



PEWS

Section on the Political Economy of the World-System
American Sociological Association

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PEWS News- Spring 2002

Newsletter of the Section on the Political Economy of the World-System, American Sociological Association
[Hard copy of this issue may be obtained from the editor, Thomas D. Hall, thall@depauw.edu]

Section Officers

Chair

Richard Appelbaum (02), University of California at Santa Barbara, appelbau@alishaw.ucsb.edu

Chair-Elect

Beverly Silver (03), Johns Hopkins University, silver@jhu.edu

Secretary-Treasurer

Thomas D. Hall (03), thall@depauw.edu

Council

Jozsef Borocz [03] jborocz@rci.rutgers.edu

Rita S. Gallin [02] gallinr@pilot.msu.edu

A. Douglas Kincaid [02] kincaidd@fiu.edu

Greta Krippner [02] (student member) krippner@students.wisc.edu

Robert J.S. Ross [04] rjsross@clarku.edu

Jackie Smith [03] jacsmith@notes.cc.sunysb.edu

Mridula Udayagiri [04] mridula@csus.edu

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PEWS Elections: The ASA BALLOT

Editor's note: The following is a reposting of what you will see on the ASA Ballot very soon. tdh

Chair-Elect

STEPHEN K. SANDERSON

Present Position: Professor of Sociology, Indiana University of Pennsylvania (1986-present). Education: PhD, University of Nebraska (1973). Offices, Committee Memberships, and Editorial Appointments held in ASA: None.

Publications and Professional Accomplishments: "World-Systems and Social Change in Agrarian Societies, 3000 BC-AD 1500," in *World System History: The Social Science of Long-Term Change*, edited by R.A. Denemark et al., Routledge (2000); *Social Transformations: A General Theory of Historical Development*, Blackwell (1995), updated edition, Rowman & Littlefield (1999); Editor, *Civilizations and World-Systems: Studying World-Historical Change*,

Alta-Mira Press (1995); "The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism: The Theoretical Significance of the Japanese Case," *Review* (1994); *Social Evolutionism: A Critical History*, Blackwell (1990).

GAY W. SEIDMAN

Present Position: Professor, University of Wisconsin, Madison (1990-present). **Education:** PhD, University of California, Berkeley (1990). **Offices, Committee Memberships, and Editorial Appointments Held in ASA:** Associate editor, *American Sociological Review* (1999-2002); Council, Political Economy of the World-System Section (1996-99). **Publications and Professional Accomplishments:** "Guerrillas in Their Midst: Armed Struggle in the South African Anti-apartheid Movement," *Mobilization: An International Social Movements Journal* (2001); "'Strategic' Challenges to Gender Inequality: the South African Gender Commission," *Ethnography* (2001); "Gendered Citizenship: South Africa's Democratic Transition and the Construction of a Gendered State," *Gender and Society* (1999); "Is South Africa Different? Sociological Comparisons and Theoretical Contributions From the Land of Apartheid," *Annual Review of Sociology* (1999); *Manufacturing Militance: Workers' Movements in Brazil and South Africa, 1970-1985*, University of California Press (1994).

Council

JOHN M. TALBOT

Present Position: Assistant Professor, Colby College (1997-present). **Education:** PhD, University of California, Berkeley (1997). **Offices, Committee Memberships, and Editorial Appointments Held in ASA:** Member, Student Paper Award Committee, Environment and Technology Section (2000-01). **Publications and Professional Accomplishments:** "Information, Finance, and the New International Inequality: The Case of Coffee," *Journal of World-Systems Research* (forthcoming); "The Coffee Crisis and the Case for a Regulated Market," *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*; "The Struggle for Control of a Commodity Chain: Instant Coffee from Latin America," *Latin American Research Review* (1997); "Where Does Your Coffee Dollar Go?: The Division of Income and Surplus Along the Coffee Commodity Chain," *Studies in Comparative International Development* (1997).

SING C. CHEW

Present Position: Professor, Humboldt State University (1990-present). **Education:** PhD, Carleton University (1985). **Offices, Committee Memberships, and Editorial Appointments Held in ASA:** None. **Publications and Professional Accomplishments:** *World Ecological Degradation 3000 B.C. – A.D. 2000*, AltaMira Press (2001); Research Fellowship, Svenska Institutet (1999-2000); *The Underdevelopment of Development*, Sage Publications (1997).

WILLIAM I. ROBINSON

Present Position: Assistant Professor, University of California, Santa Barbara (2001-present). **Education:** PhD, University of New Mexico (1994). **Offices, Committee Memberships, and Editorial Appointments Held in ASA:** None. **Publications and Professional Accomplishments:** "Social Theory and Globalization: The Rise of a Transnational State," *Theory and Society* (2001); "Transnational Processes, Development Studies, and Changing Social Hierarchies in the World System: A Central American Case Study," *Third World Quarterly* (2001); "Toward a Global Ruling Class?: Globalization and the Transnational Capitalist Class," *Science and Society* (2000); "Beyond Nation-State Paradigms: Globalization, Sociology, and the Challenge of Transnational Studies," *Sociological Forum* (1998); *Promoting Polyarchy: Globalization, U.S. Intervention, and Hegemony*, Cambridge University Press (1996).

