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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.


For a full list of Verso’s titles, please visit our website, [www.versobooks.com](http://www.versobooks.com).
Allegory and Ideology
Fredric Jameson

Fredric Jameson takes on the allegorical form

This major new work by Fredric Jameson is not a book about ‘method’, but it does propose a dialectic capable of holding together in one breath the heterogeneities that reflect our biological individualities, our submersion in collective history and class struggle, and our alienation to a disembodied new world of information and abstraction. Eschewing the arid secularities of philosophy, Walter Benjamin once recommended the alternative of the rich figurality of an older theology; in that spirit we here return to the antiquated Ptolemaic systems of ancient allegory and its multiple levels (a proposal first sketched out in The Political Unconscious); it is tested against the epic complexities of the overtly allegorical works of Dante, Spenser and the Goethe of Faust II, as well as symphonic form in music, and the structure of the novel, postmodern as well as Third World (about which a controversial essay on national allegory is here reprinted with a theoretical commentary); and an allegorical history of emotion is meanwhile rehearsed from its contemporary, geopolitical context.

Fredric Jameson is Distinguished Professor of Comparative Literature at Duke University. The author of numerous books, he has over the last three decades developed a richly nuanced vision of Western culture's relation to political economy. He was a recipient of the 2008 Holberg International Memorial Prize. He is the author of many books, including Postmodernism, Or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism; The Cultural Turn; A Singular Modernity; The Modernist Papers; Archaeologies of the Future; Brecht and Method; Ideologies of Theory; Valences of the Dialectic; The Hegel Variations; and Representing Capital.

Praise for The Antinomies of Realism

"Admirable ... Jameson thinks dialectically in the strong sense, in the way we are all supposed to think but almost no one does." Michael Wood, London Review of Books

Praise for The Antinomies of Realism

"Manifestly displays Jameson’s many virtues as a truly great critic ... It is not always easy to read the work of someone who just won’t sit on his laurels: but in this case it is worth it." Robert Eaglestone, Times Higher Education

Praise for Valences of the Dialectic

"A genuinely monumental work that I expect to be referring to for many years.” Mark Fisher
Essays on Non-Fascist Life

Natasha Lennard

Leading radical journalist on violence and anti-fascism, certainty and lies, sex and ghosts

Essays on Non-Fascist Life shatters the mainstream consensus on truth, politics, violence, the self, and our relationships. Following on from Joan Didion, Roxane Gay and Maggie Nelson, Natasha Lennard’s powerful essays carve out a new path from the political to the personal. Along the way she shatters a number of liberal shibboleths – on truth and justice, violence and anti-fascism, sex and suicide. Lennard has a radical perspective on the world that is both capacious and politically committed, looking towards new political strategies that might follow from it.

Natasha Lennard is a contributing writer for the Intercept, and her work has appeared regularly in the New York Times, Nation, Esquire, Vice, Salon, and New Inquiry, among others. She teaches critical journalism at the New School for Social Research, and Violence (with Brad Evans) will be published this year by City Lights.

“Immediate and relevant but also profoundly philosophical.” Razia Iqball, BBC News

“Natasha Lennard’s prose is taut and unexpectedly gorgeous.” Molly Crabapple

“Full of surprising insights and intelligent compassion.” Sarah Leonard
Feminism for the 99%

A Manifesto

Cinzia Arruzza, Tithi Bhattacharya and Nancy Fraser

From three of the organisers of the International Women’s Strike: a manifesto for when ‘leaning in’ is not enough

Unaffordable housing, poverty wages, universal healthcare, police violence – not the issues you ordinarily hear feminists talking about. But why should feminism only deal with issues that impact middle-class women? For most of us – for 99 per cent of us – ‘leaning in’ at our corporate board room meeting is not an option.

This is a manifesto for the 99 per cent. Those for whom increasing the minimum wage and implementing universal health and child care would have a far greater impact on their lives that having more women CEOs. It is a manifesto that demands an end to mass incarceration and inhumane border regimes, the provision of safe and truly affordable housing, freedom for Palestine, an end to imperialist wars in the Middle East and much more.

From three of the organisers of the International Women’s Strike, this manifesto argues that these are all feminist issues. Feminism shouldn’t start – or stop – with seeing women represented at the top of society. It should start with the 99 per cent.

Cinzia Arruzza is Associate Professor of philosophy at the New School for Social Research. She is the author of Dangerous Liaisons; The Marriages and Divorces of Marxism and Feminism; and A Wolf in the City: Tyranny and the Tyrant in Plato’s Republic.

Tithi Bhattacharya is Associate Professor and Director of Global Studies at Purdue University. She is the author of The Sentinels of Culture: Class, Education, and the Colonial Intellectual in Bengal and the Editor of Mapping Social Reproduction Theory.

