



**VERSO**

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Foreign Rights Catalogue / Autumn 2021

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## About Verso

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Verso Books is the largest independent radical publisher in the English-speaking world, with a list that encompasses trade and academic titles in politics, current affairs, history, philosophy, social sciences and literature.

Launched by *New Left Review* in 1970, Verso—the left-hand page—has offices in London and New York and publishes, on average, 90 books a year.

Its rich backlist includes landmark books by Tariq Ali, Benedict Anderson, Robin Blackburn, Robert Brenner, Judith Butler, Alexander Cockburn, Noam Chomsky, Mike Davis, David Harvey, Eric Hobsbawm, Fredric Jameson, Edward Said, Rebecca Solnit, Ellen Meiksins Wood, and Slavoj Žižek.

For a full list of Verso's titles, please visit our website, [www.versobooks.com](http://www.versobooks.com).

# Uncomputable

## Play and Politics in the Long Digital Age

Alexander Galloway

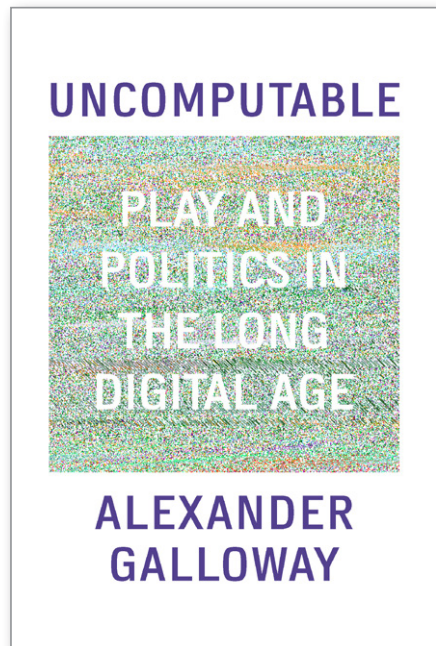
**A journey through the uncomputable remains of computer history**

Narrating some lesser known episodes from the deep history of digital machines, Alexander Galloway explains the technology that drives the world today, and the fascinating people who brought these machines to life. With an eye to both the computable and the uncomputable, Galloway shows how computation emerges or fails to emerge, how the digital thrives but also atrophies, how networks interconnect while also fray and fall apart. By re-building obsolete technology using today's software, the past comes to light in new ways, from intricate algebraic patterns woven on a hand loom, to striking artificial-life simulations, to war games and back boxes. A description of the past, this book is also an assessment of all that remains uncomputable as we continue to live in the aftermath of the long digital age.

**Alexander R. Galloway** is Professor of Media, Culture, and Communication at New York University. He is author or coauthor of several books, including *The Interface Effect*, *Protocol* and *Gaming*.

"Galloway's work is conceptually sharp, visually compelling and completely attuned to the political moment." *New York Times*

"Galloway's theorisation of the computer as a mode of mediation offers rich possibilities for the critical analysis of the digital." *Radical Philosophy*



November 2021

192 pages

# Revolutionary Mathematics

## Artificial Intelligence, Statistics, and the Logic of Capitalism

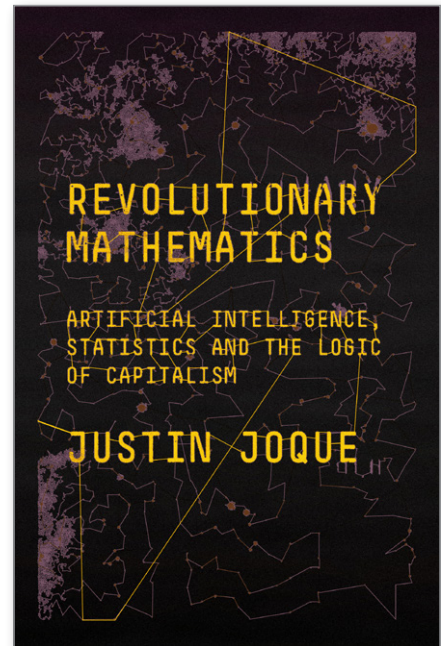
Justin Joque

### The rise of AI and algorithms refiguring contemporary capitalism

Our finances, politics, media, opportunities, information, shopping and knowledge production are mediated through algorithms and their statistical approaches to knowledge. Increasingly, these methods form the organisational backbone of contemporary capitalism. *Revolutionary Mathematics* traces the revolution in statistics and probability that has quietly underwritten the explosion of machine learning, big data and predictive algorithms that now decide many aspects of our lives. Exploring shifts in the philosophical understanding of probability in the late twentieth century, Joque shows how this was not merely a technical change but a wholesale philosophical transformation in the production of knowledge and the extraction of value.

This book provides a new and unique perspective on the dangers of allowing artificial intelligence and big data to manage society. It is essential reading for those who want to understand the underlying ideological and philosophical changes that have fuelled the rise of algorithms and convinced so many to blindly trust their outputs, reshaping our current political and economic situation.

**Justin Joque** researches philosophy, technology and media and is the visualization librarian at the University of Michigan.



January 2022

208 pages

Rights sold

Arabic

Malayalam

Turkish

# Work without the Worker

## Labour in the Age of Platform Capitalism

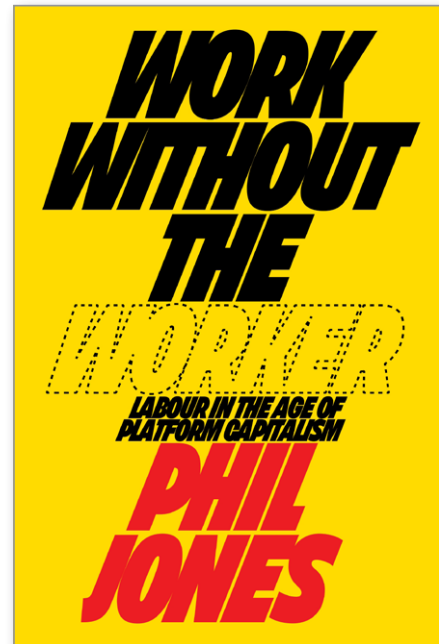
**Phil Jones**

### **The brutal truth behind our automated futures and the new world of work**

We are told that the future of work will be increasingly automated. Algorithms, processing massive amounts of information at startling speed, will lead us to a new world of effortless labour and a post-work utopia of ever expanding leisure. But behind the gleaming surface stands millions of workers, often in the Global South, manually processing data for a pittance.

Recent years have seen a boom in online crowdsourcing platforms like Amazon's Mechanical Turk and Clickworker, and these have become an increasingly important source of work for millions of people. And it is these badly paid tasks, not algorithms, that make our digital lives possible. Used to process data for everything from the mechanics of self-driving cars to Google image search, this is an increasingly powerful part of the new digital economy, although one hidden and rarely spoken of. But what happens to work when it makes itself obsolete. In this stimulating work that blends political economy, studies of contemporary work, and speculations on the future of capitalism, Phil Jones looks at what this often murky and hidden form of labour looks like, and what it says about the state of global capitalism.

**Phil Jones** is a research affiliate at Autonomy and a PhD researcher at the University of Sussex. His writing regularly appears in the *Guardian* and *OpenDemocracy*.



October 2021

176 pages

# Everything and Less

## The Novel in the Age of Amazon

**Mark McGurl**

### How Amazon has changed literature

As the story goes, Jeff Bezos left a lucrative job to start something new in Seattle after being deeply affected by Kazuo Ishiguro's *Remains of the Day*. If a novel gave us Amazon, what has Amazon meant for the novel? In *Everything and Less*, acclaimed critic Mark McGurl discovers a dynamic scene of cultural experimentation in literature. Its innovations have little to do with how the novel is written and more to do with how it's distributed online. On the internet, all fiction becomes genre fiction, which is simply another way to predict customer satisfaction.

With an eye on the longer history of the novel, this witty, acerbic book tells a story that connects Henry James to E. L. James, and Faulkner and Hemingway to contemporary romance, science fiction and fantasy writers. Reclaiming several works of self-published fiction from the gutter of complete critical disregard, it stages a copernican revolution in how we understand the world of letters: it's the stuff of high literature – Colson Whitehead, Don DeLillo, and Amitav Ghosh – that revolves around the star of countless unknown writers trying to forge a career by untraditional means, adult baby diaper lover erotica being just one fortuitous route. In opening the floodgates of popular literary expression as never before, the age of Amazon shows a democratic promise, as well as what it means when literary culture becomes corporate culture in the broadest but also deepest and most troubling sense.

**Mark McGurl** is the Albert Guérard Professor of Literature at Stanford University. His last book, *The Program Era*, won the Truman Capote Award for Literary Criticism. He previously worked for *The New York Times* and *The New York Review of Books*.

Praise for *The Program Era*:

"An impressive and imaginative book." **Louis Menand**, *New Yorker*

"It is a cliché to say that a book so changes your view of a particular historical period or problem that you never see it the same old way again. But this is the kind of book that warrants such praise. McGurl has brought deep learning, sweeping ambition, and stylistic brio together here to produce a whole new story of postwar American fiction. There is nothing else like it on the shelves of contemporary literary criticism." **Jim English**, author of *The Economy of Prestige*

September 2021

320 pages



# The Revenge of the Real

## Post-Pandemic Politics

Benjamin Bratton

**Technology, Politics, Science: Can the world govern itself differently after the Coronavirus?**

The global pandemic should be seen less as a “state of exception” than a revelation of multiple pre-existing conditions.

