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, October 17, 2006.
- "Marxist Economics for the Contemporary World," Shandong University, Jinan, China, September 23, 2006.

- "Roots of the Recent U.S. Assertion of Power in the World" (Revised Version 2006), Shandong University, Jinan, China, September 21, 2006; and at Weihei branch of Shandong University, Weihei, China, September 25.
- "Roots of the Neoliberal Model: Why Has An Older Form of Capitalism Returned?" at Shandong University, Jinan, China, September 19, 2006.
- "Russia: Past, Present, Future," Deerfield Progressive Forum, Deerfield Beach, FL, March 18, 2006.
- "Markets and Socialism in China," at a session on "Marxist Views of China's Contemporary Development," at the Left Forum, New York City, March 12, 2006; and at the Political Economy Program at the National Autonomous University of Mexico, May 24, 2007..
- "Contradictions of Economic Growth in the Neoliberal Era: Accumulation and Crisis in the Contemporary U.S. Economy," at a session sponsored by the Union for Radical Political Economics at the Allied Social Sciences Associations Convention, Boston, January 8, 2006; at International Conference on "Economic Globalization and Modern Marxist Economics," Shanghai, China, April 2, 2006; and at the Political Economy Workshop, University of Massachusetts Economics Department, May 9, 2006.
- "The Impact of Hurrican Katrina on U.S. Politics," at International Conference on "The Economic Role of the State in Russia," Sochi, Russia, October 2, 2005.
- "The Role of the State in Economic Transformation: Comparing the Transition Experiences of Russia and China" (Revised Version 2005), at International Conference on "The Economic Role of the State in Russia," Sochi, Russia, October 1, 2005; and at Shandong University, Jinan, China, September 29, 2006; and at the Political Economy Program at the National Autonomous University of Mexico, May 23, 2007.
- "An Approach to Marxist Political Economy, at the Political Economy Workshop," University of Massachusetts Amherst Economics Department, September 20, 2006.
- "The Social Structure of Accumulation Theory and Problems of Contemporary Capitalism, at Central Compilation and Translation Bureau, Beijing, November 24, 2004 (published in Chinese from presentation, in *Foreign Theoretical Trends*, February, 2005, 17-20).
- "Lessons from the Demise of the Soviet System," at Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, November 23, 2004; and at Central University for Nationalities, Beijing, October 19, 2006.
- "Twenty-Five Years of Neoliberalism: What are the Lessons?" at Peking University, Beijing, November 21, 2004.
- "Roots of the Recent U.S. Assertion of Power in the World," at Tsinghua University, Beijing, November 19, 2004; and at Chinese Ministry of Education, November 20, 2004.
- "The Role of the State in Economic Transformation: Comparing the Transition Experiences of Russia and China," at Conference on "Comparison of Economic and Social Development of China and Russia -- Political Reform and Social Stability," Nanjing Normal University, Nanjing, November 17, 2004; at Nanjing University, Nanjing, November 18, 2004; at Tsinghua University, Beijing, November 19, 2004; at Chinese Ministry of Education, Beijing, November 20, 2004; at Peking University, Beijing, November 22, 2004; at Political Economy Workshop, University of Massachusetts Amherst Economics Department, April 5, 2005; and at Conference in Honor of John Roemer, Amherst, May 6, 2005.
- "Neoliberalism and the Social Structure of Accumulation Theory of Long-Run Capital Accumulation," at Shanghai University of Finance and Economics, November 14, 2004.
- "The Iraq War and the New U.S. Imperialism," Voronezh Social Forum, at the Voronezh State Agricultural Institute, Voronezh, Russia, June 12, 2004.
- "Five Years of Economic Expansion in Russia: Has the Problem of Transition Been Solved?," at International Symposium on "Economic Theory: Historical Roots, Contemporary State and Perspectives on Development," at Moscow State University, June 10, 2004.