VALENTINE M. MOGHADAM

Present Position: Associate Professor of Sociology, and Director of Women's Studies, Illinois State University (1996-present). **Education:** PhD, American University (1986). **Offices, Committee Memberships, and Editorial Appointments Held in ASA:** Editorial Board, *Contemporary Sociology* (1994-97). **Publications and Professional Accomplishments:** "Is the Future of Revolution Feminist? Rewriting 'Gender and Revolutions' in an Era of Globalization," in *The Future of Revolution in the Context of Globalization*, edited by J. Foran, Zed Books (2002, forthcoming); "Women, Work, and Economic Restructuring: A Regional Overview," *Economics of Women and Work in the Middle East and North Africa*, Edited by M. Cinar, JAI Press/Elsevier (2001); "Transnational Feminist Networks: Collective Action in an Era of Globalization", *International Sociology* (2000); Editor, *RC-32 News*, Research Committee on Women in Society, International Sociological Association (1998-2001); ISU College of Arts & Sciences Outstanding Researcher Award (2000-01).

Council Student Member

HO-FUNG HUNG

Present Position: PhD Candidate, Department of Sociology, Johns Hopkins University. **Education:** MA, State University of New York, Binghamton. **Offices, Committee Memberships, and Editorial Appointments Held in ASA:** None. **Publications and Professional Accomplishments:** Dissertation Improvement Grant, National Science Foundation (2002); "Imperial China and Capitalist Europe in the Eighteenth-Century Global Economy," *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* (2001); Excellence in Research Award, State University of New York at Binghamton (1999); Co-Author, "The Colonial State and Rural Protest in Hong Kong," *Hong Kong: State and Society Under Colonial Rule*, Edited by T. W. Ngo, Routledge (1999); "Thousand-Year Oppression and Thousand-Year Resistance: The Ethnic Tankas in Tai O Before and Under Colonialism," *Chinese Sociology and Anthropology* (1998).

JOSE A. MUNOZ

Present Position: PhD Student, State University of New York, Stony Brook (1999-present). Education: MA, California State University, Dominguez Hills (1998); BA, University of California, Irvine (1995). **Offices, Committee Memberships, and Editorial Appointments Held in ASA:** None. **Publications and Professional Accomplishments:** W. Burghardt Turner Fellow, State University of New York, Stony Brook (Five year appointment).

Membership Referendum

Proposed Changes to the Section By-Laws:

(The rationale for the proposed changes is for the purpose of clarification. Proposed additions are in **bold** and *italicized*.) (The rationale for the proposed changes is for the purpose of clarification. Proposed additions are in **bold** and *italicized*.)

Committees.

(A) There shall be a Committee on Nominations, elected each year by those members of the Section present at an open Business Meeting to take place at the Annual Meeting of the Association. The Nominating Committee shall be constituted of at least three members, with the stipulation that no member shall serve on the nominating committee for two consecutive years, and the Nominating Committee shall present two people for each office to be voted on by the voting members of the Section, by mail ballot. ***The committee will be chaired by immediate past Chair of PEWS.***

(B) There shall be an annual Book Awards Committee, the composition of which shall be ***chairperson-elect, plus the two outgoing members of the Council. The chairperson elect shall be chair of the committee.***

(C) There shall be an annual Article/*Dissertation* Award Committee, the composition of which shall be current ***PEWS*** chair, plus the two members of the Council in their second year of service. ***The PEWS chairperson shall be chair of the committee. When the award is to be given in an even numbered year it shall be for the best article contributing to PEWS areas in the preceding three calendar years. When the award is to be given in an odd numbered year shall be for the best dissertation contributing to PEWS areas in the preceding three calendar years. When the award is for best dissertation, it shall be called the Terence K. Hopkins Award.***

(D) There shall be an Editorial Board to assist in the production of the Section newsletter. ***The board will consist of 4 members: PEWS Secretary-Treasurer, who will chair the board, one of the two incoming Council members, at least one graduate student, and one other appointed by the Chair of PEWS. The board will assist in the production of the section newsletter, solicit and review material for the newsletter, which should have at least three issues a year.***

(E) There shall be a Membership Committee comprised of one of the incoming Council members (the one not joining the Editorial Board) and ***two or three members appointed by the Chair of PEWS. Whenever possible one of those members should be a graduate student.***

(F) There shall be a Web Committee comprised of the Webmaster and two members appointed by the Chair of PEWS in consultation with Webmaster, and when relevant, the Secretary-Treasurer.

AWARDS. In accordance with the Association's regulations on sections, three awards will be given in any single year. The awards are: Book Award [Annual], Article Award [biannual, even years, alternates with Dissertation Award], Terence K. Hopkins Dissertation Award [biannual, odd years, alternates with Article Award], and Distinguished Career Award [occasional].