*The Revenge of the Real* envisions a post-pandemic politics based upon the imperatives that have revealed themselves during the emergency. It demands that we imagine an epidemiological view of society, on a planetary scale: the need to rethink how governments interact with each other and their populations, as well as how we live, work and, perhaps, thrive with each other. The lockdown has forced new norms - social distancing, models and curves, masks and quarantine - that we have to accommodate into everyday lives. How do these alter what it means to mean care for one another? How do they impact on our relationships with automation and “surveillance”? What kind of society do they portend?

Bratton proposes a radical rethinking of what a post-pandemic politics could be, and should be, one that demands, rather than delays, a coordinated, pragmatic, equitable response to the biopolitical challenges that define the 21st century.

**Benjamin Bratton** is Professor of Visual Arts and Director of the Center for Design and Geopolitics at the University of California, San Diego. He is Program Director of The New Normal programme at Strelka Institute of Media, Architecture and Design in Moscow. He is also a Professor of Digital Design at The European Graduate School and Visiting Faculty at SCI\_Arc (The Southern California Institute of Architecture). He is the author of the hugely influential *The Stack* as well as *The New Normal* and *Terraforming*.

Praise for *The Stack*:

“Endlessly thought-provoking, this amazing book is both cognitive mapping and a projective geometry of the new dimensions of technological reality we live in.”

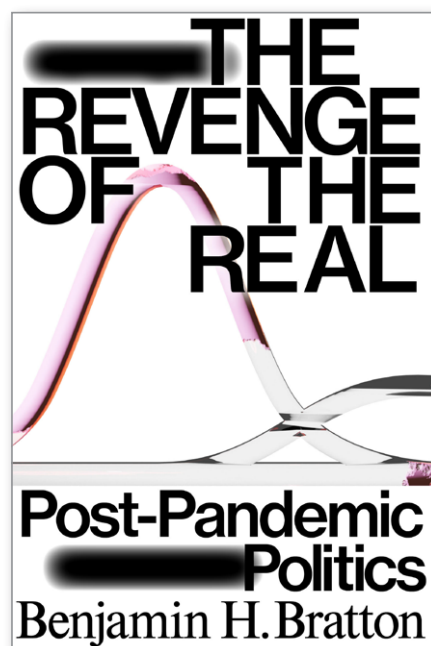
Kim Stanley Robinson

“Imagines a design brief for the whole world while floating or falling through all the ever-efflorescent plasmas and atmospheres of digital information.”

Keller Easterling

June 2021

160 pages



Rights sold  
Russian: Strelka



# Everything, All the Time, Everywhere

## How We Became Postmodern

Stuart Jeffries

### A radical new history of a dangerous idea

Postmodernism stood for everything modernism rejected: fun, exuberance, irresponsibility. But beneath its glitzy surface, postmodernism had a dirty secret: it was the fig leaf for a rapacious new kind of capitalism. It was the forcing ground of 'post truth', by means of which western values were turned upside down. But where do these ideas come from and how have they impacted on the world?

In this brilliant history of a dangerous idea, Stuart Jeffries tells a narrative that starts in the early 1970s and still dominates our lives today. He tells this history through a riotous gallery that includes, among others: David Bowie, the iPod, Madonna, Jeff Koons's the Nixon Shock, Judith Butler, Las Vegas, Margaret Thatcher, Grand Master Flash, *I Love Dick*, the RAND Corporation, the Sex Pistols, Princess Diana, Grand Theft Auto, Jean Baudrillard, Netflix, and 9/11.

We are today scarcely capable of conceiving politics as a communal activity because we have become habituated to being consumers rather than citizens. Politicians treat us as consumers to whom they must deliver. Can we do anything other than suffer from buyer's remorse?

**Stuart Jeffries** is a journalist and author. He was for many years on the staff of the *Guardian*, working as subeditor, TV critic, Friday Review editor and Paris correspondent. He now works as a freelance writer, mostly for the *Guardian*, *Spectator*, *Financial Times* and the *London Review of Books*. He has written two books, *Mrs Slocombe's Pussy* and *Grand Hotel Abyss*.

Praise for *Grand Hotel Abyss*:

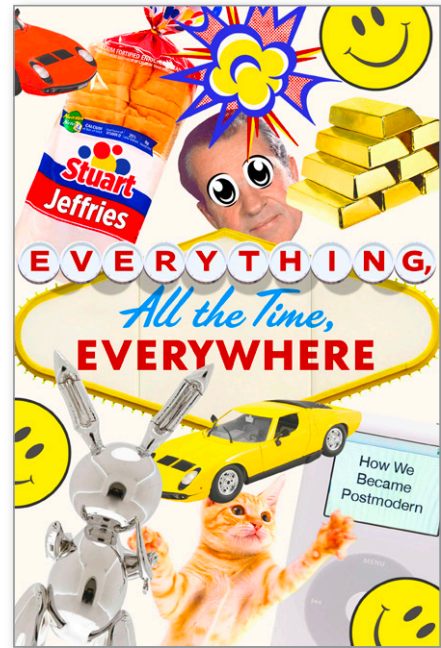
"Marvellously entertaining, exciting and informative." **John Banville**, *Guardian Books of the Year*

"An engaging and accessible history of the lives and main ideas of the leading thinkers of the Frankfurt School." *New York Review of Books*

"An exhilarating page-turner ... an outstanding critical introduction to some of the most fertile, and still relevant, thinkers of the twentieth century." **Michael Dirda**, *Washington Post*

October 2021

368 pages



# Revolution

## An Intellectual History

**Enzo Traverso**

**A cultural and intellectual balance-sheet of the twentieth century's age of revolutions**

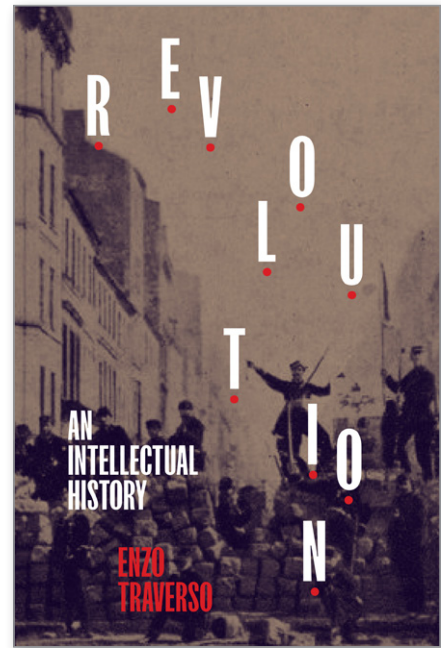
This book reinterprets the history of nineteenth and twentieth-century revolutions by composing a constellation of 'dialectical images': Marx's 'locomotives of history,' Alexandra Kollontai's sexually liberated bodies, Lenin's mummified body, Auguste Blanqui's barricades and red flags, the Paris Commune's demolition of the Vendome Column, among several others. It connects theories with the existential trajectories of the thinkers who elaborated them, by sketching the diverse profiles of revolutionary intellectuals – from Marx and Bakunin to Luxemburg and the Bolsheviks, from Mao and Ho Chi Minh to José Carlos Mariátegui, C. L. R. James, and other rebellious spirits from the South – as outcasts and pariahs. And finally, it analyzes the entanglement between revolution and communism that so deeply shaped the history of the twentieth century. This book thus merges ideas and representations by devoting an equal importance to theoretical and iconographic sources, offering for our troubled present a new intellectual history of the revolutionary past.

**Enzo Traverso** is Professor in the Humanities at Cornell University. He is the author of several of books, including *Fire and Blood*, *Left-Wing Melancholia*, and *The New Faces of Fascism*, which have been translated into a dozen of languages. He regularly writes for *Jacobin* and *Il Manifesto*.

Praise for *The New Faces of Fascism*:

"A valuable intervention." **Natasha Lennard**, *Times Literary Supplement*

"But what do we mean when we say 'fascism' today? In *The New Faces of Fascism*, historian Enzo Traverso calls the concept of fascism 'both inappropriate and indispensable' for grasping current political reality." **J. Hoberman**, *Bookforum*



October 2021

464 pages

Rights sold

French

Italian

# The Concept of the Social

## Scepticism, Idleness and Utopia

**Malcolm Bull**

**From here to utopia. New directions in political theory**

What does political agency mean for those who don't know what to do or can't be bothered to do it? This book develops a novel account of collective emancipation in which freedom is achieved not through knowledge and action but via doubt and inertia.

In essays that range from ancient Greece to the end of the Anthropocene, Bull addresses questions central to contemporary political theory in novel readings of texts by Aristotle, Machiavelli, Marx, and Arendt, and shows how classic philosophical problems have a bearing on issues like political protest and climate change. The result is an entirely original account of political agency for the twenty-first century in which uncertainty and idleness are limned with utopian promise.

