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ANDRE GUNDER FRANK AND GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT

Visions, remembrances and
explorations

*Edited by Patrick Manning and
Barry K. Gills*

came to be called *dependista* analyses. He became indeed one of its major figures, and his writings were a great influence on very many people, certainly on me.

The three essential features of his position were (1) a rejection of neoclassical economics as both intellectually irrelevant and generative of false policy prescriptions for the countries of the South; (2) a commitment to radical political action as well as radical analyses; (3) a rejection of the Marxism of the orthodox Communist parties for purveying inadequate and misleading modes both of analysis and of praxis.

Gunder Frank launched the memorable slogan 'the development of underdevelopment' as the dictum to encapsulate the programme of the *dependistas*. It suggested that the situation in which Third World countries found themselves today was not the result of some 'traditional' characteristics they had inherited but was rather the consequence of their incorporation as dominated and therefore exploited sectors in the modern world-system.

It was in the early 1970s that I met him and discovered how much overlap there was in our views. In the years that followed, he, I, Samir Amin and Giovanni Arrighi were in rather constant contact, and we then collaborated in two collective works: *The Dynamics of Global Crisis* (1982) and *Transforming the Revolution: Social Movements and the World-System* (1990). We came to be called the 'Gang of Four'. We agreed on at least 80 per cent of the analysis of the modern world. As for those issues about which we disagreed, there was no pattern to the alliances among us. But it was the areas of accord that were the most important to us.

In the 1990s, Gunder Frank moved into a new arena of work: the world system over 5,000 years and the centrality of China to that world system. He saw his analytic shift of emphasis as an essential mode of overcoming Eurocentrism. The other three of us agreed with him that China's role had long been neglected, but disagreed that the 5,000-year 'world system' was the same kind of phenomenon as the 500-year 'modern world-system' based on the capitalist mode of production. Gunder Frank seemed now to be arguing that there was no such thing as capitalism, and that therefore there was nothing really new in the modern world.

Even as Gunder Frank came to reject the concept of capitalism, he never ceased fighting the capitalists at the political level. Indeed, his constant militancy to the very end, as well as his unflagging devotion to intellectual production (and indeed to teaching and participation in international colloquia), was all the more remarkable in that he fought serious illness for the last ten years of his life.

Gunder Frank was notoriously considered to be 'difficult' in his interpersonal relations. But he managed despite this, or perhaps because of this, to be loved by his friends, no matter what he did or said. This is because he was not merely a warm human being, but a deeply honest and committed intellectual, who gave at least as much as he took in all his social and scholarly encounters. He was a rare bird. The eagle flew high.

Immanuel Wallerstein
New Haven, Connecticut
August 2010

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THE WORLD ECONOMY IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

The contributions of Andre Gunder Frank in the era of underdevelopment and "globalization"

Patrick Manning and Barry K. Gills

Andre Gunder Frank once said about his work, and about his perspective on "tradition," that his analysis was neither Marxist nor anti-Marxist, it was just his analysis. This attitude encapsulates the uncompromisingly radical, iconoclastic, and independent thinking that characterized the life and work of the late Andre(as) "Gunder" Frank. He belonged to a generation that lived through revolutionary, violent, and truly tumultuous times. Like all great thinkers in history, Gunder was part of his own times, and contributed directly to them as they unfolded. His lifetime included the Great Depression, the Second World War, anti-colonial and revolutionary struggles, counter-revolutionary actions (including the September 1973 coup in Chile), the onset of the "world crises" of the capitalist system, and recurring war, oppression, poverty, and social upheaval on a world scale – all despite economic growth and (in Frank's radical analysis) because of it as well. To Frank, the central insight, both theoretically and historically, would be that the negative aspects of the so-called "development" process could never be separated from the positive aspects, as they were profoundly two sides of the same coin. Above all Frank was a rebel and an intellectual activist. He was never afraid to be unconventional, and indeed to directly and ferociously attack conventional wisdom, whether of the "left" or of the "right." He was an economist who attacked Economics as a discipline (especially as practiced in the mainstream tradition), a development theorist who denounced Development. He was a "Marxist" who broke with Marx, especially on the understanding of world history in relation to the history of "capital" and "the capitalist mode of production." Moreover, he never stood still, and was willing to be critical even of his own (former) positions, and move constantly forward. It was this intellectual openness, courage, and honesty that most provoked his enemies and opponents, and which endeared him to his many friends and to his close collaborators.

This book commemorates the life and work of Andre Gunder Frank – and its continued influence and relevance in both theory and practice. For nearly fifty years Frank was a forceful voice in many of the key debates of his time on economy, society, politics, development, and history. He was ever critical of the established order, and relished identifying and exposing its endemic and persistent problems and failures. He employed new analytical frameworks that address the long-term temporal and the large-scale spatial dimensions of “development” and history, while emphasizing multiple structural linkages between economy and society. On that basis, he expressed a powerful critique of the oppression and inequality brought about by the celebrated historical path of “capitalist development.” Moreover, he articulated a social critique of the elites, while providing support for the (often-revolutionary) social and political movements by which the oppressed defend their own interests and challenge the existing order and elite. His analytical instinct and his formal reasoning were always both multidisciplinary and thoroughly historical, indeed creating and practicing a new (world) historical mode of analysis, by which the passage of topical ideas and policies is ultimately superseded by the persistence of deeply embedded and continuing historical structures and forces. He advanced and defended his ideas passionately, wittily, and with memorable turns of phrase, most famously in his early formulation, “the development of underdevelopment,” with which his name is probably most commonly associated even to the present day. The evolution of his perspectives, along with the debates in which he strategically engaged, helped to bring about the emergence of new critical approaches to the study of the world economy and world history as a whole.

Frank famously began his career by analyzing underdevelopment and dependency in Latin America. Thereafter he progressed to address “world accumulation” and the dynamics and structure of the world-system focused on the Atlantic. He was led eventually to analyze capital accumulation in the very long term and its relation to shifting patterns of hegemony and rivalry in the world economy and world-system. In parallel, he conducted a critique of global financial and monetary systems and assessed the continued and historical role of radical social movements and the possibilities of historical resistance and transformation. His intellectual interests and his wide-ranging style of scholarship were and remain highly relevant to a host of social science disciplines, theoretical controversies, and empirical research agendas. In his last period of work, he began more explicitly to be identified with the field of world or global history and was in regular and serious contact and correspondence with leading scholars developing new approaches and analysis throughout the world, with the aim of achieving a comprehensive revised account of global historical processes “beyond Eurocentrism” and “beyond Development.” He was a pivotal figure and a pioneering intellect in this historic endeavor, to which this book, and Gunder’s lasting legacy, are truly dedicated. The remainder of this introductory chapter and several of the chapters to follow explore the main lines and principal implications of his work.