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A Few Words from the Editor :

Thomas D. Hall

This is a brief edition of ***PEWS NEWS***, focusing on the elections, another membership drive, the ASA panels to be held in Chicago, and another commentary on the 25th FBC anniversary by Boris Stremelin.

My main message is VOTE in the elections. Pass the by-laws changes.

I will put another edition out in late May, so send in commentary, announcements, etc. Thanks to all who have helped!

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Comments from the Current Chair

Richard Appelbaum

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Comments from the Membership Committee

Robert Ross

Wednesday, April 24, 2002

Colleagues, if but 20 more ASA members join (or rejoin) the Section, it will reach the magic number of 300 and thus obtain a second session on the program of the ASA Annual Meeting. Those of you in larger Departments might check with colleagues who should be members but are not; you might drop little friendly notes to more distant correspondents who might have forgotten to do the right thing. And you might pony up the \$5 to pay for your very favorite graduate students' Section membership. Let me tell you why I think it worth your while to take any of these relatively painless steps.[Ed note: by the time I posted this to the web, we need only 19 more!].

We are dispersed through hundreds of institutions, and we often work in situations where there is not a great deal of collegial depth applied to problems that interest us. Whatever our immediate context, though, those of us committed to studying political economy at the global level, and concerned about the inequalities imposed at that level, need a community of scholars to enrich our thinking and challenge our creativity. My own experience is this: my PEWS colleagues have been attentive and respectful readers and writers who have advanced my work and thinking. The Section proceedings are respectful of difference yet grapple with matters of real importance.

There are many wonderful people in the ASA and they participate in many sections - as do we all. PEWS remains rare for its combination of professionalism and collegiality. That is why it is worthy of your support -- and why, by finding just a few more members --you will help build our community. Twenty more members give us another opportunity to bring people together annually, to renew our creativity and our friendships, to curse darkness or light candles as the spirit moves.

You might remind your friends and colleagues, near and far, that if they have not yet renewed their membership in ASA, they should remember to check PEWS when they fill out their forms. If they have renewed, and failed to check our box, please urge them join the section now. Both tasks can be accomplished online: the following URL will take your friends directly to either membership renewal or additional section memberships.

<http://asanet.org/members/members.html>

Robert J.S. "Bob" Ross

Clark University

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Comments on 25th Anniversary of the Fernand Braudel Center

Boris Stremli

SUNY at Binghamton

bstremli@binghamton.edu

Beyond World-systems Analysis? Reflections on the 25th Anniversary Conference of the Fernand Braudel Center

In a recent essay intriguingly entitled "The Rise and Future Demise of World-Systems Analysis" (Wallerstein 1997), Immanuel Wallerstein gave notice that world-systems analysis, initiated as a radical critique of institutional social science, must increasingly become transformed into a genuinely constructive and theoretical historical social science if it is to avoid the dangers of marginalization, sectarianism and cooption. To do so, he added, world-systemists must begin to move beyond the framework explicitly constructed to attack nineteenth-century models in order to pose fundamental questions about the relationship between truth and morality, analysis and synthesis, social science and knowledge as a whole, social science and social movements, as well as the multiplicity of sociohistorical forms and their relevance as exemplars for the future. Although Wallerstein provided no definitive time-frame, the substance of the essay (and its very title, in its half-joking reference to the seminal "Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System" [Wallerstein 1979]) clearly linked the demise of world-systems analysis to the demise of the modern world-system itself.

The 25th Anniversary Fernand Braudel Center Conference, held in Binghamton on the Second and Third of November 2001 offered a unique vantage point from which to see whether we now find ourselves in the opening phases of the "post-world-systems" age. First of all, in marking this significant milestone of what has up to now unquestionably been the most important institutional center of world-systems analysis, the conference provided a fitting tribute to Wallerstein both as Director of the Center and as intellectual pioneer. The titles of the five panels (trajectories of the world-system, structures of knowledge, future of the social sciences, households and anti-

systemic movements) represented the major preoccupations of the Center's Research Working Groups and were intended to elicit an overall assessment of its quarter-century of scholarly activity. In addition, the conference brought together many of the most-noted writers associated with world-systems analysis. Their presence served to underline not only the continuing fruitfulness of the collaboration between Third Worldist social critics, Annales school historians, political activists and sociologists of knowledge (all of whom Wallerstein has been bringing together under the world-systems umbrella since the 1970s), but also allowed some of them to showcase their latest ideas as perhaps the leading ones for the next generation of historical social scientists. Finally, in a development originally unforeseen by the conference planners, the meeting took place in the aftermath of the events of September 11th, events which many commentators in the mainstream interpreted as a major turning point in history, and which world-systemists themselves saw as a significant step in the direction of the complete disarticulation of the existing world-system. And as Wallerstein remarked at one point, one positive side-effect of the profound intellectual shock accompanying these events may be the abandonment of long-held dogmas in favor of new thinking.