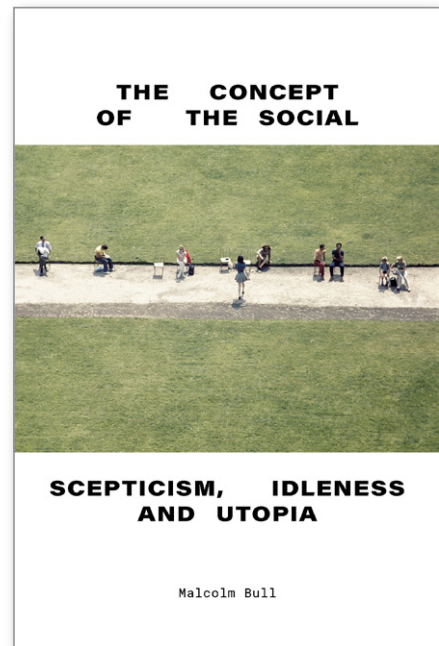
**Malcolm Bull** teaches at Oxford University. His previous books include *Anti-Nietzsche* and *On Mercy*, which was a 2019 *New Statesman* Book of the Year. He is on the editorial board of *New Left Review* and writes for the *London Review of Books*.

Praise for *Anti-Nietzsche*:

"[A] stimulating and delightful book...*Anti-Nietzsche* is charming, but Bull's argument is also subtle and deep" *Times Literary Supplement*

"Bull is an excellent writer of philosophical prose... it is hard to deny the boldness of his thinking, or the seductive force of his writing" *Times Higher Education*

"Seven witty, erudite, and highly stylized chapters. Recommended." *CHOICE*



October 2021

224 pages

# The Apocalypse and the End of History

## Modern Jihad and the Crisis of Liberalism

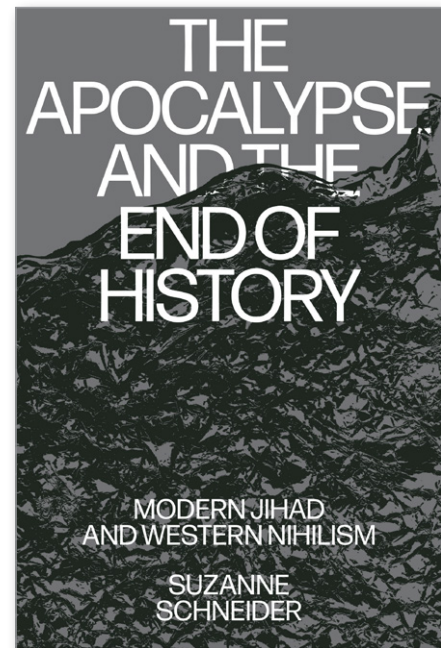
**Suzanne Schneider**

### How the political violence of modern jihad echoes the crises of western liberalism

In this authoritative, accessible study, historian Suzanne Schneider examines the politics and ideology of the Islamic State and finds that contemporary jihad is a microcosm of global political trends; one that can help us understand the slide toward authoritarianism and nihilist violence worldwide. Most western commentators have assumed the modern jihad is antithetical to western liberalism; Schneider argues the opposite. The jihadist violence of the Islamic State, she finds, has much in common with political life in Europe and the United States, from the spectacular violence of mass shootings to authoritarian populism and the rise of xenophobic nationalism. The Islamic State, in other words, is a dark reflection of western liberalism, rather than its antithesis. Through chapters surveying modern jihadist ideas of the state, violence, identity, and political community, Schneider argues that modern jihad and western capitalism are two versions of a politics of failure: the failure to imagine a better life here on earth.

Based on extensive research into a wide range of sources, from Islamic jurisprudence to popular recruitment videos, contemporary apocalyptic literature and the Islamic State's Arabic-language publications, and written with the sensibility of a political theorist, Schneider explores modern jihad as a way to show us a vision of a dark futur – one we might still swerve to avoid.

**Suzanne Schneider** is Deputy Director and Core Faculty at the Brooklyn Institute for Social Research. She is the author of *Mandatory Separation*, and her writing has appeared in *Mother Jones*, *n+1*, the *Washington Post*, and *Foreign Policy*, among other outlets.



September 2021

256 pages



# The Third Unconscious

The psychosphere in the viral age

**Franco 'Bifo' Berardi**

**A wide-ranging exploration of the present and the future of the Unconscious**

The Unconscious knows no time, it has no before-and-after, it does not have a history of its own. Yet, it does not always remain the same. Different political and economic conditions transform the way in which the Unconscious emerges within the 'psychosphere' of society.

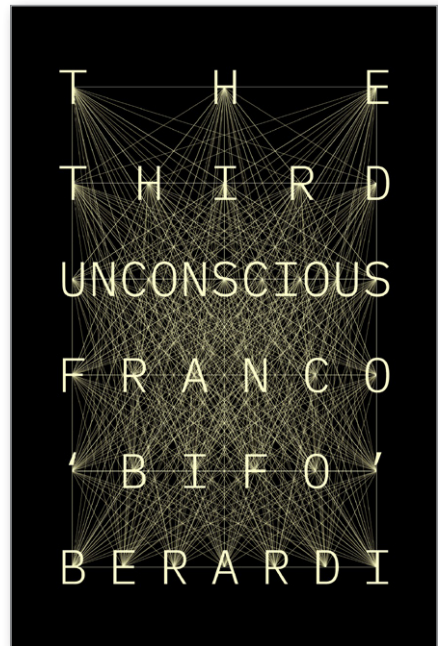
In the early twentieth century, Freud characterised the Unconscious as the dark side of the well-order framework of Progress and Reason. At the end of the past century, Deleuze and Guattari described it as a laboratory: the magmatic force ceaselessly bringing to the fore new possibilities of imagination. Today, at a time of viral pandemics and in the midst of the catastrophic collapse of capitalism, the Unconscious has begun to emerge in yet another form.

In this book, Franco 'Bifo' Berardi vividly portraits the form in which the Unconscious will make itself manifest for decades to come, and the challenges that it will pose to our possibilities of political action, poetic imagination, and therapy.

**Franco 'Bifo' Berardi** is a theorist and cultural agitator. He was the founder of the pirate radio station Radio Alice in 1976. One of the most prominent members of Autonomia, Berardi, worked closely with the French psychoanalyst Felix Guattari throughout the 1980s. His latest books in English are *Futurability* and *And: Phenomenology of the End*.

"As a diagnostician, Berardi is among the sharpest." *Slate*

"Bifo is a master of global activism in the age of depression. His mission is to understand real existing capitalism. Sense the despair of the revolt, enjoy this brilliant 'labour of the negative'!" **Geert Lovink, Founding Director of the Institute of Network Cultures**



October 2021

224 pages

# The Anthropocene Unconscious

## Climate Catastrophe in Contemporary Culture

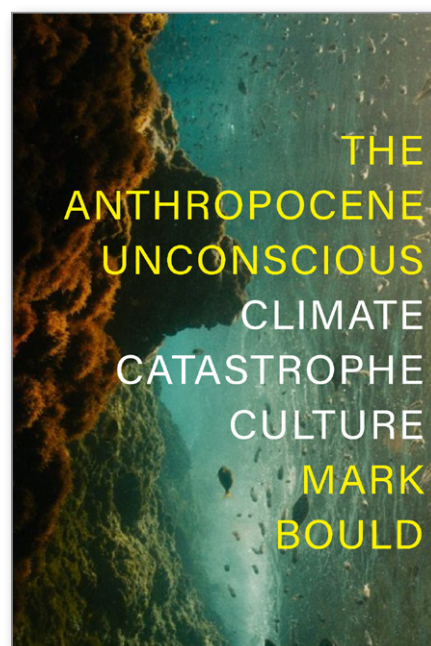
**Mark Bould**

**From *Ducks*, Newburyport to zombie movies to *Fast and Furious*, how climate anxiety permeates our culture**

The art and literature of our time is pregnant with catastrophe, with weather and water, wildness and weirdness. The Anthropocene – the term given to this geological epoch in which humans, *anthropos*, are wreaking havoc on the earth – is to be found bubbling away everywhere in contemporary cultural production. The Anthropocene, Mark Bould argues, constitutes the unconscious of ‘the art and literature of our time’.

Tracing the outlines of the Anthropocene unconscious in a range of film, television and literature – across a range of genres and with utter disregard for high-low culture distinctions – this playful and riveting book draws out some of the things that are repressed and obscured by the term ‘the Anthropocene’, including capital, class, imperialism, inequality, alienation, violence, commodification, patriarchy and racial formations. *The Anthropocene Unconscious* is about a kind of rewriting. It asks: what happens when we stop assuming that the text is not about the anthropogenic biosphere crises engulfing us? What if all the stories we tell are stories about the Anthropocene? About climate change?

**Mark Bould** is a Reader in Film and Literature at UWE Bristol. He is the author of four books of film theory, and has been awarded both the Science Fiction Research Association’s Pilgrim Lifetime Achievement Award for Critical Contributions to the Study of Science Fiction and Fantasy (2016) and the International Association for the Fantastic in the Arts Distinguished Scholarship Award (2019). He has written for *Boston Review*, *Electric Sheep*, *Fabrikzeitung*, *Film International*, *Los Angeles Review of Books*, *Salvage* and *Vector*.