In addition, this introduction and the following chapters recount the life experience of Andre Gunder Frank – the friendships, encounters, joys, and combats

of life that were deeply entangled in his evolving analysis.¹ Frank lived long enough, and in enough different places, to be known by different names at succeeding stages of his life. “Andre” as a young person and later “Andres” in Latin America, he also collected the middle name “Gunder” during his schooling – it was a deformation of “Gunnar” in “Gunnar Haag,” an ironic comparison with the Swedish Olympian expressed by his schoolmates in response to his shortcomings as a runner. For those who came to know him in his later years – ourselves included – it was “Gunder” that became his *prénom*. Gunder was a citizen of the world but also of many places within the world. After a childhood in Europe, he grew up and was educated in North America; completed economic dissertation work on agriculture in Soviet Ukraine; moved to Latin America, where he started his family and conducted years of work on topics in economics, sociology, and anthropology; escaped to Europe with the establishment of the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile; left Europe with the death of his wife Marta Fuentes and his retirement from the University of Amsterdam; moved to North America for years of work on Asia in the world economy; married Alison Candela as he fought both illness and analytical struggles; and ended his life in Europe.

Further, this chapter and the book as a whole document the shifting currents of the world economy and the accompanying controversies, advances, and regressions in the understanding of global patterns in the present and past. Overall, one may identify a dramatic advance in understanding of the world economy over the past half-century, achieved through the work of scholars who remain poised, as the following chapters show, to expand and deepen that knowledge. Among the recent achievements of studies on the global economy are a revised historical analysis of Asia’s place in the world economy, growing historical detail on the complex global flows of silver and its role in monetary systems, analyses of inter-regional migrations of labor and types of labor regime, reconsiderations of the significance of states and state policy in structuring and restructuring the world economy, and studies of textiles and other commodities at the global level. In general these studies document changing patterns of world trade, social change, the expansion and implications of capitalist economic organization, and the interplay of local economic systems and global networks. We can now assess the world economy both as it has existed for the past five centuries and, from Frank’s perspective, for a much longer period of time. In the wake of the worldwide financial and economic crisis from 2008 to the present, the significance and value of this expanded historical and historicized understanding has come to be recognized more widely. That is, the legacy of Gunder Frank’s analysis may be expected to continue unfolding productively in the time to come.

Andre Gunder Frank and the world economy

In 1945 the world emerged from an extraordinary historical cycle of imperial expansion, depression, war, and rebellion to enter a brief period of relative peace and recovery – and in that year Andre Gunder Frank reached the age of sixteen,

a high-school student in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Sixty years later, when he passed away in Luxembourg, the world had been reconfigured in many ways. Decades of conflict and transformation had left the planet with a greatly shifted balance of forces, unprecedented economic inequality, a population that had expanded nearly threefold, and a situation seemingly posed for yet another historical cycle of crisis and transformation. In this section we trace – within four periods during those sixty years – the interplay of contemporary transformations in the world economy, the evolution and debates within economic scholarship and ideology, and the analysis and influence of Gunder Frank at successive periods in his life.

Andreas Frank was born a German citizen in Berlin in 1929 – the year of the great financial crash, between the two world wars. His birth in the cauldron of global conflict started him off on a path as a peripatetic and cosmopolitan personality. From ages four to twelve he lived alternately in the French-, Italian-, and German-speaking parts of Switzerland, attending boarding school, while his parents fled from Nazi-controlled Germany to seek a new life in the West. He entered the English-speaking world in 1941, arriving in Hollywood, California, to join his father.²

From 1945 to 1960

From 1945 to 1960, global recovery from the war's devastation led in contradictory directions. The rapid split among great powers led internationally to the threat of nuclear war and domestically (in many countries) to political paranoia. At the same time, the principal change in the postwar world was the advance in the conditions of common people. Workers everywhere demanded better conditions at the end of the war, whether led by communists, business unionists, or nationalist leaders. Political independence in Asia brought expanded programs for health and education, as did the expansion of social insurance programs in Europe and North America. For both these regions and for the expanding groups of states labeled "socialist" and governed by communist parties, local and national government delivered expanded social services. In 1945 the victorious powers had sought to organize a new world order while energetic social movements sought to expand and redefine the subordinate spaces that they inhabited. The USSR, United States, and United Kingdom joined to form the United Nations; the last two powers led in establishing the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. The complex, overall result was Anglo-American hegemony, the Marshall Plan, Asian independence, consolidation of a socialist bloc of nations, the Cold War, Keynesian economic policies in the capitalist center, economic growth (industrial growth in the most influential regions and agricultural growth elsewhere), creation of a welfare state in regions where labor was well organized, expanded health and education expenditures in poor countries and colonies, and colonial reform through forced investment. The economy grew for almost twenty years in most parts of the world. Afro-Asian nations met in Bandung

in 1955 to form what became the nonaligned movement; within the next two years the Soviet and Chinese communist parties had split. At the end of 1958 revolutionary forces seized power in Cuba, overthrowing a government beholden to U.S.-dominated sugar interests.

Postwar academic debate over economic life paralleled the changing economic conditions and conflicts. In the United States, Paul Samuelson (1947) led in presenting an analytically sophisticated Keynesian analysis as a "neoclassical synthesis." Talcott Parsons, who in prewar years had enunciated a complex sociological analysis that emphasized elite initiative, expanded that approach in *Economy and Society* (Parsons and Smelser 1956). This elite-focused analysis became the groundwork for modernization theory, for which W. W. Rostow (1953, 1960) became a leading spokesman among economists. It was in this era that Milton Friedman (1953, 1962) turned from Keynesian to monetarist thinking, emphasizing both analytical critique and social conservatism. In contrast, longer-term views of the economy arose in postwar Europe, where Fernand Braudel's (1949) history of the Mediterranean traced regional dynamics through varying temporal dynamics, and where Maurice Dobb (1946) explored the transition from feudalism to capitalism. Braudel's co-workers produced volumes on early-modern seaborne empires appearing from 1955 to 1975, and the long-delayed publication of Max Weber's *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* came in 1956 (Weber 1956). Formation of the United Nations provided a platform enabling Raúl Prebisch (1956) and other Latin American economists, through the Economic Commission for Latin America, to explore the causes for growth and stagnation in their region. In the United States Paul Sweezy, editor of *Monthly Review*, challenged Dobb's view of the rise of capitalism as too focused on class and not enough on market (Sweezy *et al.* 1954); his colleague Paul Baran published a 1957 volume arguing that currently poor countries faced limits on their growth because of the existence of rich countries. Overall, in this era of economic growth, academics focused on growth theory (for developed countries) and on development theory (for the rest), from various points of view.