To what degree was such liberation in evidence in the papers and discussions which were aired at the conference? In one sense, of course, such a question may appear bizarre and redundant: as expected, the vast majority of the conference's offerings took aim at the unreflective and short-term thinking which characterizes much of the received wisdom of the social sciences and mainstream political discourse. Yet, in light of the Wallerstein essay referenced above, it seems to me that the imperative to make use of the opportunity to think anew applies to world-systemists as much as it does to anyone else. In particular, this imperative should translate into a willingness to engage in autocritique and to discard established world-systemic concepts if, in the final analysis, they have not clearly demonstrated their utility and if they are found to remain trapped within nineteenth-century (or perhaps even older) preconceptions. But even more importantly, it should take the form of a movement away from pure critique (which, taken past a certain point simply relapses into dogmatism) and toward the delineation of real, practicable alternatives. With this in mind, I will try to locate several key papers in one of what seem to me to be three major movements which are now emerging out of world-systems analysis and promising to negotiate the transition from the purely critical-analytical to the constructive-theoretical stage of the project initiated by Wallerstein.

The first of these movements is oriented around the rubric of the "structures of knowledge", and it is spearheaded by Wallerstein himself. Although a concern for the epistemological aspects of world-historical change has remained an integral part of the world-systems movement from its inception, it has increasingly moved to center stage in his work over the last decade. The attempt to understand the social construction of knowledge creates the possibility that we may be able to access the geoculture, which Wallerstein defines as the hidden underside of the world-system (Wallerstein 1991a, 11). And in coming to grips with the elusive geoculture, we may at last free ourselves to enter the ideological battleground of the world-system fully prepared to think, act and construct anew (rather than simply continuing to criticize the old).

As Wallerstein's recent work has shown, an exploration of the geocultural structures of knowledge may result in having to abandon, delimit, or revise some of the world-systemists' own conceptual tools when their analytical power is assumed to be absolute (Wallerstein 1993, Wallerstein 1995b). Similarly, in his conference paper, entitled "The Scholarly Mainstream and Reality: Are We at a Turning-Point?", Wallerstein suggested that many of the dominant concepts of the past century have in reality been no more than buzzwords with only a twenty to thirty year lifespan; consequently, world-systemic concepts, which were invented in the 1970s to reflect the experienced reality of that period may be now reaching the end of their shelf-life, and therefore need to be "unthought" if they fail to account for the reality of the *longue duree*. His own paper offered no candidates for unthinking. But several other contributors to the "structures of knowledge" panel provided a few clues in this regard. Boaventura de Sousa Santos' "The Not-Yet: Toward a Sociology of Absences and a Theory of Translation", to take the most notable example, took aim at what he called "metanymic reason", which subsists on the construction of dualistic totalities. Without taking too many liberties, it is possible to read into this formulation a critique of the very notion of "antisystemic" movements, which are defined solely in virtue of their opposition to a total system (indeed, given the unprecedented degree of world-systemic disintegration over the course of the last decade, one would be hard-pressed to find anything which can be qualified as the system's opposite). In a different key, Mahmoud Mamdani, in the discussion following his "Area Studies and Local Knowledge in the Post-Cold War Era", questioned the continued exclusion of religious traditions by university structures, thus implicitly challenging the world-systems movement as well, since it has thus far remained university-oriented and since it has itself shied away from evaluating the place of religious traditions within the structures of knowledge.

Clearly, the questions raised by these three papers represent important departures in the direction of constructing a new theoretical framework for the social sciences. But equally clearly, the structures of knowledge movement does not as yet represent a fundamental departure from (or herald the demise of) world-systems analysis. The "reflexive turn" - extension of critical analysis to their own work certainly suggests that these world-systemists have moved into a new stage of their project. Perhaps, with the "turning point" now in sight, this stage will prove to be the final one. But so far, the order of the day has been more "unthinking", not "newthinking". In fact, demands for unthinking (Wallerstein 1991b) and announcements of the death of the old liberal geoculture (Wallerstein 1995a) have virtually defined the structures of knowledge movement, while fundamentally new alternatives have remained confined to calls for "overloading the system" by turning neoliberal ideology against itself (Wallerstein 1998). Wallerstein, as he again enunciated in the question-and-answer period following the "antisystemic movements" panel, continues to identify antisystemic alternatives with a loose group of movements termed, variously, the "post-'68 coalition" or the "antiglobalization coalition". The very definition of these movements in relation to something other than themselves (coming after something else, or opposing something else) suggests that these movements lack an identity of their own and hence, are precluded from engaging in the construction of something new. Moreover, questions such as

those raised by de Sousa Santos and Mamdani, though fully justified, require still more unthinking, meaning that the structures of knowledge movement still has more analyzing left to do.