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 Fortunes of Feminism: From State-Managed Capitalism to Neoliberal Crisis and of Scales of Justice: Reimagining Political Space in a Globalizing World.

“Nancy Fraser is among the very few thinkers in the tradition of critical theory who are capable of redeeming its legacy in the twenty-first century.”

Axel Honneth
In order to become ethically acceptable, surrogacy must change beyond recognition – but we need more surrogacy, not less!

The surrogacy industry is worth an estimated 1 billion dollars a year, and many of its surrogates work in terrible conditions, while many gestate babies for no pay at all. Should it be illegal to pay someone to gestate a baby for you?

*Full Surrogacy Now* brings a fresh and unique perspective to the debate. Rather than making surrogacy illegal or allowing it to continue as is, Sophie Lewis argues we should be looking to radically transform it. Surrogates should be put front and centre, and their rights towards the babies they gestate should be expanded to acknowledge that surrogates are more than mere vessels. In doing so, we can break down our assumptions that children necessarily belong to those whose genetics they share.

This might sound like a radical proposal, but expanding our idea of who children belong to would be a good thing. Taking collective responsibility for children, rather than only caring for the ones we share DNA with, would radically transform notions of kinship. Adopting this expanded concept of surrogacy helps us see that it always, as the saying goes, takes a village to raise a child.

**Sophie Lewis** is a researcher, teacher, freelance writer, translator and activist. She writes for *Blind Field, Jacobin, The New Inquiry, Mute, Salvage* and *Viewpoint.*
The Xenofeminist Manifesto

A Politics for Alienation

Laboria Cuboniks

*The Xenofeminist Manifesto* is an attempt to articulate a feminism fit for the twenty-first century. Unafraid of exploring the potentials of technology, exploring both oppressive and emancipatory possibilities, the manifesto seeks to uproot forces of oppression that have come to seem inevitable – from the family, to the body, to the idea of gender itself. *The Xenofeminist Manifesto* reasserts that biology is not destiny and that no injustice should simply be accepted as ‘the way things are’, and looks to technologies to challenge our understandings of Nature – and even allow us to resist nature itself.

**Laboria Cuboniks** (b. 2014) is a xenofeminist collective, spread across five countries and three continents. She seeks to dismantle gender, destroy ‘the family,’ and do away with nature as a guarantor for inegalitarian political positions.

“Xenofeminism is a corruption in the best sense of the term”

*The New Inquiry*
Flora Tristan was one of the first women radicals to draw clear connections between the plight of disaffected workers and powerless women. Active in the 1830s and 1840s, and regarded as something of a pariah, she is best known for her book Workers’ Union, an account of the conditions of women in Peru, London, Paris and the provinces of France.

Based in Southern California, Sandra Dijkstra began her career as a feminist scholar and professor in the ’70s. Since the mid ’80s, she has worked as a literary agent, and has championed books that make a difference.

“Flora Tristan was the pioneer social explorer of the early Victorian world, chronicling the condition of women and labor from the sugar plantations of Peru to the salons of the July Monarchy and the satanic mills of industrial England. In this brilliant study, Dijkstra restores Tristan to her rightful but complex place in the histories of socialism and feminism.” Mike Davis

Promise of a Dream
Remembering the Sixties
Sheila Rowbotham

A sparkling portrait of a time when women were breaking all the rules about sex, politics and their place in the world

At the beginning of the decade Rowbotham was a rebellious sixteen-year-old at a Methodist boarding school in the north-east of England, reading Sartre and dreaming of Paris. By the end of the sixties she was a seasoned political activist, planning Britain’s first-ever women’s liberation conference, and beginning to find her voice as a writer.

Promise of a Dream is a moving, witty and poignant recollection of a time when young women were breaking all the rules. Sheila Rowbotham was, and remains, one of their most effective and endearing voices.

“This is a document historians dream of ... it captures the spirit of the 1960s – its fun and crazy idealism – in the life of one spirited young woman.” Joan Bakewell, Sunday Times

Flora Tristan
Feminism in the Age of George Sand
Sandra Dijkstra

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Future Histories

What Ada Lovelace, Tom Paine, and the Paris Commune Can Teach Us about Digital Technology

Lizzie O’Shea

A highly engaging tour through history in the service of emancipating our digital tomorrow

When we talk about technology we always talk about the future – which makes it hard to figure out how to get there. In *Future Histories*, Lizzie O’Shea argues that we need to stop looking forward and start looking backwards. Weaving together histories of computing and social movements with modern theories of the mind, society, and self, O’Shea constructs a ‘usable past’ that can help us determine our digital future.