When Gunder finished high school, he traveled and worked in various trades for a brief time, and then took up undergraduate studies at Swarthmore College. He went on to graduate study in economics at the University of Chicago. Gunder maintained his independent mind and at one point was officially advised by the Department of Economics to leave the university, as he said "because of my unsuitability or our incompatibility." While at Chicago he spent much time at courses and seminars in anthropology, which, he later said, was a disciplinary environment where he felt more comfortable than amongst the economists. In the end he eventually completed his PhD at Chicago, writing on a comparison of productivity growth between agriculture and industry in the Soviet Ukraine. It was at Chicago, however, where he became initially associated with the field of economic development, and where he developed his central insight that "social change . . . seemed the key to both social and economic development."

From 1960 to 1975

Changes in the world economy from 1960 to 1975, as in the previous fifteen years, balanced developments among the common people against the strategies of great powers and great corporations. Outstanding in this era were the achievement of national independence for most of Africa, anti-racism movements in other parts of the world, and the launching of women's campaigns for social and economic equality. Countries of the South continued to invest in health and education. The claims of these social and national groups and the cost of meeting them cut into corporate profit and brought a corporate search for responses that would enable profits to rise again: the Keynesian policies that supported social welfare and construction of infrastructure came under question. Still, postwar economic recovery continued, as Japan became active in international trade. The new global influence of ex-colonial countries became evident with the formation of the Group of 77 nations for trade negotiations within the United Nations.

Yet the limits of these developments elicited conflicts among groups throughout the world. In the Vietnam War, a mix of anti-colonialism, Cold War conflict, and class conflicts devastated Vietnam and brought division within the United States. China became transfixed by the Cultural Revolution from 1967 to 1976; the Revolutionary Offensive diverted Cuba for a shorter time. Independent governments in ex-colonial countries fell into corruption and dictatorship; in 1968 critical social movements broke out in Eastern and Western Europe, in North America, and elsewhere. A socialist government came to power in Chile in 1970 as a continuation of the social movements of 1968, but in 1973 it was overthrown by its military, which had plotted with encouragement from the U.S. government. In large measure these conflicts correlated with the slowing of economic growth and increasingly bitter disputes over the shares of capital and labor. The 1944 Bretton Woods agreement on exchange rates fell apart from 1971 to 1973 and was replaced by floating exchange rates. The wave of decolonization and revolution through mass mobilization gave way to bitter struggles of national liberation wars, as in Vietnam to 1975 and Angola thereafter. The October 1973 war, in which Egypt and Syria sought to regain lands lost to Israel in 1967, led to worldwide confrontation, kicking off spikes in oil prices, in interest rates, and in indebtedness for many poor countries.

Academic debate on socio-economic affairs in the years from 1960 to 1975 included the full flowering of hegemonic thinking within the elite-focused modernization framework, the germination of a right-wing reaction against Keynesian policies, and the emergence of New Left thinking. Despite the influence of modernization theory in this era, its draconian contrast of traditional and modern behavior broke down regularly under examination. Paul Baran and Paul Sweezy summarized their economic critique in *Monopoly Capital* (1966); it had global implications but was largely national in its scope. Paul Bairoch (1967, 1971) and Pierre Jalée (1965, 1968) gathered and estimated historical economic data, especially for colonial regions. The monetary shifts of the early 1970s added to the

social conflicts symbolized by 1968, and by the mid-1970s an important series of works had appeared in print. Weber's *Economy and Society* (first published in the original German in 1956) appeared in English in 1968: its emphasis on processes of bureaucratization occasioned widespread study of bureaucracy in society and history. Samir Amin, who had earlier published studies on economic growth in North Africa and West Africa, published a two-volume study of global economic accumulation in 1970. Karl Marx's *Grundrisse* appeared in English in 1973 and occasioned expanded study of alienation. At the same time, Milton Friedman's Chilean students, who had worked with him since the 1950s, became well placed to implement his neoliberal approach from 1973 into the 1980s. Immanuel Wallerstein's *Modern World-System* (1974), an analysis of the early-modern emergence of capitalism (written in an atmosphere governed by the conflicts of 1968 in Paris and at Columbia University), provided an attractive paradigm for analyzing the rise of capitalism in transnational and transimperial terms.³ In the same year appeared the most prominent and controversial of the quantitative studies within the "new economic history" – *Time on the Cross* by Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman (1974) – emphasizing the profitability and viability of slavery in the mid-nineteenth-century United States.

Andre Gunder Frank became an influential figure in the economic debates of these years. After completing his PhD degree in 1957, he had moved among various postdoctoral positions in the United States. Then in 1962, newly married to Marta Fuentes, he relied on support from the anthropologist Eric Wolf to move to a position in the recently established city and University of Brasilia in the era of President João Goulart. There Gunder seems instantly to have become involved in the discussions that made him a leading figure in the study of Latin American economic dependence. With the military overthrow of Goulart in 1964, Gunder moved to Mexico, Montreal, and then Chile, where he lived from 1968 to 1973. This was Latin America in the wake of the Cuban Revolution, up to the rise and subsequent destruction of the Allende government in Chile.

Gunder wrote vigorously from the moment of his arrival in Latin America, first circulating articles in Spanish and Portuguese. From 1966 his works came out in major publications. The books on what he came to call "dependence theory" appeared in English as *Capitalism and Underdevelopment* (Frank 1967); *Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution* (Frank 1969); and *Lumpenbourgeoisie, Lumpenddevelopment* (Frank 1972). New editions in additional languages continued to appear. His was a historical argument, emphasizing that underdevelopment would end only if forcibly displaced by social movements – a sharp contrast to the Rostovian vision of smooth growth led by a benevolent elite that was articulated through the U.S.-sponsored Alliance for Progress. Gunder turned to historical economic analysis, led partly by the internal logic of his vision of economic dependence and partly by the sharpening global transformations.