A second movement deriving from world-systems analysis takes its point of departure precisely from what its proponents understand as undue hesitation on Wallerstein's part to "get past the post", that is, to move from mere criticism to proposing substantive alternatives to the disintegrating world system. This movement derives largely from the research program of Christopher Chase-Dunn and his various coauthors, which they term "comparative world-systems approach". As outlined in the recent *Rise and Demise: Comparing World-Systems* (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997), this approach seeks to transform the Wallersteinian conceptual corpus into a general science of world-systems. Because such a science, the comparativists contend, allows us to theorize and to make predictions about the transitions between world-systems, it should finally enable us to undertake the task of defining those forces which will serve as the lynchpin of the new system (referred to variously as "global socialism" or "global democracy"). Such an attempt at practical application is instantiated in *The Spiral of Capitalism and Socialism* (Boswell and Chase-Dunn 2000), the work which served as the foundation for "Through the Sticky Wicket(s) and on to Global Socialism", the paper Chase-Dunn presented at the conference.

As a result of his earlier work of comparing world-systems, Chase-Dunn remarked, he had begun to emphasize the semiperiphery as the crucial locus of systemic transformation. Unlike both the core and the periphery, semiperipheral agents possess both the motive and the opportunity to propose real alternatives to the existing system. As examples of the latter he cited the labor movements in countries like South Korea, South Africa and Brazil - concrete movements with real demands for social justice and democracy, rather than members of some nebulous coalition without any real goals. Additionally, the study of the broad dialectic between the spread of capitalist institutions and the subsequent articulation of socialist reactions undertaken in *Spiral* enabled him to shed light on how the institutions which promote system-wide capitalist integration may in turn contribute to the global articulation of democratic socialist projects arising in the semiperiphery. Among the key features which contribute to uniting the various labor and democracy movements into a true global force, Chase-Dunn pointed to the rise of an integrated world market as a precursor to the growth of market socialism (a term he borrows from John Roemer and counterposes to Samir Amin's notion of "delinking") and to the strengthening of transnational political institutions (like the European Union and the United Nations), which provide models for (or even themselves aid in) the eventual creation of a world party (an idea he derives from Warren Wagar).

Interestingly, the conceptualization of a unified world party as the agent of global political transformation found a parallel the knowledge domain in Randall Collins' talk on the "Commonality and Divergence of World Intellectual Structures in the Second Millennium C.E." (although Collins is not usually thought of as a world-systemist, he also utilizes a comparative approach and is an admirer of Chase-Dunn's work). The German university model which was established in the first half of the nineteenth century, Collins proposed, allowed for the first time the institutional perpetuation of what he called "rapid-discovery science" - a system for the potentially infinite self-correction of knowledge. The clear advantages of this model led to its establishment of global dominance, which seems unshakeable in view of the continuing failure of the rival humanist "antisystemic" movements to develop and maintain a separate institutional base. Just like the world party unifies and gives direction to what had been loosely defined as antisystemic movements in the realm of politics, so does university science in the domain of knowledge.

Does the comparative world-systems approach succeed where the structures of knowledge program falters? I think it is very difficult to answer this question in the affirmative. Its partisans believe that it is possible, on the basis of what they take to be past systemic dynamics, to take the bold step into constructing new models of thought and social change, but in deriving systemic dynamics from a comparison of units assumed to possess epistemological equivalence, they fail to critically and historically evaluate their own conceptual apparatus - a measure Wallerstein regards as being necessarily prior to theorizing anew. Because this sort of comparison in fact universalizes the structures of one particular world-system, any prediction on its basis merely transforms these structures into theoretical necessities - for instance, the modern political party into a universal "world party", or the Westphalian polity into a "world state". For the same reason, projections of this sort tend to bear a static character. For instance, given the definition of the future world state as "market socialist", Chase-Dunn and Boswell try to determine the exactly right mix of market management and worker autonomy which the future system will have (Boswell and Chase-Dunn 2000, 176-95). But which combination and at what future level of development shall be said to be definitive of such a system? Much the same goes for Collins' scientific universalism, especially in light of Mamdani's illustration of the great distinction between the institutional and intellectual structures which dominated European and African universities since independence, and apropos of recent developments, of the great "antisystemic" pull exercised by the quest for certitude on scientifically-trained intellectuals among supporters of the Taliban (and Falun Gong). Ultimately, the comparative world-systems movement seems to be a case of one step forward, two steps back.

The third movement stems from the work of Giovanni Arrighi and his various collaborators, and it promotes a paradigm that might best be described as "comparative hegemonies". By comparing previous instances of world hegemony, which he understands as the exercise of leadership by a particular state in an interstate system (Arrighi 1994, 27), and by the study of the particular configurations of institutions generated by each of these hegemonies (Arrighi and Silver 1999), Arrighi attempts to project the likely outcomes of the current transitional period (and to identify the agencies deserving of our support during this period). In that sense, the model he proposes seems to resemble that of Chase-Dunn. At the same time, Arrighi devotes considerable energy to exploding what he considers to be the excessively nation-state oriented biases on the part of social scientists, and moreover, he implicates world-systemic modeling on the part of world-systemists themselves in these very biases. Hence, although he does not

explicitly refer to knowledge or display a great deal of interest in such factors as science, philosophy or religion, he broadly shares the concerns embodied in Wallerstein's "structures of knowledge" program. In attempting to recover non-nation-state forms of sovereignty (such as city states and territorial empires) from obscurity, Arrighi's attention over the past decade has increasingly turned to East Asia, a region which, in contrast to the West, still features multiple forms of sovereignty, but which has also been replicating the experiences of past would-be hegemonies (the United Provinces, the United Kingdom, and the United States) in the last thirty to forty years.