November 2021

176 pages

# Ending Fossil Fuels

## Why Net Zero is Not Enough

**Holly Jean Buck**

### How ending the fossil fuel industry is our only hope

Around the world, countries and companies are setting net-zero carbon emissions targets. But ‘net-zero’ is a term that conveniently obscures multiple futures. There could be a version of net-zero where the fossil fuel industry is still spewing tens of billions of tons of CO<sub>2</sub> into the atmosphere, and has built a corresponding industry in sucking it back out again. Holly Buck argues that focusing on emissions draws our attention away from where we need to be looking: the point of production.

It is time to plan for the end of fossil fuel and the companies that profit from them. Fossil fuels still provide eighty per cent of world energy and ceasing their use before there are ready alternatives brings risks of energy poverty. The fossil fuel industry provides jobs, as well as a source of revenue for some frontline communities. Conventional wisdom says that fossil fuels will be naturally priced out when cheaper, but this raises as many problems as it addresses. *Ending Fossil Fuels* tackles these problems seriously and also sets out a roadmap that offers opportunities for more liveable, inclusive future.

**Holly Jean Buck** is Assistant Professor of Environment and Sustainability at the University at Buffalo in Buffalo, New York. Her book *After Geoengineering* explores best and worst-case scenarios for climate intervention.

### Praise for *After Geoengineering*:

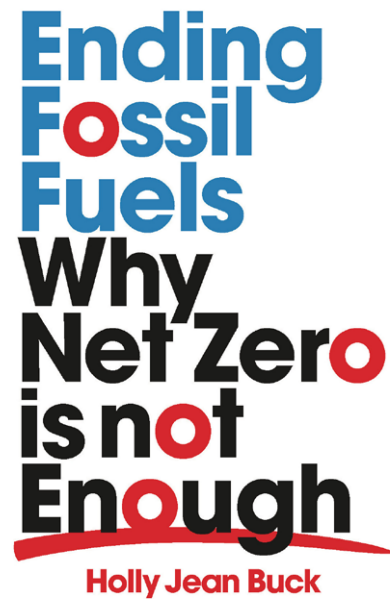
“This is the guide to the future ... Written in graceful prose, combining the latest science with the crystal ball of a sci-fi author, this book shines. Anyone worried about what comes next should read it.” **Andreas Malm**, author of *How to Blow Up a Pipeline*

“Climate is now an unmitigated disaster ... Holly Jean Buck walks us briskly through what we need to know to engage with this deepening planetary crisis.” **McKenzie Wark**, author of *Molecular Red*

“Buck expertly the nuance and complexity of figuring out what to do with the remains of an industry on which the entire global economy currently depends.” *Issues in Science and Technology*

October 2021

192 pages



# Who Owns the Wind?

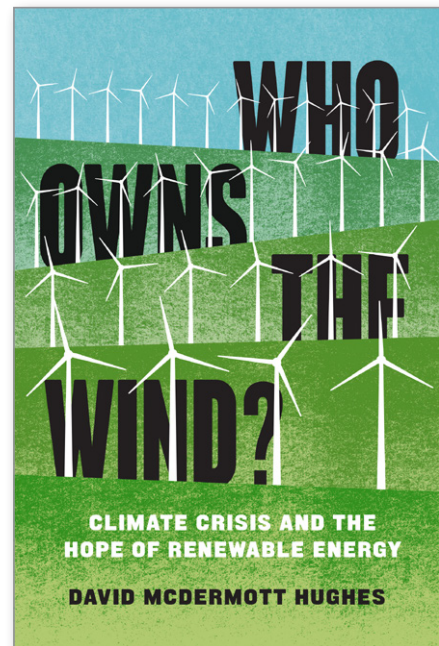
## Climate Crisis and the Hope of Renewable Energy

**David McDermott Hughes**

**Why the wind, and energy it produces, should not be private property**

The energy transition has begun. To succeed – to replace fossil fuels with wind and solar power – that process must be fair. Otherwise, mounting popular protest against wind farms will prolong carbon pollution and deepen the climate crisis. David Hughes examines that anti-industrial, anti-corporate resistance, drawing insights from a Spanish village surrounded by turbines. In the lives of these neighbours – freighted with centuries of exploitation – clean power and social justice fit together only awkwardly. Proposals for a green economy, the Green New Deal, or Europe's Green Deal require more effort. We must rethink aesthetics, livelihood, property, and, most essentially, the private nature of wind resources. Ultimately, the energy transition will be public and just, or it may not be at all.

**David Hughes** is a professor of Anthropology at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey. He has written articles for *Boston Review* and three previous books, including *Energy without Conscience*. As an activist, Hughes has served as president of his faculty union and as a member of the Climate Task Force of the American Federation of Teachers.



October 2021

256 pages



# Black Radical Tradition

A Reader

Edited by Ben Mabie, Erin Gray and Asad Haider

**A comprehensive collection of radical theory from slavery and reconstruction to Black Power to Black Feminism**

With activists taking to the streets with renewed vigour to fight racism, inequality, and capitalism, this collection of classic writings and primary documents restores the historical grounding and revolutionary genealogy of today's protest movements. Including key writings by W. E. B. Du Bois, Hubert Harrison, Harry Haywood, Claude McKay, Claudia Jones, C. L. R. James, Malcolm X, Angela Davis, Audre Lorde and the Combahee River Collective, this is the most comprehensive collection of revolutionary Black voices ever assembled.

**Ben Mabie** is managing editor of *Viewpoint Magazine*, a journal of Marxist theory as it is articulated within mass movements. He works as an assistant editor at Verso Books.

**Erin Gray** is a historian and theorist of lynching. Her writing appears in *Viewpoint Magazine* and multiple other journals.

**Asad Haider** is a founding editor of *Viewpoint Magazine* and author of *Mistaken Identity*.



October 2021

352 pages

NEW EDITION

# The Invention of the White Race

## The Origins of an American Ordeal

Theodore W. Allen

### Groundbreaking analysis of the birth of racism in America

When the first Africans arrived in Virginia in 1619, there were no 'white' people there. Nor, according to colonial records, would there be for another sixty years. In this seminal two-volume work, *The Invention of the White Race*, Theodore W. Allen tells the story of how America's ruling classes created the category of the 'white race' as a means of social control. Since that early invention, white privileges have enforced the myth of racial superiority, and that fact has been central to maintaining ruling-class domination over ordinary working people of all colors throughout American history.

Since publication in the mid-nineties, *The Invention of the White Race* has become indispensable in debates on the origins of racial oppression in America. Finally Verso has brought both volumes together in one seminal text.

**Theodore W. Allen** (1919–2005) was an anti-white supremacist, working-class intellectual and activist who began his pioneering work on 'white skin privilege' and 'white race' privileges in 1965. He co-authored the influential *White Blindspot*, authored *Can White Workers Radicals Be Radicalized?*, and wrote the groundbreaking *Class Struggle and the Origin of Racial Slavery* before publication of his seminal two-volume classic *The Invention of the White Race*.

"A monumental study of the birth of racism in the American South which makes truly new and convincing points about one of the most critical problems in US history ... a highly original and seminal work." **David Roediger**

"A powerful and polemical study." *Times Literary Supplement*

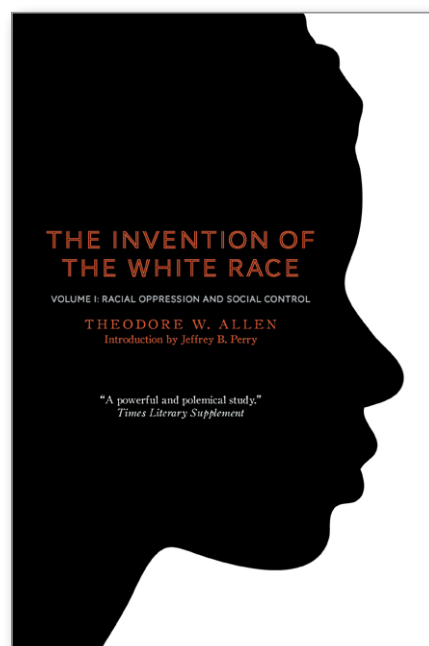
"A richly researched and highly suggestive analysis ... Indispensable for readers interested in the disposition of power in Ireland, in the genesis of racial oppression in the US, or in the fluidity of 'race' and the historic vicissitudes of 'whiteness.'" *Choice*

October 2021

784 pages

Rights sold

Spanish: Capitan Swing



# Decolonial Marxism

## Essays from the Pan-African Revolution

Walter Rodney

**A previously unpublished collection of Rodney's essays on race, colonialism and Marxism**

Early in life, Walter Rodney became a major revolutionary figure in a dizzying range of locales that traversed the breadth of the Black diaspora: in North America and Europe, in the Caribbean and on the African continent. He not only witnessed a Pan-African and socialist internationalism; in his efforts to build mass organisations, catalyse rebellious ferment, and theorise an anti-colonial path to self-emancipation, he can be counted among its prime authors.