His work was full of revolutionary enthusiasm, and his analysis gained wide resonance and detailed commentary, especially throughout Latin America. He was a theorist and propagandist for revolution in Latin America. This work had

initial success and lasting results: for a time Gunder rode the wave of the movements for decolonization and social justice that characterized the continuing economic growth through the 1960s. He showed the historical place of Latin America in the global economy, and at the same time demonstrated the global connections in socio-economic relations. This work added an essential element to revealing the flaws in the oversimplified, essentialized vision of modernization theory. Further consideration of his initial economic observations revealed the value of extending the theory of dependence to issues in society, politics, and culture.⁴ In articulating this outlook, Gunder linked intellectuals and activists in social movements throughout Latin America with each other and with intellectuals in North America and Europe. Most of these developments took place in the postwar era of growth that continued to the late 1960s. But the excitement of articulating the connected nature of the world economy and the connected nature of Latin America's history was soon followed by difficult times: the resurgence of contradictions among Latin Americans and the effects of retaliation from the forces of capital.

From 1975 to 1990

In the world economy from 1975 to 1990, difficult times showed up on every front; contradictions became evident in the program of every collective contender for global social influence. The World Economic Forum, meeting in Switzerland, took form by stages as a meeting of major corporate interests to discuss their common problems. The ideology that became known as neoliberalism took shape from a mix of new and old ideas: among its policy planks were deregulation of private economic activities and privatization of government economic activities. Corruption arose in many post-independence states, as in other states and business firms. As fluctuations in money supplies and interest rates brought expanded national debts, international financial institutions imposed "structural adjustment" programs on many ex-colonial countries to ensure that they would place payment of international debt obligations ahead of domestic economic needs. Meanwhile, the needs of industry and government combined with the long-term success of education and health programs to bring forth growing numbers of professionals. These professionals became a new force in the social equation and a debate arose as to whether they constituted a "new class." The postwar history of social investments in health and literacy around the world was bearing fruit in rich countries and poor; economic investment in Asia, much of it via "state-led" or "developmental" means, brought the so-called "Asian Tigers" into prominence. Social movements occasionally displaced unrepresentative rulers, as with the 1979 overthrow of the Shah in Iran and the 1986 displacement of Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines through "People Power." On the other hand, the expanded exploitation and transformation of natural resources brought severe environmental and ecological changes and dangers to the fore. Everywhere, the global economic transitions made themselves felt through declining growth, monetary disarray, and the great

prominence of the petroleum industry. Costs of social and educational programs were rising, causing alarm in the circles that became the neoliberals. Margaret Thatcher came to power in Britain in 1979; Ronald Reagan came to power in the United States in 1981: both highlighted their links to Milton Friedman and Friedrich von Hayek and their calls for reduction in government. Deregulation began moving ahead, industry by industry.

Academic debate on socio-economic affairs on the global left became less influential as the right gained in intellectual, cultural, and political strength. In a symbolic statement for the age, Friedrich von Hayek received the 1974 Nobel prize in economic science (but shared it with Gunnar Myrdal); in 1976 the same prize went to Milton Friedman. Friedman retired in 1977, took up an appointment at the Hoover Institution in California, and devoted over fifteen years to an influential campaign for monetarist economics, privatization of government functions (especially social insurance), and deregulation of private firms. The World Bank and International Monetary Fund, after encouraging ex-colonial countries to assume large debts then pressing them to repay at high interest rates, confirmed this approach with the 1984 Berg Report on Africa and the formalization of "structural adjustment" policies.

For scholars interested in the world as a system, growing interest in the economic history of regions outside the North Atlantic brought efforts at the application and generalization of Marx's notion of "mode of production," combining the forces of production with the social and technical relations of production in a given context. Barry Hindess and Paul Hirst published an influential 1975 volume, *Pre-capitalist Modes of Production*; Samir Amin, among others, adopted a similar framework in his analyses of economic history and theory published in 1973. In another reflection of growing historical interest on the left, the articles from the Dobb-Sweezy controversy on the origins of capitalism were republished under the editorship of Rodney Hilton (Sweezy *et al.* 1976). Wallerstein's vision of the modern world-system gained wide attention: the Fernand Braudel Center and its journal, *Review*, applied and debated the framework broadly.⁵

Out of the 1970s – a moment of global crisis in economy and society – developed the second great phase of Gunder's work: global analysis of the economy, focusing on cyclical change, at first historical and then contemporary.⁶ In turning to historical studies of the global economy, he published his 1978 book, *World Accumulation, 1492–1789*, an empirical review of cyclical economic expansion and decline drawn from secondary works but organized into a global framework. It was followed in the next year by the more interpretive *Dependent Accumulation and Underdevelopment* (1979b), based on essays he had written in the years up to 1973. The overall framework of the two works emphasized three periods of capital accumulation: mercantilist (1500–1700), industrial capitalist (1770–1870), and imperialist (1870–1930). In these studies, Gunder expressed little interest in analyzing through the device of modes of production: he later argued that such an approach undermined recognition of global economic links.⁷ Immediately after these works, Gunder undertook substantial research on the

unfolding contemporary crisis and published his results in two books: *Crisis in the World Economy* (1980) and *Crisis in the Third World* (1981a). Most of this work was completed while he was at various positions in Germany (1973–1978) and at the University of East Anglia (1978–1983). Gunder's big studies on long-term accumulation and on crisis in the 1970s, rather than gaining wide attention, remained on library shelves as mute monuments to his energy.

From 1983 he moved to the University of Amsterdam where he remained until his retirement in 1993. In *Reflections* (1981b) and especially *Critique and Anti-critique* (1984), he reviewed the academic and political debates and defeats of the previous decade.⁸ In an appendix to the latter volume he presented a "Requiem for a Reader," the table of contents for a three-volume reader of classical essays relevant to global political economy on which he had worked for years, but which publishers ultimately declined to bring out. In this era one sees increasing evidence of the sharp edge to Gunder's arguments that remained in his later years – especially as expressed in his disputes with the communist parties of Latin America, which he found to be too reluctant to break with the power structure. At the same time, one sees a growth in his readiness to acknowledge his own errors and shift his perspective from that in earlier work. Gunder bucked ideological trends in that era of rising neoliberalism. He expressed agony over the losses of social movements, he turned back to history to explore the antecedents and long-term patterns of economic change, and he focused on immediate and short-term change. This steady reformulation led Gunder to open up, toward the end of the 1980s, new interests in cross-disciplinary, historically long-term, and geographically wide-ranging studies. That is, he began to ask himself the question of whether the world-system might go back in history before 1600 or even before "1492."