- "The Impact of Liberal Economic Policies on Education and Research in Russia," at conference on

- "Theoretical and Practical Problems of Humanism in the Twenty-First Century," sponsored by the Russian Academy of Sciences and the Russian State Library, Moscow, June 3, 2004.
- "The 'Uzbek Growth Puzzle' and the Washington Consensus," at the Allied Social Science Associations Convention, San Diego, January 3, 2004.
- "The New U.S. Imperialism," at Conference on Marxism and the World Stage, University of Massachusetts Amherst, November 8, 2003; and at Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), Russian Academy of Sciences, June 3, 2004; and at the Moscow Social Forum, at Moscow State Humanities University, June 5, 2004.
- "Socialism and Global Neoliberal Capitalism," at conference on "The Works of Karl Marx and the Challenges of the XXI Century," Havana, May 6, 2003.
- "The Economic Policies of the Bush Administration," at the Socialist Scholars Conference, New York, March 14, 2003.
- "Neoliberalism and the Social Structure of Accumulation Theory of Long-Run Capital Accumulation," at Allied Social Sciences Associations Annual Convention, January 3, 2003.
- "Neoliberalism and the U.S. Economy in the 1990s," History Department, Moscow State Pedagogical University, May 27, 2002.
- "The Neoliberal Global Order and the Anti-Corporate Globalization Movement," Alternatives Foundation, Mayakovsky Museum, Moscow, May 27, 2002.
- "The Free Market System: Myth versus Reality," Magnitogorsk State University, Magnitogorsk, Russia, May 24, 2002.
- "Prospects for the Development of Russian Industry: the Neoliberal versus the Development State Strategy," Magnitogorsk State University, Magnitogorsk, Russia, May 23, 2002.
- "The U.S. Economy in 1995-2000: A Neoliberal Success Story?," at Allied Social Sciences Associations Annual Convention, Atlanta, January 4, 2002.
- "Innovation in a Democratic, Participatory Socialist Economy," at the Columbia University Seminar on Political Economy and Contemporary Social Issues, December 20, 2001.
- "The Purpose of Models of Democratic Planned Socialism," at Summer Conference of Union for Radical Political Economics, Bantam, CT, August 20, 2001.
- "Life in the Transition Economies," at Summer Conference of Union for Radical Political Economics, Bantam, CT, August 20, 2001.
- "Ten Years after the Demise of the Soviet Union: the Prospects for Socialism," at conference "The Causes of the Dismantling of the USSR and the Destiny of Socialism," St. Petersburg, Russia, June 27, 2001.
- "Prospects for Science and Technology in Russia," at conference "The Scientific and Cultural Potential of Russia and its Destiny in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century," St. Petersburg, Russia, June 26, 2001.
- "The Demise of the Soviet Union in Light of Recent World Experience," at plenary session of conference "The Disintegration of the USSR: Ten Years after," at the Russian State Library, Moscow, June 21, 2001.
- "Corporate Power and the Role of Unions: The 'New Economy' in Historical Perspective," with Marty Wolfson, at the UALE/AFL-CIO Conference, Boston, April 27, 2001.
- "Understanding the U.S. Economic Expansion of 1991-2000," at the Socialist Scholars Conference, New York, April 14, 2001.
- "The New Economy: A Critique," at the Socialist Scholars Conference, New York, April 14, 2001.
- "Russia in the New Millenium," at the Deerfield Progressive Forum, Deerfield Beach, FL, March 24, 2001.
- "Social Structures of Accumulation and U.S. Economic Performance in the 1990s," at the Economics Department, People's University, Beijing, May 19, 2000; and at the Economics Department, Nankai University, Tianjin, May 19, 2000.



- "Contemporary Socialist Movements," at Capital City Normal University, Beijing, May 18, 2000.
- "Neoliberalism, New Technologies, and the U.S. Economy in the 1990s," at the Humanities and Social Sciences School, Tsinghua University, Beijing, May 17, 2000; at Capital City Normal University, Beijing, May 18, 2000; at Beijing University, May 18, 2000; and at the Ministry of Education, Beijing, May 20, 2000.