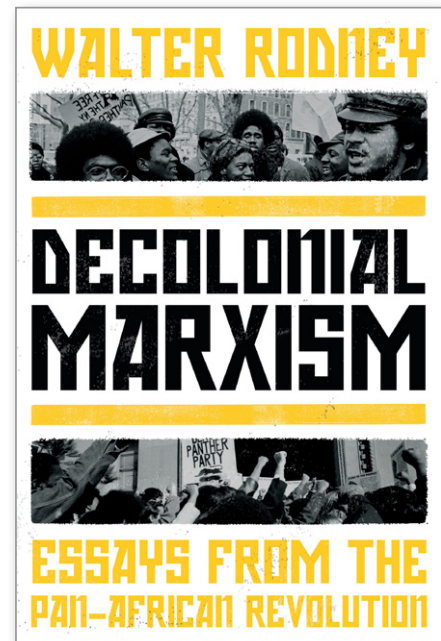
*Decolonial Marxism* records such a life by collecting previously unbound essays written during the world-turning days of Black revolution. In drawing together pages where he elaborates on the nexus of race and class, offers his reflections on radical pedagogy, outlines programs for newly independent nation-states, considers the challenges of anti-colonial historiography, and produces balance sheets for a dozen wars for national liberation, this volume captures something of the range and power of Rodney's output. But it also demonstrates the unbending consistency that unites his life and work: the ongoing reinvention of living conception of Marxism, and a respect for the still untapped potential of mass self-rule.

**Walter Rodney** was one of the leading thinkers and activists of anticolonial revolution, leading movements in North America, the African continent, and the Caribbean. Rodney found himself a lightning rod for working class Black Power. His deportation catalysed twentieth-century Jamaica's most significant rebellion, the 1968 Rodney riots, and his scholarship trained a generation how to think politics at an international scale. In 1980, shortly after founding of the Working People's Alliance in Guyana, the thirty-eight-year-old Rodney was assassinated. He is the author of *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, *The Groundings With My Brothers*, and *The Russian Revolution*.

"If Walter Rodney's assassins were under the impression that they could arrest the flow of his ideas by destroying his body, they could have not been more wrong ... In the context of the new resistance to global capitalism, his captivating analysis resonates more than ever before." **Angela Davis**

November 2021

304 pages



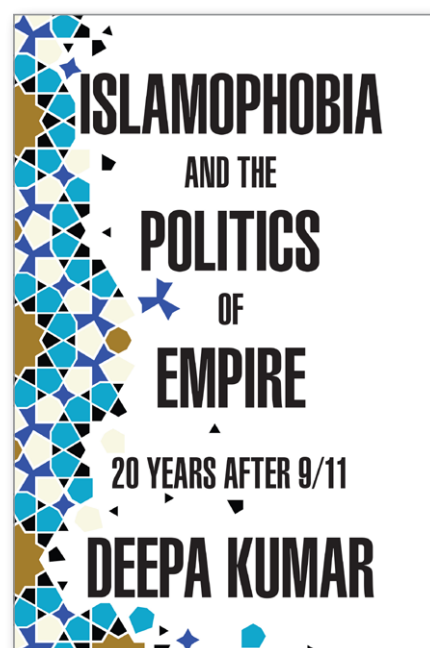
NEW UPDATED EDITION

# Islamophobia and the Politics of Empire

Twenty Years after 9/11

Deepa Kumar

**A critically acclaimed analysis of anti-Muslim racism from the Crusades to 9/11, in a fully revised second edition**



RACE

In this incisive account, acclaimed scholar Deepa Kumar sketches the rise of ‘the Muslim enemy’ in the western mind, from the Crusades of the eleventh century to the Islamophobia of the ‘War on Terror’ in the twentieth and twenty-first. A pioneering analysis of anti-Muslim racism in the United States, this book outlines how contemporary Islamophobia emerges from various institutions – the media, think tanks, the foreign policy establishment, universities, the domestic security apparatus and the legal sphere.

Importantly, Kumar argues that anti-Muslim racism has historically been tied to empire building, and rulers have used the spectre of a ‘Muslim enemy’ to further European and American projects of colonization and war in the Middle East and North Africa. The rise of Islamophobia, she notes, not only has horrific consequences for Muslims living in the West but has become central to the United States’ ‘never-ending War on Terror’.

Every chapter has been revised to help strengthen the core arguments of the book, to include more scholarship by Arab and Muslim scholars, and with a new chapter on feminism, empire, and race.

**Deepa Kumar** is an award-winning scholar and activist and Professor of Media Studies at Rutgers University. Her writing has been featured in numerous media outlets, including the BBC, the Danish Broadcasting Corporation, the *New York Times*, NPR, and Al Jazeera.

September 2021

304 pages

# Guilty Men

The Coronavirus Criminals,  
Media Manipulators, and  
Pandemic Profiteers Who  
Caused the Crisis

**John Nichols**

## A furious denunciation of coronavirus criminals

This book calls to account the government hucksters and corporate criminals who made suffering from the global coronavirus pandemic more acute. *Guilty Men* shows how the crisis was stoked by the callous and opportunistic decisions of the powerful.

The rogues' gallery begins with Donald Trump, who downplayed the crisis despite knowing its dangers, as well as his international political allies, above all Boris Johnson. Billionaire politicians like Georgia senator Kelly Loeffler moved stocks at the same time they were telling Americans all was well. Political charlatans like Education Secretary Betsy DeVos undermined public safety in order to advance their agenda. Trump-controlled agencies, bailed out Wall Street while Libertarian 'think tanks' like the Ayn Rand Institute decried public expenditures for workers but were first in line to get bailout checks. Pharmaceutical companies gamed the vaccine race, and global corporations found the pandemic to be very profitable indeed, vastly enriching the fortunes of trillionaires like Jeff Bezos, Mark Zuckerberg, and Charles Koch. The book closes with a call for far-reaching reforms in politics, business and finance.

**John Nichols** is the Washington correspondent for *Nation*, a contributing writer for *In These Times*, and Associate Editor of Madison, Wisconsin's *Capital Times*. He is the author of *The Fight for the Soul of the Democratic Party*, *The "S" Word* and other books.

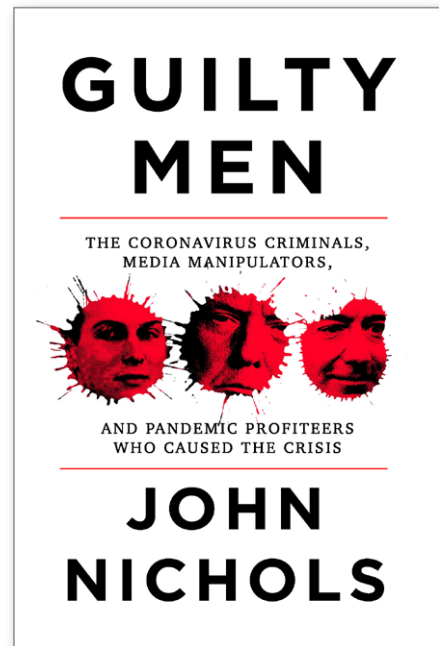
Praise for *The Fight for the Soul of the Democratic Party*:

"Nichols [tells us] that one of the reasons Henry Wallace was not renominated in 1944 was because of his opposition to racism. The segregationists didn't want him around." **Senator Bernie Sanders**

"More than a history book – this is an examination of what progressives must do to retake our democracy. Nichols points the way toward how we can build a party based on peace, liberty, and justice for all." **Representative Ilhan Omar**

November 2021

176 pages



# Cannibal Capitalism

How our System is Devouring  
Democracy, Care, and the  
Planet – and What We Can Do  
About It

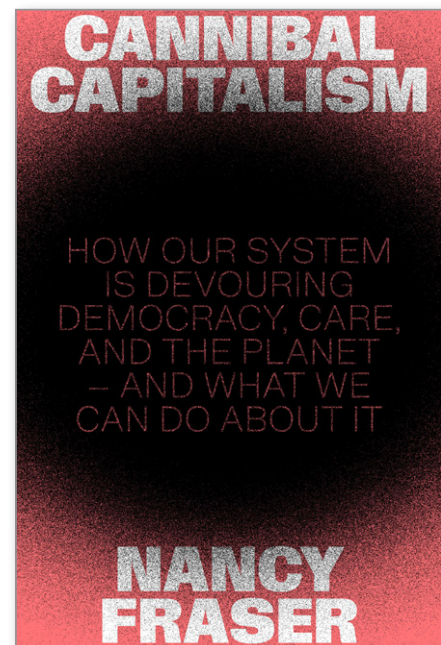
**Nancy Fraser**

**A rallying cry for a socialist politics that can save  
our world**

Capitalism has come, in the twenty-first century, to dominate nearly every sphere of life, from ecology and race to ideas of care and the practice of politics. In this tightly argued but urgent volume, leading Marxist feminist theorist Nancy Fraser charts the voracious appetite of capital, tracking it from crisis point to crisis point, from ecological devastation to the collapse of democracy, and from the devaluing of care work to racial injustice. These crisis points all come to head in the ‘perfect storm’ of Covid-19, which Fraser argues can help us envision the kind of resistance we must build to stop capital from cannibalizing our whole world. What we need, she argues, is a broad and wide-ranging socialist movement that can recognise capital’s appetite – and starve it to death.

**Nancy Fraser** is Henry and Louise A. Loeb Professor of Philosophy and Politics at the New School for Social Research. She is the author of the influential *Fortunes of Feminism*, of the pamphlet *The Old is Dying and the New Cannot be Born*, and co-author of *Feminism for the 99%*.