Since 1989

World events from 1989 brought a resurgence of social and intellectual contestation. From 1989 social movements arose in a wave of extraordinary size and persistence that brought down many governments and challenged others. Such movements, led especially by professionals and students and workers, brought the collapse of European communist regimes, the fall of white-led regimes in southern Africa, and expanding claims for democracy in Africa, Latin America, and Asia. In the midst of this social upheaval, Saddam Hussein's seizure of Kuwait, in an apparent attempt to incorporate it into Iraq, enabled the United States government to assemble a broad coalition and exercise its military might to expand its control of oil resources. In a further consequence of global turmoil, the USSR collapsed in 1991 and was rapidly though chaotically absorbed into the capitalist world. The resulting end of the Cold War brought a continued expansion and concentration of military strength in the hands of the United States, yet the exercise of U.S. military power in Iraq in 1991 (and again from 2003) was ambiguous in its impact. Under these circumstances, formation of the European Union in 1993

led within a decade to its expansion to a continental scale. Japan, after decades of growth, entered economic stagnation; in contrast, the Chinese state recovered from its 1989 social confrontation and achieved accelerating economic growth, followed by the substantial growth of India, Brazil, and other countries of the South. Dramatic expansion of computer production and geographic shifts in the factory production of electronic and other consumer goods underlay the labeling of this era as that of "globalization." Neoliberal influences in the finance industry opened stock markets worldwide. Neoliberals reached their peak power at the end of the twentieth century, achieving near-complete deregulation of financial firms. In response, Keynesian economists spoke up again to debate with the neoliberals on matters of policy. On the left and after a delay, the World Social Forum took form in 2000 in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in effect as an alternative to the World Economic Forum. Ironically, the economic inequality within nations and among nations had grown to an unprecedented level in the very era in which racism and colonial subjugation were effectively discredited and in which notions of democracy came to be espoused universally. The September 11, 2001 destruction of the New York World Trade Center by passenger aircraft hijacked by al-Qaida operatives heightened tensions and hatreds, and led to wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. As the wars died down, the problems of economic, financial, and monetary instability arose again for attention, and were highlighted especially by a near-meltdown of global financial markets in late 2008.

Scholars concerned with the global economy concentrated, in the 1990s, on historical questions of the long-term continuity of the economic system, and only gradually turned back to contemporary issues. In a 1989 volume that at once adopted and contested the world-system framework, Janet Abu-Lughod's *Before European Hegemony* portrayed a thirteenth-century world-system centered in the Middle East. Meanwhile, for those thinking in systemic terms about contemporary times, interest arose in the study of empires and imperialism. The critique of Eurocentrism in historical interpretation became a subject of debate from 1990, within economics, sociology, and history. An interdisciplinary World-Historical Systems Theory Group formed in 1989 within the International Studies Association.⁹ World history took shape as an organized field of study, and began to include the world economy within its purview.¹⁰ Historical studies of the environment expanded, particularly as recurring environmental crises revealed their links to the global economy. Within economic history, interest returned to large-scale analysis: Jeffrey Williamson (1997) led in expanding microeconomic analysis of international trade and migration, while Angus Maddison (1995) prepared estimates of historical statistics on nations and regions worldwide, working steadily further back in time.¹¹ Various regional economic-historical studies showed themselves to have global implications: outstanding among them were *The Great Divergence*, a study by Kenneth Pomeranz (2000) comparing the eighteenth-century economies of regions of China and Europe, and the work of Kaoru Sugihara and Osamu Saito documenting Japanese growth and making the case for a labor-intensive path to industrialization (Sugihara 2005). Wrapping up

this phase of analysis, Patrick O'Brien led the Global Economic History Network (GEHN; n.d.), a worldwide set of seminars from 2005 through 2007.

As the dramatic social movements of 1989 unfolded, Gunder moved quickly to analyze these historic uprisings in a volume co-edited with Samir Amin, Giovanni Arrighi, and Immanuel Wallerstein (1990). In these same circumstances, the third major stage in Gunder's career opened up. In this era he came to see the world economic system as having had an existence extending far back in time. Based on this revised framework, he then moved to articulate a new and Asian-centered interpretation of the world economy from 1500 to 1800, and turned finally to seeking out the outlines of the great restructuring of the world economy in the nineteenth century. Inspired in part by Abu-Lughod, Gunder began envisioning a long-term "world system" in the period before 1600, in work with international political economist and East Asianist Barry Gills.¹² The two met and began collaborating in the spring of 1989, and produced a series of jointly authored articles and chapters from 1989 to 1992, beginning with work on "The Cumulation of Accumulation," in which they challenged the distinctiveness of modern capitalism, arguing that accumulation of capital could be shown to be a long-term historical practice (Gills and Frank 1990).¹³ This work expanded Gunder's contacts with scholars in a wide range of disciplines and reaffirmed his early vision of a multidisciplinary social science: in 1990 he published an argument for a 5,000-year world system in *Review*; in 1991 he wrote a "Plea for World System History" in an early issue of the *Journal of World History*; and in 1992 he published *The Centrality of Central Asia*, highlighting the silk roads.¹⁴ The principal summary of the Frank-Gills collaboration was a co-edited 1993 volume, *The World System: Five Hundred Years or Five Thousand?* (Frank and Gills 1993a). This collection was an explicit attempt to show continuity in accumulation and systemic behavior over the long term. In the extensive introduction to the volume, Frank and Gills (1993b) laid out a problematic for the exploration of the world economy across a wide range of time, space, and topical and disciplinary spaces, with a list of disciplines and approaches relevant to its study.¹⁵ The volume included debate with critics of the new perspective, notably Wallerstein and Amin.