- "The Demise of the Soviet Union and Russia's Economic Disaster," at the Economics Department, People's University, Beijing, May 16, 2000; at the Humanities and Social Sciences School, Tsinghua University, Beijing, May 17, 2000; and at the Ministry of Education, Beijing, May 20, 2000.
- "Innovation and Socialism," at the Socialist Scholars Conference, New York City, April 1, 2000.
- "Neoliberalism and Inequality in Wealth and Health," at conference Dying for Growth: Global Inequality and the Health of the Poor, sponsored by the Institute for Health and Social Justice, Boston, March 11, 2000.
- "Globalization and Neoliberalism," at Allied Social Science Associations annual convention, Boston, January 7, 2000; and at Marxism 2000 Conference, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, September 22, 2000.
- "Is Russia Becoming Capitalist?" at conference on Socioeconomic Transformation in Russia, Moscow State University, Nov. 2, 1999.
- "Globalization, the State, and Phases of Capitalist Development," at conference on Global Capitalism, sponsored by Scholars for Democracy and Socialism, Moscow, Nov. 1, 1999.
- "The U.S. Economy is in Great Shape, Right?," at Center for Popular Economics Summer Institute, Amherst, MA July 25, 1999.
- "The Marketization of the Russian Economy," at the Socialist Scholars conference, New York, April 11, 1999.
- "Understanding Today's Russia," at the Deerfield Progressive Forum, Deerfield Beach, FL, March 13, 1999.
- "Socialism and Capitalism: Lessons from the Demise of State Socialism in the Soviet Union and China," at Festschrift in honor of Howard J. Sherman, University of California at Riverside, Riverside, CA, February 13, 1999.
- "Is Russia Becoming Capitalist?," at the Allied Social Science Associations Convention, New York, January 5, 1999.
- "Neoliberalism and the Reproduction of Capitalism," at the Allied Social Science Associations Convention, New York, January 4, 1999, and at the Political Economy Workshop, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, December 8, 1998.
- "Russia and the Global Financial Crisis," at the Political Economy Workshop, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, September 22, 1998.
- "Lessons from the Soviet and Chinese Experience for Democratic Socialism," at the Summer Conference of the Union for Radical Political Economics, Bantam, CT, August 24, 1998.
- "Sustaining Socialism: Lessons from the Soviet and Chinese Experience," at the Tenth Conference of North American and Cuban Philosophers and Social Scientists, Havana, June 15, 1998.
- "The East Asian Financial Crisis," at the Socialist Scholars Conference, New York, March 22, 1998.
- "Russia and China: Two Paths from State Socialism to Capitalism," at the Socialist Scholars Conference, New York, March 21, 1998.
- "A Progressive Macroeconomic Policy for the U.S.," at Annual Summer Conference of Union for Radical Political Economics, Bantam, CT, August 24, 1997.
- "Socialism: Planned Economy or Market Economy?" at Conference on Marxism Today, St. Petersburg, Russia, July 2, 1997.
- "A Critique of the Neoliberal Transformation Strategy for Russia," at conference sponsored by St. Petersburg regional government, St. Petersburg, Russia, July 1, 1997.

- "Neoliberalism and the Trajectory of Contemporary Capitalist Development," at International Conference on Classical Marxism, Moscow, June 28, 1997.
- "What Kind of Socialism?" at New York Marxist School/Brecht Forum, January 24, 1997.
- "Lessons from Economic Transition in Russia and China," at Allied Social Science Associations Convention, New Orleans, January 4, 1997; at the Political Economy Workshop, Economics Department, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, February 25, 1997; and at International Conference on Modernization of Transitional Economies in the Context of Globalization: Comparative Analysis of Russian and Foreign Experience, Moscow State University, Moscow, June 26, 1997.