In the paper presented at the 25th anniversary conference (entitled "Antisystemic Movements and Gramsci's 'Piedmontese Function'"), Arrighi explored the question of the impact of the rise of East Asia on antisystemic movements worldwide. In a fashion analogous to Piedmont's role in the Risorgimento (or, as in Gramsci's parallel, the role of the "organic intellectuals" in a proletarian revolution), he suggested that the movements originating in the so-called "civilizational states" (by which he understands China and India) may play a hegemonic role with respect to the family of movements which seek systemic transformation. This emphasis on an Asian epicenter has at least three significant aspects in regard to the future of world-systems analysis. First of all, by situating Chinese and Indian patterns as hegemonic, Arrighi spatialized the concept of antisystemic movements, in contrast to the despatialized constructs such as "world party" or a "post-'68 coalition", both of which are simply assumed to universally represent the interests of oppressed groups worldwide. Secondly, in characterizing the Indian and Chinese containers as "civilizational", he introduced the notion of systemic overlap into the contemporary conjuncture, thus problematizing the very idea of a transition from one unitary system to another. Finally, in stressing the role of dominant groups in systemic breakdown and Arrighi questioned the utility of the notion of "antisystemic" movements for the next thirty years, a point he spelled out in even more detail in the question and answer period, when he also confirmed the theoretical equivalence between the movements in the pre- and post-1848 period (in contrast to the earlier, and now generally accepted definition which fixed their origin at this time owing to their permanent party structure and "this-worldly" orientation [Arrighi, Hopkins and Wallerstein 1989, 29-30]).

It may appear that Arrighi's formulation suffers from some of the same problems which afflict the "comparative world-systems" movement. Revealingly, Wallerstein's critique of Arrighi's paper seemed to derive from just such a suspicion. Although he saw the world party as an unlikely development, he nevertheless wondered how many of the current system's critics would be willing to place much energy and faith in entities such as the Chinese and Indian "civilizational states" and the continued economic success of the East Asian region. Instead, Wallerstein once again counselled patience and underlined the continued importance of the post-'68 coalition. Meanwhile, Bill Martin stated that Arrighi's projection sounded too pessimistic (and perhaps, by extension, reflected a failure to think anew and to seek real alternatives).

To my mind, both these critiques miss the point. With regard to the comparative approach, it seems to me a perfectly acceptable analytical tool so long as one does not limit oneself to comparison alone and makes no assumptions regarding the epistemological equivalence of units under consideration. Although Arrighi does try to make predictions, his caution regarding universal applicability of concepts which Wallerstein admits were designed with one (the modern) world-system in mind (Wallerstein 1995b) speaks to his rejection of the comparative method as the *sine qua non* of historical social science. With regard to an accusation of pessimism (and relatedly, the implied accusation of economism) in underlining the linkage between East Asia's material successes and the future of "antisystemic" movements, three points are in order. First of all, in specifically referring to India (along with China), Arrighi seems to have extended his scope of interest beyond East Asia proper and beyond capital accumulation, since India's economic success (unlike those of East Asian states) is thus far uncertain. But more importantly, the linkage between economic success in Asia and the leading role of Asian movements is no more economic or pessimistic than the previous emphasis on the national party form and on revolutionary messianism was (with the economic success of Germany and Russia being implied in the older "antisystemic" formulation, though not explicitly stated). Thirdly, a projection of Asian hegemony among "antisystemic" movements points not only to a hope for Asian economic success, but also to the expansion of non-European forms of organization, epistemology and ethics among movements worldwide, a development which does not appear to me to elicit pessimism. Conversely, the shift of emphasis is an occasion for optimism, because it exposes the unstated Western biases implicit in most conceptualizations of "antisystemic" movements (and, as Arrighi pointed out in response to Wallerstein's reaffirmation of the post-'68 coalition, this coalition, in continuing to reflect primarily Western interests, does not as currently constituted address the issues of the North/South divide as much as a more Asia-centered coalition, which is further to the South and houses a greater percentage of the world's population, would).

Although the present writer remains sensitive to any economism which may lurk behind particular statements of world-systems analysis (and pleads guilty to suspecting Arrighi's work of such a "deviation" in the past), Arrighi's talk at the 25th Anniversary Conference of the Fernand Braudel Center gave notice that his work stands, perhaps, as an early exemplar of a constructive and theoretical historical social science of the future. In rejecting notions of a unitary transition and system/antisystem dualism, as well as in locating the epicenter of "antisystemic" (or, as Mohammad Tamgidi has recently suggested, "othersystemic" [Tamgidi 2001]) movements in Asia during the decline of U.S. hegemony, Arrighi points the way to a very innovative research agenda. Some of the questions which we may begin to explore in light of his formulation include: what conceptualizations take us beyond dualism in predicting systemic transition? to what extent can we trace such conceptualizations in the Asian historical past? and what Asian movements might provide new and practicable organizational models for movements in various parts of the world? Clearly, posing such questions will necessitate an explicit incorporation of a concern with the "structures of knowledge" than has heretofore been the case in Arrighi's work, thus helping to further dispell any accusations of economism and fostering creative collaboration with the movement championed by Wallerstein.