Gunder's life then underwent some big changes: Marta died in 1993 after suffering a long illness; Gunder, who had also suffered serious illnesses, was her primary care provider in her last months. In the same year Gunder had to retire from the University of Amsterdam at age 65.¹⁶ Gunder moved to the United States and lived there and in Canada from 1994 to 2003. Yet even as his life took new directions, Gunder held steady on historical study of the world economy. On arriving in the United States he struck up regular connections with world historians, becoming a research associate of the world history program at Northeastern University from 1995; there he mentored several graduate students and served on the dissertation committee of one of them, Jeffrey Sommers. Also in 1995 Gunder married sociologist Nancy Howell, whom he had known many years earlier, and moved to join her in Toronto; within three years the relationship had broken up leading to a difficult divorce. During these years Gunder wrote *ReOrient: Global*

Economy in the Asian Age (Frank 1998). With a concentration on the era from 1600 to 1800, Gunder focused his geographical vision of the world economy on the central role of Asia. Working in association with specialists on the global silver trade and on Asian economies, Gunder developed an argument for continued Asian economic leadership in the world economy through the eighteenth century and on monetary flows as both the cause and reflection of growth and transformation in the global economy.¹⁷ The book gained wide attention, broad debate from many perspectives, and a 1999 prize from the World History Association.¹⁸ The new audience of world historians remained close to his work.

Gunder moved to a visiting position at Florida International University in 1999 and it was then that he met Alison Candela, the English-born nurse who became his cheerful companion from that time forth. They went to Nebraska for a year, then to Boston. Gunder and Alison married in 2003 and Gunder plunged – to the degree that fluctuating health allowed him – into investigation of the nineteenth-century sequel to *ReOrient*, asking when and how the Great Divergence came about. He also wrote critiques of economic and military policies of U.S. President George W. Bush and predicted the collapse of the U.S.-led monetary and financial system as China's growth continued. Gunder worked on each of these topics right up to the moment of his death.

From the vantage point of 2010, we can say that understanding of the world economy has advanced greatly since 1945. Although there exist plenty of business practitioners and academic economists who think there is no need to look back beyond the past ten years and no need to gaze more broadly than toward the nearest stock exchange, there has developed a clear consensus among well-informed scholars on the outlines of the world economy. Geographically it includes the whole world, virtually without exception. Temporally it goes back centuries and perhaps millennia. It includes the full range of economic issues at micro and macro levels, including money and finance, and not just international trade. It is a global system in which influences reverberate throughout its extent; the dynamics of social class and the recognition of social discrimination are aspects of the global economy; and it is recognized that long-term factors are significant in the functioning of the world economic system. These long-term factors include variations in capital stock, cycles in monetary behavior, the social organization of production and income distribution, the nature of economic and governmental institutions, technological change, changes in social values, and the interplay of the economy and the natural environment. Of these factors, capital accumulation seemed even more important to analysts in 2005 than it had in 1945, as it had become possible to create assets out of financial manipulations alone and use them to buy up material properties. Nevertheless, if the world economy is far better understood today than six decades ago, recent developments have shown that a great deal remains unknown. The extent, the complexity, and the risks of the economy had been compounded over time. The potential for conflict and catastrophe is now understood to incorporate ecological, financial, and social catastrophe.

How do we evaluate the contributions of Gunder Frank to the study of the world economy? Many voices could be raised in answer to this question, and many answers are possible. We have chosen to identify five achievements in his scholarship. Gunder's first success was in the dual contribution of clarifying the historical and systemic nature of Latin American underdevelopment and providing a convincing example of global interaction in the world economic system. His notion of historical system stimulated wide discussion in Latin American circles and strengthened the position of Latin American scholars in worldwide economic debates; his attention to global interaction was a crucial conceptual step beyond national essentialism in economic thinking. Second, he undertook repeated explorations of economic accumulation, arguing that it is a recurring and indeed consistent human pattern. The implication of his argument, articulated in the 1970s and then in the 1990s, is neither that "capitalism" began 5,000 years ago (though "capital" existed over this period and so did "capital accumulation"), nor that "capitalism" does not exist, but rather that a coherent definition of "capitalism" as a modern economic order must be more specific than the focus on "ceaseless accumulation" of capital. Third, Gunder focused considerable energy on identifying the early 1970s as a major cyclical shift, and seems to have been correct in significant regard. His work is thus a significant contribution to problematizing cycles of various types in the world economy. Fourth, in *ReOrient* he was especially influential in conveying the argument that Asian economies were the most productive elements of the global economy from the fifteenth century through the eighteenth century, and in drawing attention to the role of silver in creating the first global currency. He assembled this argument from the research of many colleagues: here it was his work as synthesizer of a global economic argument that was most effective. Fifth and finally, Gunder's multidisciplinary approach provides a lesson of fundamental importance for continuing studies of the global economy. At each stage of his career, he has demonstrated the value of social science disciplines in providing varying perspectives and new documents.

No coherent body of study, no single theory encompasses the world economy. But the interplay among regional scholars working across time periods, across fields of economic and social study, has grown far tighter. The range of issues involved in grappling with the world economy surely exceeds the capability of any single individual: it requires collaborative work. But Gunder was at his best in highlighting the number of different types of issues and types of disciplinary background necessary to address them.

The 2008 Pittsburgh Conference

The passing of Andre Gunder Frank in 2005, after a long struggle against cancer, brought widespread reflection on his life and legacy, and several meetings at which scholars and friends gave presentations in his memory. Yet there remained an interest in a larger-scale academic memorial, in response to which the authors of this introduction found a way to propose a conference. With the support of

a Global Academic Partnership grant from the Global Studies Program at the University of Pittsburgh, and also with the support of the fledgling World History Center at the same university, it was possible to bring practical realization to our joint proposal of an intercontinental meeting gathering many of the main figures in critical socio-economic studies. From April 11 to 13, 2008, most of a hundred scholars, students, and friends came together at the David Lawrence Conference Center on the Pitt campus, and for over two days discussed and debated major questions in critical socio-economic studies, with attention to the legacy of Andre Gunder Frank. The call for papers requested proposals in each of six themes that had characterized Frank's work: underdevelopment and dependency in Latin America; world accumulation and world system; 5,000-year world system; East Asia in the world economy; social movements; and contemporary political and economic analysis. Nearly 100 proposals arrived; sixty-five presentations were made, several of them collaborative, in the course of the conference.

A conference committee planned and organized from start to finish.¹⁹ The committee's first objective was to arrange for the participation of major speakers, whose participation would be announced with the call for papers, thus confirming for potential participants that the conference would bring high-level debate on the issues and a large-scale commemoration of Frank's life and work. Fortunately, almost all of those invited as major speakers were able to participate. Featured speakers were Giovanni Arrighi, John Beverley, Christopher Chase-Dunn, Robert Denemark, Barry K. Gills, Thomas D. Hall, Kenneth Pomeranz, Aníbal Quijano, Kaoru Sugihara, and Immanuel Wallerstein. Samir Amin was unable to come to the United States from Senegal, but his work was cited frequently by those in attendance. Alison Candela, the widow of Gunder Frank, who kept him going through devoted care and through her lively good humor, was an honored guest at the conference and gave a moving set of remarks on Gunder, his work, and the evident continuation of studies pursuing his lead.