- "Unemployment and Full Employment," presentation at Seminar on Community Health sponsored by Franklin County Community Health Center and Greenfield Community College School of Nursing, Greenfield Community College, Greenfield, MA, September 25, 1996.
- "Reflections on David M. Gordon and the Social Structure of Accumulation Approach," at session in honor of David M. Gordon, Union for Radical Economics Annual Conference, Bantam, CT, August 26, 1996.
- "Free Markets and Human Welfare," at reunion of Students for a Democratic Society, Great Barrington, MA, August 1, 1996.
- "Russia's Economic Trajectory and the Possibility of Economic Democracy," at conference on Economic Democracy and Labour-Owned Enterprises: Russian and International Experience, Moscow State University, Moscow, June 17, 1996.
- "Economic Insecurity in America," at public forum hosted by U.S. Congressman John Olver, Greenfield Community College, Greenfield, MA, May 13, 1996.
- "Russia's Political-Economic Trajectory," at the Socialist Scholars Conference, New York, April 14, 1996.
- "Remaking the Russian Economy: A Report Card," Allied Social Science Association Convention, San Francisco, January 7, 1996, and at the Political Economy Workshop, Economics Department, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, April 23, 1996.
- "A Critique of the Neoliberal Economic Strategy," Seminar on Planning, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, October, 1995.
- "Structuralist Approaches to Political Economy," at the Political Economy Workshop, Economics Department, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, April 25, 1995.
- "The Collapse of State Socialism in the USSR: Lessons for a Future Socialism," at international symposium entitled "Socialism -- The Lessons of the Crisis," Moscow, May 31, 1994, and at Allied Social Sciences Association Convention, Washington, D.C., January 8, 1995.
- "Why Western Economic Advice Has Been disastrous for Russia," at the Political Economy Workshop, Economics Department, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, March 30, 1994.
- "A Progressive Anti-Crisis Program for Russia," at Economics Department, Moscow State University, January 21, 1994.
- "A Two-Sector Economic Transformation Strategy for Russia," at Allied Social Sciences Associations Convention, Boston, January 3, 1994, and at conference sponsored by Scholars for Democracy and Socialism, Moscow State University, June 3, 1994.
- "The Market Economy and the Former Soviet Union," at Seminar on Trade Union Perspectives: The Economic Future of Russia and the Commonwealth States, New York, August 10, 1993.
- "Understanding the Current Crisis in Russia," at the Socialist Scholars' Conference, New York, April 11, 1993.
- "An Alternative Economic Program for Russia," at Symposium sponsored by the Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics, New York, March 27, 1993.
- "Macroeconomic Policy and Economic Reform," at the Parliamentary Center, Moscow, January 19, 1993, and at the Economics Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, January

21, 1993.

- "The Left in Contemporary Russia," at Conference on Marxism in the New World Order, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, November 14, 1992.
- "The Transformation of the Economic Reform Process in the USSR," at Conference on Marxism in the New World Order, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, November 12, 1992.
- "The Crisis of the Russian Economy and an Alternative Program," at Moscow State University Economics Department, October 28, 1992.
- "A Critique of Shock Therapy," at Round Table of the Democratic Left, Moscow, October 24, 1992.
- "An Alternative to Neoliberal Economics," at Forum on Models of Privatization in the Transition Economy, Moscow, October 17, 1992.
- "An Alternative to Shock Therapy for Transforming the Russian Economy," at international symposium Social and Economic Aspects of Democratization of Contemporary Society, Moscow, October 15, 1992.
- "The Direction of Soviet Economic Reform: From Socialist Reform to Capitalist Transition," at Allied Social Sciences Association Convention, New Orleans, January, 1992.
- "Markets and Public Regulation in Western Economies: Lessons for the USSR," at International Forum on World Experience and the Economy of the USSR, Moscow, November, 1991.
- "Methods of Destatization of Enterprises: Lesson from Western Experience," at International Form on World Experience and the Economy of the USSR, Moscow, November, 1991.