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UPCOMING CONFERENCES:

IROWS To host PEWS in 2002

Christopher Chase Dunn

IROWS will host the annual spring PEWS conference in 2002 to be held on **May**

3-4, 2002 at the University of California, Riverside. The main theme of this year's conference is "**Hegemonic Decline: Present and Past.**"

The program is available on line:

<http://www.irows.ucr.edu/conferences/pews02/program/pews02prog.htm>

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GLOBALIZATION & SOCIAL JUSTICE

An International Conference at Loyola University in Chicago

May 10-12, 2002
Rubloff Auditorium
Water Tower Campus

Speakers & Presenters (partial listing)

Abdul Alkalimat, Carl Davidson, Jerry Harris, Doug Kellner, Lauren Langman, Richard Longworth, Tim Luke, Peter Marcuse, Robert McChesney, Kate O'Neill, Dave Ranney, María Cristina Reigadas, William Robinson, Mel Rothenberg, Saskia Sassen, Kim Scipes, Leslie Sklair, Dan Swinney, Harry Targ, Iris Young...

Major Panels:

Globalization & the Media
Globalization & Social Justice
Globalization, Power & Inequality
Globalization & Class Structure
Globalization & Neoliberal Economics
Globalization, Security & Warfare
Globalization & Labor
Globalization & Social Movements

Sponsors:

Loyola Dept of Sociology
Roosevelt U Economics Dept
Global Studies Association, UK
Networking for Democracy

For More Details:

http://www.net4dem.org/mayglobal/mayglobal_001.htm

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PEWS in Chicago, ASA 2002

August 16-19, Chicago, Illinois
Hilton Chicago, Hilton Palmer House

The PEWS Section is sponsoring or co-sponsoring four paper sessions as well as a lively roster of roundtables at the ASA in Chicago. The planned sessions are:

1. Current Debates in World Systems Research

Organizer: Thomas D. Hall (DePauw University) and Beverly J. Silver (Johns Hopkins)

President: Beverly J. Silver (Johns Hopkins University)

Papers:

Salvatore J. Babones, The Johns Hopkins University, "The Structure of the World-Economy, 1960-1999"

William I. Robinson, University of California, Santa Barbara, "Remapping Development in Light of Globalization: From a Territorial to a Social Cartography"

Dawn Wiest, Jackie Smith and Ivana Eterovic, SUNY Stony Brook, "Uneven Globalization: Explaining Variable Participation in Transnational Social Movement Organizations"

Shyamal Kumar Das and Kathryn B. Ward, Southern Illinois University, "Gender in World Systems Analysis"

Discussant: Thomas D. Hall, DePauw University

Session Sponsor: Section on the Political Economy of the World System

2. World Systems Perspectives on September 11th

Organizer: Thomas D. Hall (DePauw University) and Beverly J. Silver (Johns Hopkins)

President: Thomas D. Hall (DePauw University)

Papers:

Albert Bergesen and Omar Lizardo, University of Arizona, "Terrorism in the World-System"

Georgi M. Derlugian, Northwestern University, "Facing the New Terrorism: From War to Containment to Global Reform"

Bruce Podobnik, Lewis and Clark College, "The Globalization Protest Movement: An Analysis of Broad Trends and the Impact of September 11th"

Discussant: Beverly J. Silver, Johns Hopkins University

Session Sponsor: Regular Session World Systems (Co-sponsored by Political Economy of the World System Section)

3. East Asia and World-Systems Analysis

Organizer: Giovanni Arrighi, The Johns Hopkins University

President: Alvin Y. So, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology

Papers:

Paul Ciccantell, Western Michigan University, and **Stephen G. Bunker**, University of Wisconsin-Madison, "When Coal, Iron and Water Were Better Than Gold: MIDAs and the Economic Development of Japan"

Gary Hamilton, University of Washington, Seattle, and **Wei-an Chang**, National Tsing Hua University, Taiwan, "The Importance of Commerce in the Organization of China's Late Imperial Economy"

Giovanni Arrighi and **Ho-Fung Hung**, The Johns Hopkins University, "Historical Capitalism East and West"

Discussants:

Richard P. Appelbaum, University of California, Santa Barbara

Alvin Y. So, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology

Session Sponsor: Political Economy of the World System Section

4. Bridge or Chasm:

Labor Movements across the North-South Divide

Organizers: Peter Evans, University of California, Berkeley and Robert J.S. Ross, Clark University

President: Robert J.S. Ross, Clark University

Papers:

Jennifer Bickham Mendez, Dept. of Sociology College of William and Mary and **Joe Bandy**, Dept. of Sociology, Bowdoin College, "A Place of Their Own? - Women Organizers Negotiating National and Transnational Civil Society in the Maquilas of Nicaragua and Mexico"

Gay Seidman, Department of Sociology University of Wisconsin-Madison, "Monitoring International Corporate Behavior: Lessons from the Sullivan Principles"

Joel Stillerman, Department of Sociology, Grand Valley State University, "The NAFTA Labor Side Accords and Cross Border Activism"

Discussant: Peter Evans, University of California, Berkeley

Session Sponsors: Labor and Labor Movements Section & the Political Economy of the World System Section.