“Nancy Fraser is one of the most creative social philosophers and critical theorists of her generation.” **Cornel West**



September 2021

280 pages



# Economics and the Left

## Interviews with Progressive Economists

Edited by **C. J. Polychroniou**

### How to promote egalitarianism, democracy and ecological sanity through economics

*Economics and the Left* presents interviews with twenty-four leading progressive economists whose lives work has been dedicated to both interpreting the world and changing it for the better. They all deploy the technical tools of their trade – the ‘dismal science’ – in various ways. Much more importantly, they are all people dedicated to the principles of egalitarianism, democracy and ecological sanity. The result is a combustible brew of ideas, commitments and reflections on major historical events, including the Covid-19 pandemic and resulting global economic recession. Interviewed are: Michael Ash, Nelson Henrique Barbosa Filho, James K. Boyce, Ha-Joon Chang, Jane D’Arista, Diane Elson, Gerald Epstein, Nancy Folbre, James K. Galbraith, Teresa Ghilarducci, Jayati Ghosh, Ilene Grabel, Costas Lapavistas, Zhongjin Li, William Milberg, Léonce Ndikumana, Ozlem Onaran, Robert Pollin, Malcolm Sawyer, Juliet Schor, Anwar Shaikh, William Spriggs, Fiona Tregenna and Thomas Weisskopf.

**C. J. Polychroniou** is a political economist. He is author or editor of several books, including *Marxist Perspectives on Imperialism*, *Perspectives and Issues in International Political Economy* and *Socialism: Crisis and Renewal*.

## Economics and the Left

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Michael Ash, Nelson Henrique Barbosa Filho, James K. Boyce, Ha-Joon Chang, Jane D’Arista, Diane Elson, Gerald Epstein, Nancy Folbre, James K. Galbraith, Teresa Ghilarducci, Jayati Ghosh, Ilene Grabel, Costas Lapavistas, Zhongjin Li, William Milberg, Léonce Ndikumana, Ozlem Onaran, Robert Pollin, Malcolm Sawyer, Juliet Schor, Anwar Shaikh, William Spriggs, Fiona Tregenna, Thomas Weisskopf



September 2021

416 pages

# The Road to Prison

## The Testament of a Uyghur Intellectual

**Ilham Tohti**

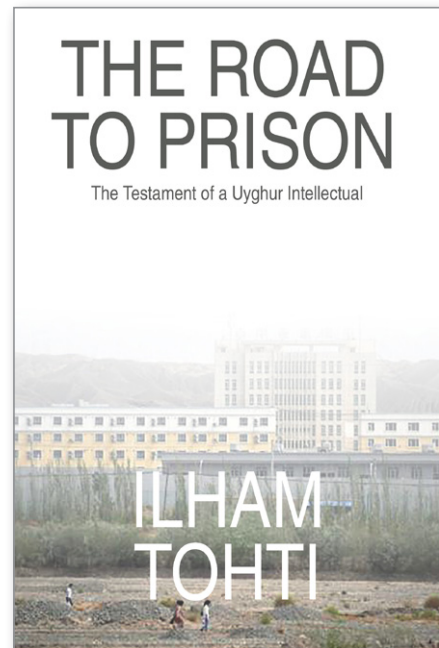
### The words of China's most famous political prisoner

In Xinjiang, the large northwest region of China, the government has imprisoned more than a million Uyghurs in reeducation camps. One of the incarcerated – whose sentence, unlike most others, has no end date – is Ilham Tohti, an intellectual and economist, a prolific writer, and formerly the host of a website, *Uyghur Online*. In 2014, Tohti was arrested; accused of advocating separatism, violence, and the overthrow of the Chinese government; subjected to a two-day trial; and sentenced to life. Nothing has been heard from him since.

Here are Tohti's own words, a collection of his plain-spoken calls for justice, scholarly explanations of the history of Xinjiang, and poignant personal reflections. While his courage and outspokenness about the plight of China's Muslim minorities is extraordinary, these essays sound a measured insistence on peace and just treatment for the Uyghurs.

Winner of the PEN/Goldsmith Freedom to Write Award and the Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought while imprisoned, this book is the only way to hear from a man who has been called 'a Uyghur Mandela'.

**Ilham Tohti** is a Uyghur economist, writer, and professor who is a co-founder of the website *Uyghur Online*, also known as *Uyghurbiz*, which aimed to promote understanding between Uyghurs and Han Chinese. In February 2014 Tohti was charged with separatism and held incommunicado under inhumane conditions for months before he could meet his lawyer. On 23 September 2014, he was found guilty of 'separatism,' and is currently serving a life sentence. He has been incarcerated incommunicado since 2017, with no access to his family or his lawyers.



November 2021

208 pages



NEW UPDATED EDITION

# The End of Policing

Alex Vitale

**The best-selling bible of the movement to defund the police, in an updated edition**

The massive uprising following the police killing of George Floyd in the summer of 2020 – by some estimates the largest protests in US history – thrust the argument to defund the police to the forefront of international politics. It also made *The End of Policing* a bestseller and Alex Vitale, its author, a leading figure in the urgent public discussion over police and racial justice.

As the writer Rachel Kushner put it, this book explains that ‘unfortunately, no increased diversity on police forces, nor body cameras, nor better training, has made any seeming difference’ in reducing police killings and abuse. ‘We need to restructure our society and put resources into communities themselves, an argument Alex Vitale makes very persuasively.’

The problem, Vitale demonstrates, is policing itself – the dramatic expansion of the police role over the last forty years. Drawing on first-hand research from across the globe, *The End of Policing* describes how the implementation of alternatives to policing, like drug legalisation, regulation, and harm reduction instead of the policing of drugs, has led to reductions in crime, spending, and injustice. This edition includes a new introduction that takes stock of the renewed movement to challenge police impunity and shows how we move forward, evaluating protest, policy, and the political situation.

**Alex S. Vitale** is Professor of Sociology and Coordinator of the Policing and Social Justice Project at Brooklyn College and a Visiting Professor at London Southbank University. His writing has appeared in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Guardian*, *Nation*, *Fortune*, and *USA Today*. He has appeared on CNN, MSNBC, CNBC, NPR, PBS, *Democracy Now*, and *The Daily Show with Trevor Noah*.

LOS ANGELES TIMES BESTSELLER

“Combines the best in academic research with rhetorical urgency to explain why the ordinary array of police reforms will be ineffective in reducing abusive policing.” **Ruth Wilson Gilmore**, author of *Golden Gulag*

The problem is not police training, police diversity, or police methods. The problem is the dramatic and unprecedented expansion and intensity of policing in the last forty years, a fundamental shift in the role of police in society. The problem is policing itself.

Alex S. Vitale

# The End of Policing

Rights sold

Chinese (simplified): Zhejiang University Press

Korean: Yoongseongsa

Portuguese: Autonomia

Spanish: Capitan Swing

September 2021

288 pages

# Space Forces

## A Critical History of Life in Outer Space

**Fred Scharmen**

### The radical history of space exploration from the Russian Cosmists to Elon Musk

Many societies have imagined going to live in space. What they want to do once they get up there – whether conquering the unknown, establishing space ‘colonies,’ privatising the moon’s resources – reveals more than expected. In this fascinating radical history of space exploration, Fred Scharmen shows that often science and fiction have combined in the imagined dreams of life in outer space, but these visions have real implications for life back on earth.

For the Russian Cosmists of the 1890s space was a place to pursue human perfection away from the Earth. For others, such as Wernher Von Braun, it was an engineering task that combined, in the Space Race, the Cold War, and during World War II, with destructive geopolitics. Arthur C. Clarke, in his speculative books, offered an alternative vision of wonder that is indifferent to human interaction. Meanwhile NASA planned and managed the space station like an earthbound corporation. Today, the market has arrived into outer space and exploration is the plaything of superrich technology billionaires, who plan to privatise the mineral wealth for themselves. Are other worlds really possible?

Bringing these figures and ideas together reveals a completely different story of our relationship with outer space, as well as the dangers of our current direction of extractive capitalism and colonisation.

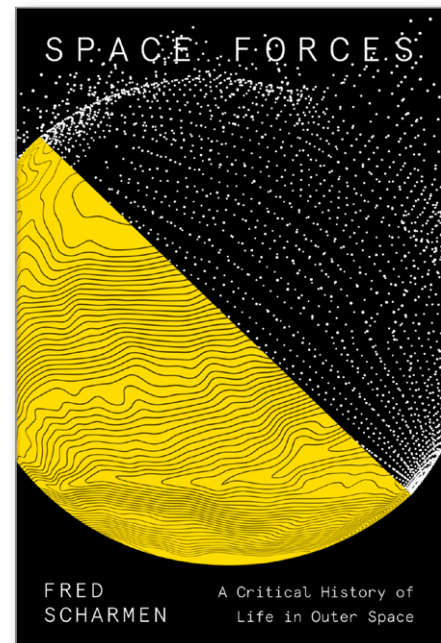
**Fred Scharmen** teaches architecture and urban design at Morgan State University’s School of Architecture and Planning. He is the co-founder of the Working Group on Adaptive Systems, an art and design consultancy based in Baltimore, Maryland. His first book, *Space Settlements*, was published in 2019. His writing has been published in the *Journal of Architectural Education*, *Atlantic*, *CityLab*, *Slate*, *Log*, *CLOG*, *Volume*, and *Domus*. His architectural criticism has appeared in the *Architect’s Newspaper*, and in the local alt-weekly *Baltimore City Paper*.