Participants in the conference, in addition to the main figures just mentioned, included scholars from all over the world. The conference website, including biographies and abstracts for each participant as well as the conference program, confirms the variety of origins and perspectives of the participants.²⁰ Their attendance showed that it is increasingly possible to sustain a worldwide dialogue on issues in the global economy. Participating scholars came from multiple disciplines, at all ages and all stages of their careers, in particular, graduate students who are opening up the next stage of research and debate. Twenty presentations by graduate students were included on the program, although not all were able to attend the conference. Four papers by graduate students were selected for inclusion in this volume.²¹ The final conference plenary session reviewed and discussed the work of graduate students, in an attempt to draw out of their work a sense of the directions in which critical socio-economic studies are headed.

Some of the major presentations at the conference do not appear in this volume. Giovanni Arrighi gave a very lively presentation on "The Regional Foundations of Development Theories," but learned immediately after the conference of his

serious illness and was unable to complete a publication version; he died on June 8, 2009. Immanuel Wallerstein's presentation on "A Left Agenda for the Next 25 Years" was published soon after the conference in *Monthly Review* (2008). Kaoru Sugihara and Kenneth Pomeranz, whose presentations, along with that of Giovanni Arrighi, gave special attention to East Asian economic change, were unable for personal reasons to submit publications. On the other hand Samir Amin, who was unable to attend the conference and was greatly missed, was able to provide a valuable contribution to this volume on the current global economic crisis.

Contributions in this volume

The contributions to this volume address a wide range of space and time. One study is situated in migration and economic struggle at the present moment; four more center on the era since the Second World War; three focus on the nineteenth century; two concern themselves with the early modern period; and one ranges over several millennia. In regional focus, two studies center on Asian nations; four more focus more broadly on Asia and the Indian Ocean; three address Latin America; and three are global in scope. Although none of the chapters focuses explicitly on Western Europe or the United States, details of the economies and economic relations of these regions appear in most of the studies.

Aside from this introduction, the chapters to follow are presented in three parts. The first part, "Andre Gunder Frank's Critical Vision," focuses tightly on the work of Gunder himself. Albert Bergesen's presentation on "Frankian triangles" opened the conference and provided a broad and instructive view of an essential point in Frank's thinking; that is, Frank's attention to sets of triangular relations added a dimension to his understanding of regional interactions in commerce and indeed to social inter-relations generally. Robert Denemark follows with a commentary on Frank's unfinished manuscript, *ReOrient the Nineteenth Century*. The chapter is not a summary of the book to come but a set of reflections of the editor on the problems of selecting from a complex set of notes for publication. Further, the chapter relates Denemark's interactions with Frank and with those who have commented on the manuscript in preparation, as a sort of gathering of an old clan for one more set of interpretive debates. The third chapter in this section, unique in a different fashion, is an edited and slightly updated version of an unpublished 1994 article by Barry Gills and Andre Gunder Frank. Publication of this prescient piece helps to convey how the team of Gills and Frank moved from their previous study of the 5,000-year world system to a focus on silver and Asian leadership in the early-modern world economy. In this version, Gills adds updated comments to the original co-authored text.

The second part, including four chapters, traces the continuing reflections on a range of issues in critical socio-economic studies. Samir Amin offers his perspective on the current economic crisis. Christopher Chase-Dunn and Thomas Hall, who have authored numerous studies on long-term and large-scale analysis, provide an overview of their current understanding of evolution and shifting

hegemonies in economic and political systems. This sociological analysis, while giving attention to the uniqueness of current policy dilemmas, emphasizes the periodic recurrence of major transformations in the context of overall growth in the scale of human organization. Aníbal Quijano, addressing Latin American issues from a sociological standpoint, traces the evolution of the notion of "coloniality of power" out of inspiration from dependency theory. John Beverley, writing from a position in cultural and literary studies, emphasizes that dependency theory and critical socio-economic studies have brought important resonances in cultural studies, particularly in Latin American assessments of regional culture in the global context. Jeffrey Sommers and Boris Kagarlitsky collaborate to apply the analysis of Kondratieff waves, including their social dimensions, to the period since 1970.

The concluding part highlights the multidisciplinary analyses in new scholarship on political economy. Each of the authors, while formally based in a single discipline, draws on a wide range of method and theory to provide clear yet nuanced analyses. Jan-Frederik Abbeloos centers on the world copper market of "the long twentieth century," tracing its spatial transformation. Kevan Harris presents a national study of Iran, identifying a logic in Iranian economic policy over several decades. In another national study, Hae-Yung Song argues that the analytical dichotomy between state-directed and market-directed policies for national development fails to explain the nature of the South Korean success of recent decades. Carylanna Taylor, an anthropologist, reports on field study of emigration both in a Honduran region of departure and in North American regions of settlement, contrasting the short-run benefits of overseas remittances with the longer-term degradation of national resources in the homeland that result from this economic reorganization. Altogether, these studies open new ground yet may remind readers of Gunder's early and continuing study of commodity histories, state policy in economic growth, and anthropological study in Latin American problems of community development.

Directions in critical analyses of the world economy

We cannot resist commenting speculatively on how Gunder might have responded to the present ongoing global crisis – not least with a wise and humorous "I told you so"; that he would have been justified in pronouncing about all that has happened – and why. We also believe that Gunder would have wanted to see further development in the fields of global history and world history, in part through a decisive break from Eurocentrism and a parallel break from social theories of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries derived from Eurocentric premises.

The wide-ranging coverage and debate, both in the conference and in this collection of major papers from the conference, may appear from a certain angle to be academic eclecticism. Yet there are numerous threads that can readily be drawn from virtually any one of these chapters to each of the others. Critical socio-economic studies have evolved since the mid-twentieth century from studies of

monolithic national units in collision to a multi-leveled analysis of factors within nations, factors at continental levels, and patterns of the entire global system. The chapters in this book address monetary issues, state policy and action, and the changes in social structures. The current direction of work in this broad field is best seen as the posing of many of the same questions at varying temporal and spatial scales. The heritage of this work, and the legacy of Andre Gunder Frank in particular, is that it provides us with secure protection against the uncritical reflex of treating the latest global development as a completely new phase.