Refereed Roundtables (one hour)

Organizers: Peter Chua, San José State University (pchua@sjsu.edu); Darcie Vandegrift, University of Wisconsin, Whitewater (vardegrd@mail.uww.edu)

1. Transnational Resistances

Table President: **Victoria Carty**, Niagara University

Victoria Carty, Niagara University, Transnational Solidarity in the Garment Industry: A Comparative Analysis of Mexico, Guatemala and Nicaragua.

Douglas Morris, Loyola University, Chicago, Globalization and Media Democracy: The Case of Independent Media Centers.

2. Global Stratification

Table President: **Andrew Jorgenson**, University of California, Riverside

Wai Kit Choi, University of California, Irvine, Hong Kong: A Comprador City-State in the Era of Post/Auto-Colonialism.

Yanyi Djamba, Southeastern Louisiana University, International Migration, Capitalism Penetration, and Global Stratification.

Andrew Jorgenson, University of California, Riverside, [To Be Announced].

3. Workers in the Global Economy

Table President: **Claudia Scholz**, John Hopkins University

Francesca Degiuli, University of California, Santa Barbara, The Rhetoric and Reality of "Flexicurity": The Case of Temporary Work in Italy.

4. Culture, Inequality, and Development

Table President: **Light Carruyo**, Vassar College and University of California, Santa Barbara

Light Carruyo, Vassar College and University of California, Santa Barbara, Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Organizing in Rural Dominican Republic.

Darcie Vandegrift, University of Wisconsin, Whitewater, Confronting the State: NGOs and Racialization in a Costa Rican Caribbean Tourist Town.

5. Global Culture: Questions of Equity and Membership

Table President: **Steven Sherman**, Guilford College

Jason Beckfield, Indiana University, Inequality and Structure of the World Polity: Membership of Intergovernmental and Nongovernmental Organizations, 1960-2000.

Steven Sherman, Guilford College, Transnational Social Capital and Global Equity.

6. Globalization Challenges To National Social Policy

Table President: **Gerard Postiglione**, University of Hong Kong

Jonathan London, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Human Capital or Social Expense? Social Policy, Inequality, and the Transformation of the Socialist State.

Gerard Postiglione, University of Hong Kong, The Challenges of Globalization for Tertiary Education in Chinese Societies: Operating Within the New Global Architecture of Knowledge Economics.

7. Transnational Networks: Corporate Power and the World-System

Table Presider: Jeffrey Kentor, University of Utah

Mary Ingram, University of California, Santa Barbara, Bio-techs and Pharmaceuticals: Key Players in the Transnational Definition of Human Life.

Jeffrey Kentor, University of Utah, Position in the World-Economy 1962-1998: An Organizational Network Approach.

8. Finance and Technology in International Development

Table Presider: Susan Manning, Hofstra University

Susan Manning, Hofstra University, Finance Capital and International Development: A Study of Portfolio Investment Dependence 1970-1995.

Andrew Schrank, Yale University, Downgrading by Diffusion: Technology Transfer, Learning-by-Watching, Export-led Trap in the Americas.

Session Sponsor: Section on the Political Economy of the World System

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NEWS ABOUT PEWS

Members on the Move

József Böröcz is currently on fellowship leave from Rutgers University at the Max Planck Institute for Social Research in Cologne, Germany, writing his new book entitled ***EU-Rope: Enlargement as Control.***

Andre Gunder Frank

Senior Fellow

World History Center

Northeastern University

270 Holmes Hall

Boston, MA 02115 USA

Tel: 617 - 373 4060

Fax: 617-948 2316

Web-page: csf.colorado.edu/agfrank/

Email: franka@fiu.edu

Residence

One Longfellow Place

Apt. 3411

Boston, MA 02114 USA

Tel: 617-948 2315

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Perennial Call for Submissions for PEWS NEWS & PEWS WEB

Yet another reminder to send in items for ***PEWS News.*** Everything is grist for the mill:

- Calls for Papers
- Change in position
- New publications
- New Syllabi posted for sharing
- New AV materials
- Discussions of PEWS issues

- Editorial on PEWS politics
- etc.

All of these are also suitable for PEWS web. In addition:

- Links to activist sites
- Links to your web page
- links to any web page of interest to PEWS members
- Data Sources on- or off-line
- New publications [yours, or others']
- Syllabi: especially those on line for others view
- etc.

Send items to Tom Hall thall@depauw.edu
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