Praise for *Space Settlements*:

“Beautiful and compelling . . . It is expertly narrated, as it wends its way through a set of stories about the coproduction of utopian outer-space imaginaries informed by architecture, science fiction, and the Cold War.” *Public Books*

**November 2021**

320 pages



# Ever Closer Union?

## Europe in the West

**Perry Anderson**

### How to theorise the European Union

The European Union is a political order of peculiar stamp and continental scope, its polity of 446 million the third largest on the planet, though with famously little purchase on the conduct of its representatives. Sixty years after the founding treaty, what sort of structure has crystallised, and does the promise of ever closer union still obtain?

Against the self-image of the bloc, Perry Anderson poses the historical record of its assembly. He traces the wider arc of European history, from First World War to Eurozone crisis, the hegemony of Versailles to that of Maastricht, and casts the work of the EU's leading contemporary analysts – both independent critics and court philosophers – in older traditions of political thought. Are there likenesses to the age of Metternich, lessons in statecraft from that of Machiavelli?

An excursus on the UK's jarring departure from the Union considers the responses it has met with inside the country's intelligentsia, from the contrite to the incandescent. How do Brussels and Westminster compare as constitutional forms? Differently put, which could be said to be worse?

**Perry Anderson** is the author of, among other things, *Brazil Apart*, *The Indian Ideology* and *The New Old World*. He taught History at UCLA for thirty years and is an Editor at *New Left Review*.

"A hugely ambitious and panoramic political book, tracking the rise and fall of the EU's principal actors and guiding ideas, and quietly but often lethally critiquing other writers who have attempted to make sense of the whole sprawling edifice."

*Guardian* [for *The New Old World*]

"Extraordinary originality and penetrating insight – sweeping, subtle, sophisticated, provocative." **Andrew Bacevich**, *Diplomatic History* [for *American Foreign Policy and Its Thinkers*]

"The Anglophone world's premier chronicler of Brazilian politics, Anderson's broad scope, high stature and wide reading habits have allowed him to write essays on Brazil that remain above the ruck, but below the ivory tower."

*American Interest* [for *Brazil Apart*]

September 2021

256 pages

## Ever Closer Union?

*Europe in the West*



Perry Anderson

# Soldiers of Revolution

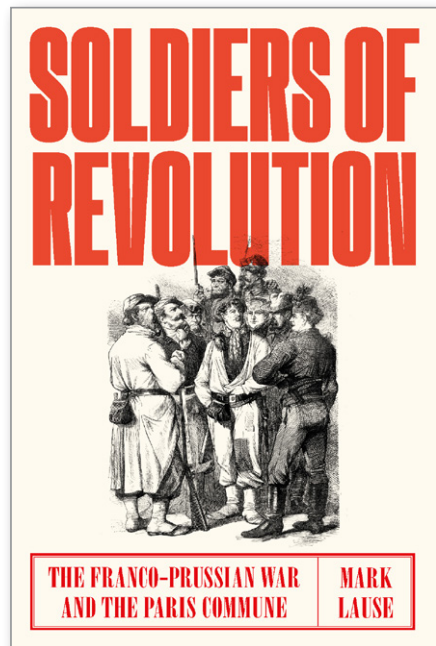
## The Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune

**Mark Lause**

### How war gave birth to revolution in nineteenth century France

The Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1 introduced new military technologies, transformed the organisation of armies, and upset the continental balance of power, popularising new ideas of nationhood and conflict resolution more widely. However, the mass armies that became a new standard required mass mobilisation of working people, who exercised a new power through both a German social democracy and popular insurgent French movements. As in the Russian Revolution of 1917, the Paris Commune of 1871 grew directly from the discontent among radicalised soldiers and civilians pressed into armed service on behalf of institutions they learned to mistrust. This militarised class conflict, while the brutality of the Commune's subsequent repression not only butchered tens of thousands of Parisians but slaughtered an old utopian faith that reason and morality could resolve social tensions. War among nations became linked to revolution and revolution became enmeshed in armed struggle.

**Mark A. Lause** is Professor of History at the University of Cincinnati. He has published extensively on nineteenth century history.



October 2021

304 pages

# Revolution and Counterrevolution in China

**Lin Chun**

**A major new contribution to the study of China's revolutions and counterrevolutions over the past century**

Over recent decades China has experienced massive change and development. China is the world's fastest growing economy, and has become a global superpower once again. But this development has thrown up a number of seemingly intractable contradictions, both political and economic. In this panoramic study of Chinese history in the twentieth century and its place in the development of global capitalism, Lin Chun argues that the paradoxes of contemporary Chinese society are not simply the product of the development of capitalism or modernity in the country. They are instead the product of the contradictions of its long revolutionary history, as well as the social and political consequences of its post-socialist transition.

Published to coincide with the one-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, *Revolution and Counterrevolution in China* charts China's epic revolutionary trajectory in search of a socialist alternative to the global system, and asks whether market reform must repudiate and overturn the revolution and its legacy.

**Lin Chun** is Professor in Comparative Politics at the London School of Economics and Political Science; and the author of *The British New Left*, *The Transformation of Chinese Socialism*, and *China and Global Capitalism*, among other books.

Praise for Lin Chun:

"Always stimulating ... demands serious response from a generally much less adventurous western scholarship." **John Gittings**

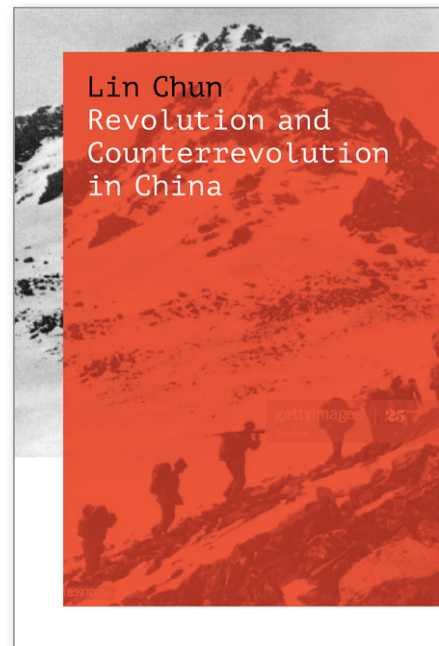
"The best book on contemporary China in many years." **Bruce Cumings**

"A great contribution to the historical research, theoretical exploration, and political debates surrounding China." **Wang Hui**

"Simply one of the most important books written during the last decades. Her arguments are based on the best knowledge of Chinese current policies, debates and struggles." **Samir Amin**

September 2021

272 pages





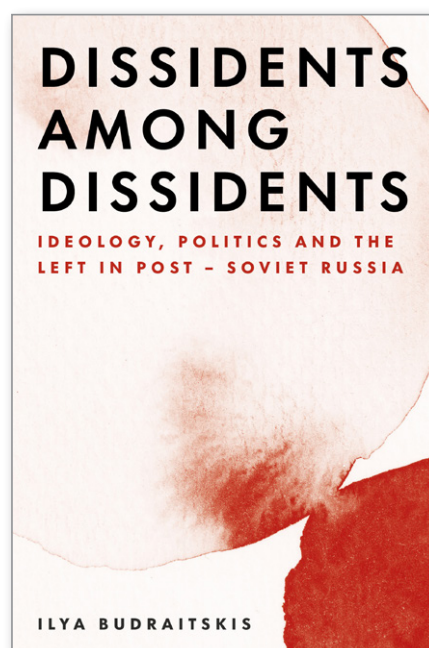
# Dissidents among Dissidents

Ideology, Politics and the Left in Post-Soviet Russia

**Ilya Budraitskis**

Introduced by Tony Wood

Translated by Giuliano Vivaldi



## What happened to the left in Russia?

Ilya Budraitskis, one of Russia's most prominent leftist political commentators, explores the strange fusion of free-market ideology and postmodern nationalism that now prevails in Russia, and describes the post-Soviet evolution of its left.

Budraitskis makes an invaluable contribution by reconstructing the forgotten history of the USSR's dissident left, mapping an entire alternative tradition of heterodox Marxist and socialist thought from Khrushchev's Thaw to Gorbachev's *perestroika*. Doubly outsiders, within an intelligentsia dominated by liberal humanists, they offer a potential way out of the impasse between condemnations of the entire Soviet era and blanket nostalgia for Communist Party rule – suggesting new paths for the left to explore.

**Ilya Budraitskis** writes regularly on politics, art, film and philosophy for *e-flux journal*, *openDemocracy*, *LeftEast*, *Colta.ru* and other outlets, and teaches at the Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences and the Institute of Contemporary Art Moscow. The Russian edition of his essay collection *Dissidents among Dissidents* was awarded the prestigious Andrei Bely prize in 2017.