We now face a serious period of economic dislocation, with effects at every level and in every region. The continuing tradition of critical socio-economic studies – ranging widely across regions, time periods, and theoretical frameworks – is now far better placed to assist in analysis of the nature of global socio-economic change than it was when Andre Gunder Frank first entered this field of study. Although most of Gunder's scholarship focused on the past, he was deeply interested in the present and the future. To punctuate that point it is relevant to conclude this introduction by invoking his 2005 essay, circulated online, predicting a fiscal and monetary crisis based on the surplus of U.S. Treasury bonds held in China and elsewhere outside the United States. Gunder did not anticipate precisely the mechanism or the timing of the crisis that unfolded from an overheated housing market, but he skillfully used his sense of historical dynamics in economic systems to lay out a global scenario of economic crisis that confirms the type of critical historical socio-economic studies that characterizes his life's work and his lasting legacy in the social sciences.

Notes

- 1 We are tempted to recount many of our personal experiences with Gunder and personal details of his colorful life. We do in fact tell some of these stories. Yet we thought it best to restrain ourselves, knowing that many other people – hundreds, at least – had personal encounters with Gunder of equal interest and importance.
- 2 His parents had already separated, his mother becoming a UN translator, living in upstate New York. His father was a renowned humanist and novelist in prewar Germany, a close friend of Thomas and Heinrich Mann, who like other German intellectuals had escaped Nazi control to write scripts for the American movie business and socialize with the likes of Greta Garbo, another family friend of the time. So Gunder received a very early introduction to the limelight and the life of the rich and famous.
- 3 Subsequent volumes were published; see Wallerstein (1980, 1989). On the contemporary situation in which Wallerstein began this work, see Wallerstein and Starr (1971).
- 4 See Chapter 8 in this volume, by John Beverley, for development of this theme.
- 5 Other influential publications of that moment were Anderson (1974a,b) and Taylor (1979). The Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economies, Historical Systems, and Civilizations was established at Binghamton University in 1976, under the leadership of Immanuel Wallerstein.
- 6 He did continue his work within the dependence framework, publishing his book on early colonial Mexican agriculture in Spanish in 1976. The English version appeared as *Mexican Agriculture 1521–1630: Transformation of the Mode of Production* (Frank 1979a).

- 7 He used the term “modes of production” in the 1970s, including in titles, but did not carry out specific analysis within the framework of modes of production. His 1979 edition of *Mexican Agriculture 1521–1630* has as its subtitle “Transformation of the Mode of Production,” but his analysis there is in terms of the economic system as a whole rather than emphasizing more specific modes of production (p. 79). Chapter 6 of *Dependent Accumulation* is entitled “Imperialism and the Transformation of Modes of Production in Asia, Africa and Latin America, 1870–1930.”
- 8 *Reflections* consists of lectures presented from 1972 to 1979. In *Critique and Anti-Critique* see his critique of the “Chicago Boys,” who came from the Catholic University of Chile and who worked in Chicago, especially with Arnold Harberger but also with Milton Friedman. See the two “Open Letters” on Chile and “economic genocide,” written to Arnold Harberger (1974) and Milton Friedman (1976); Gunder parallels the “Chicago Boys” with the “Berkeley Mafia” who took over the economic reins in Indonesia after the Suharto coup of 1965 (p. 128).
- 9 The World-Historical Systems Theory Group is a subsection of the International Political Economy Section of the International Studies Association. It was co-founded in 1989 by Barry Gills and David Wilkinson, but joined immediately by Frank, Christopher Chase-Dunn, Thomas Hall, Jonathan Friedman, George Modelski, William R. Thompson, and Robert Denemark, among others. It has organized a large number of panels and sessions since its inception and its work continues to the present. Several collections and edited volumes showcase work by members and related scholars from many disciplines, for example *World System History: The Social Science of Long-Term Change* (Denemark et al. 2000). This volume contains papers from a major international conference held by the World-Historical Systems Theory Group at the University of Lund several years earlier.
- 10 The *Journal of World History* began publication in 1990, edited by Jerry H. Bentley.
- 11 Maddison's estimates drew on the earlier statistical compilations of B. R. Mitchell (1975, 1982).
- 12 From this time a new convention became clear: the hyphenated term “world-system,” as used by Immanuel Wallerstein, came to be restricted to “the modern world-system” arising in capitalist early-modern Europe; the unhyphenated “world system” came to apply to more general applications of the notion of world system, sometimes applied to several millennia of history.
- 13 An expanded version was published in 1991 and an additional version in 1993. See also Gills and Frank (1992) and Frank and Gills (1992).
- 14 Frank and Gills were already aware of the work of Christopher Chase-Dunn and Thomas Hall, and indeed regarded them as being closest to their own new research agenda. See also Frank (1993).
- 15 In order, the categories explored are world system theory, Eurocentrism and its alternatives, world historiography, civilizationism, archaeology, classicism in ancient history, medievalism, from early modern to modern history, economic history, (macro) historical sociology, political geography, international relations and international political economy, development studies, ecology, anthropology, ethnic and race relations/studies, and gender relations.
- 16 His formal retirement and a party to honour the occasion took place at Barry and Dong-Sook Gills' home in Newcastle upon Tyne, England, where Gunder lived for two months in February–March 1994, working with Gills on the next phase of the project to assess “The Modern World System Under Asian Hegemony: The Silver Standard World Economy 1450–1750” (1994, 2011), which appears in this edited collection (Chapter 4).
- 17 See also Barry K. Gills and Andre Gunder Frank (1994, 2011) “The Modern World System Under Asian Hegemony: The Silver Standard World Economy 1450–1750,” Chapter 4 of this volume.
- 18 Gunder was aware that his global economic analysis included few connections with the African continent. Wallerstein, Amin, and Arrighi too found it difficult to articulate

African roles in the world economy, although they had each conducted their initial studies on African topics.

- 19 Co-chairs were Patrick Manning and Barry Gills (the latter working by e-mail from Newcastle in England). Other committee members were Thomas Rawski (Department of Economics), John Beverley (Department of Hispanic Languages), and Salvatore Babones (Department of Sociology), all of the University of Pittsburgh, and Robert Fagley, a doctoral student in French Language and Literature at Pitt who served as the conference staff person and as a member of the committee.
- 20 <http://www.worldhistorynetwork.org/agfrank-details.php>.
- 21 Those are the chapters by Abbeloos, Harris, Song, and Taylor.

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Part I

Andre Gunder Frank's critical vision