November 2021

224 pages

# The World Turned Inside Out

## Settler Colonialism as a Political Idea

**Lorenzo Veracini**

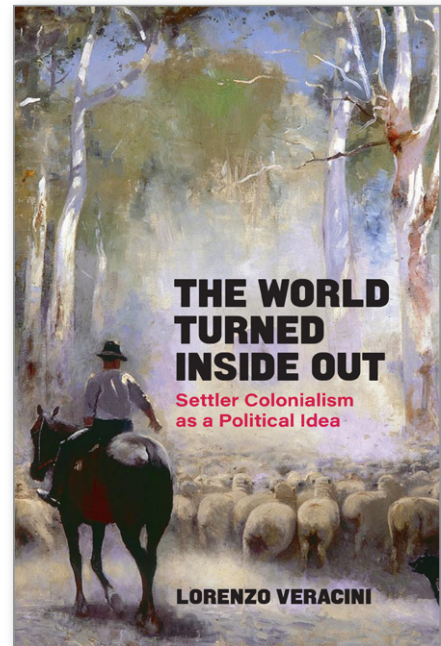
### Settler colonialism and social control

Many would rather change worlds than change the world. The settlement of communities in 'empty lands' somewhere else has often been proposed as a solution to growing contradictions. The lands were never empty. Sometimes the settlement communities failed miserably and sometimes they prospered and grew until they became entire countries.

Building on a growing body of transnational and interdisciplinary research on the political imaginaries of settler colonialism as a specific mode of domination, this book uncovers and subjects to critique an autonomous, influential, and coherent political tradition – a tradition still relevant today. It follows the ideas and the projects (and failures) of those who left or planned to leave growing and chaotic cities and challenging and confusing economic circumstances, those who wanted to protect endangered nationalities, and those who intended to pre-empt forthcoming revolutions of all sorts, including civil and social wars.

This book outlines the global history of a resilient political idea: to seek change somewhere else as an alternative to embracing (or resisting) transformation where one is.

**Lorenzo Veracini** teaches history and politics at Swinburne University of Technology, Melbourne. He has authored *Israel and Settler Society*, *Settler Colonialism*, *The Settler Colonial Present* (2015), and co-edited *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism*. He is Founding Editor of *Settler Colonial Studies*.



September 2021

320 pages

# Daring to Hope

My Life in the 1970s

Sheila Rowbotham

## A personal history of life, love and women's liberation

In this powerful memoir Sheila Rowbotham looks back at the women's liberation movement, left politics and the vibrant, creative culture of a decade in which freedom and equality seemed possible.

After addressing the first Women's Liberation Conference at Ruskin College, Oxford, in 1970, she went on to encourage night cleaners to unionise, to campaign for nurseries and abortion rights, and to play an influential role in discussions of socialist feminist ideas. It is also an account of her attempt to live her politics, bringing to life meetings, magazines, child care networks, grass roots movements, communal houses and squats. By the middle of the decade her prolific writing had attracted a wide international readership.

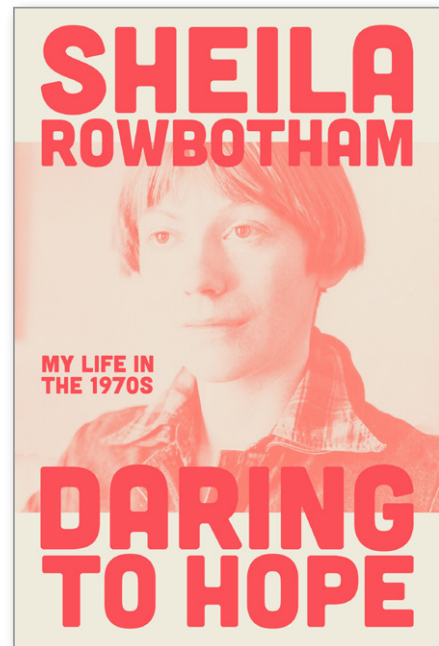
Through the 1970s Rowbotham charts the women's liberation movement and its place within a larger politics, including the decline of the Labour Party. As the decade ends, with Margaret Thatcher at 10 Downing Street, the movement started to fracture. *Daring to Hope* is a riveting personal history of second wave feminism from the front line.

**Sheila Rowbotham**, who helped start the women's liberation movement in Britain, is known internationally as an historian of feminism and radical social movements. She is the author of the ground-breaking books *Women, Resistance and Revolution*; *Woman's Consciousness, Man's World*; *Dreamers of a New Day*; *Edward Carpenter*; and *Rebel Crossings*.

"Rowbotham is one of Britain's most important, if unshowy, feminist thinkers, and a key figure of the second wave." **Melissa Benn**

"Rowbotham is a leading feminist historian, and an unapologetic utopian."  
**Barbara Taylor, Guardian**

"Rowbotham has a marvelous gift for explication and an eye for the illuminating quotation." **Elaine Showalter, Daily Telegraph**



October 2021

320 pages



# The Invention of Sicily

## A Mediterranean History

**Jamie Mackay**

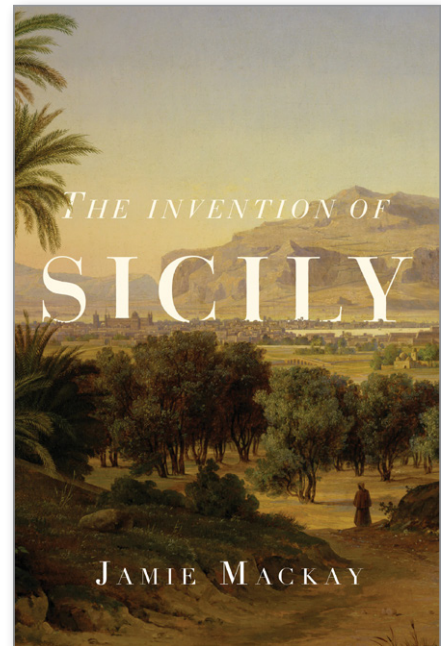
**A fascinating cultural history of this most magical of islands**

Sicily has always acted as a gateway between Europe and the rest of the world. Fought over by Phoenicians and Greeks, Romans, Goths and Byzantines, Arabs and Normans, Germans, Spanish and French for thousands of years, Sicily became a unique melting pot where diverse traditions merged, producing a unique heritage and singular culture.

In this fascinating account of the island from the earliest times to the present day, author and journalist Jamie Mackay leads us through this most elusive of places. From its pivotal position in the development of Greek and Roman mythology, and the beautiful remnants of both the Arab and Norman invasions, through to the rise of the bandits and the Cosa Nostra, *The Invention of Sicily* charts the captivating culture and history of Sicily.

Mackay weaves together the political and social development of the island with its fascinating cultural heritage, discussing how great works including Lampedusa's masterpiece *The Leopard* and its film adaptation by Visconti, and the novels of Leonardo Sciascia, among many others, have both been shaped by Sicily's past, and continue to shape it in the present.

**Jamie Mackay** is a writer and translator based in Florence. His work has appeared in the *Guardian*, the *TLS*, *Frieze* and elsewhere.



July 2021

336 pages

# Falling Down

## Parliamentary Conservatism and the Decline of Tory Britain

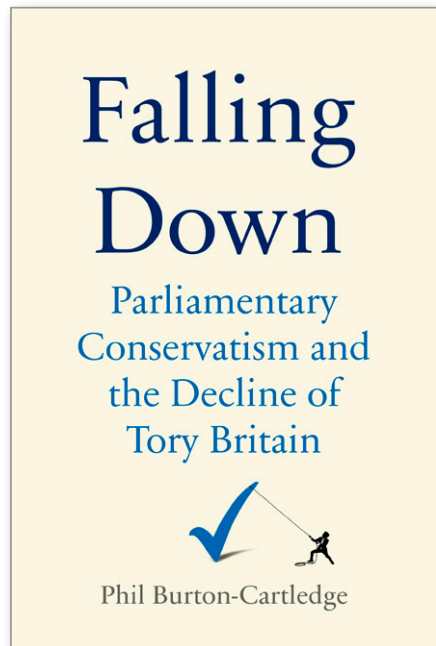
**Phil Burton-Cartledge**

### Why is the Conservative Party on the verge of collapse?

Despite winning the December 2019 General Election, the Conservative parliamentary party is a moribund organisation. It no longer speaks for, nor to, the British people. Its leadership has sacrificed the long-standing commitment to the Union to 'Get Brexit Done'. And beyond this, it is an intellectual vacuum, propped up by half-baked doctrine and magical thinking. *Falling Down* offers an explanation for how the Tory party came to position itself on the edge of the precipice and offers a series of answers to a question seldom addressed: as the party is poised to press the self-destruct button, what kind of role and future can it have?

This tipping point has been a long time coming and Burton-Cartledge offers critical analysis to this narrative. Since the era of Thatcherism, the Tories have struggled to find a popular vision for the United Kingdom. At the same time, their members have become increasingly old. Their values have not been adopted by the younger voters. The coalition between the countryside and the City interests is under pressure, and the latter is split by Brexit. The Tories are locked into a declinist spiral, and with their voters not replacing themselves the party is more dependent on a split opposition – putting into question their continued viability as the favoured vehicle of British capital.

**Phil Burton-Cartledge** is a lecturer in Sociology at the University of Derby. Via his blog, *All That Is Solid*, he regularly writes about politics and current affairs. He has also written for *The Independent*, *New Statesman*, and *OpenDemocracy*.



September 2021

304 pages



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