What, she asks, can the Paris Commune tell us about earlier experiments in sharing resources – like the Internet – in common? Can debates over digital access be guided by Tom Paine’s theories of democratic economic redistribution? And how is Elon Musk not a visionary but a throwback to Victorian-era utopians?

In engaging, sparkling prose, O’Shea shows us how very human our understanding of technology is, and what potential exists for struggle, for liberation, for art and poetry in our digital present. *Future Histories* is for all of us – makers, coders, hacktivists, Facebook-users, self-styled Luddites – who find ourselves in a brave new world.

Lizzie O’Shea is a lawyer, writer, and broadcaster. She is regularly featured on national television programmes and radio to comment on law, digital technology, corporate responsibility, and human rights, and her writing has appeared in the *New York Times*, *Guardian*, and *Sydney Morning Herald*, among others.
New Dark Age
Technology and the End of the Future
James Bridle

How the Information Age makes the world more incomprehensible
In his brilliant new work, leading artist and writer James Bridle offers us a warning against the future in which the contemporary promise of a new technologically assisted Enlightenment may just deliver its opposite: an age of complex uncertainty, predictive algorithms, surveillance, and the hollowing out of empathy. Surveying the history of art, technology and information systems he reveals the dark clouds that gather over discussions of the digital sublime.

James Bridle is a literary editor, technologist, writer, journalist, and visual artist. He writes for Guardian, Observer, Wired, Frieze, Atlantic, and many other publications.

“An extraordinary, perceptive analysis of the various ways in which the rise of information technology has obscured, rather than illuminated, the operations of power in the world, and diminished our capacity to improve it. It’s brilliant and bracing.” Mark O’Connell, author of How to Be Human

“I expect many readers will find Bridle’s perceptive and thought-provoking book terrifying rather than enjoyable.” Will Self, Guardian

“Highlights the ways in which we are deliberately being kept in the dark and are sleepwalking into a future of non-stop surveillance.” Financial Times [summer books of 2018]

“New Dark Age is a masterful study of all the things approaching out of the future’s night. Compelling and essential.” Warren Ellis, author of Normal and Transmetropolitan

“James Bridle, one of our surest guides, here offers us a widely informed, deeply felt, and occasionally terrifying course on living in and with the enveloping darkness of our time. It’s a must-read for anyone who’s ever wondered how we might come to terms with technological complexity, and emerge with our humanity intact.” Adam Greenfield, author of Radical Technologies

“Technology is not the answer. Nor is it a solution. James Bridle’s lucid and fearless writing instead insists on technology as an open question and urgent problem – which nevertheless needs to be confronted in order to think the present and free the future from false algorithmic certainties.” Hitro Steyerl, author of Duty Free Art
The Knowledge Economy

Roberto Mangabeira Unger

Revolutionary account of transformative potential in the knowledge economy

A revolutionary practice of production – the knowledge economy – has emerged in our time. It appears in every sector, not just in high-tech industry, but so far only as a series of insular vanguards that exclude the vast majority of workers and businesses. In this book Roberto Mangabeira Unger explores the hidden workings and the transformative potential of the knowledge economy. He describes the radical changes in economic and political institutions, and in ways of thinking, that could bring knowledge-intensive production to the whole economy – and inaugurate a period of accelerated and socially inclusive economic growth.

Roberto Mangabeira Unger is one of the leading philosophers and social thinkers of the present. Verso has published much of his work, including False Necessity; Democracy Realized; The Left Alternative; and most recently The Religion of the Future.

“A restless visionary.” *New York Times*

“A philosophical mind out of the Third World turning the tables, to become a synoptist and seer of the First.” *Perry Anderson*

“One of the few living philosophers whose thinking has the range of the great philosophers of the past.” *Times Higher Education*

“Brazil’s answer to John Stuart Mill ... a political philosopher extraordinaire.” *Chronicle of Higher Education*

“His work may someday make possible a new national romance, and a hitherto undreamt-of national future.” *Richard Rorty*
Poets of the Chinese Revolution

Chen Duxiu, Chen Yi, Mao Zedong and Zheng Chaolin

Edited and translated by Gregor Benton and Feng Chongyi

How poetry and revolution meshed in Red China

This is a book of poems by four veteran Chinese revolutionaries. Chen Duxiu led China's early cultural awakening before founding the Communist Party in 1921. Mao led the Party to power in 1949. Zheng Chaolin, Chen Duxiu's disciple and, like him, a convert to Trotskyism, spent thirty-four years in jail, first under the Nationalists and then under Mao. The guerrilla Chen Yi wrote poems in mountain bivouacs or the heat of battle. All wrote in the classical style, which Mao Zedong officially proscribed, though he and other leaders kept using it. Poetry, especially classical poetry, plays a different role in China, and in Chinese revolution, from in the West – it is collective and collaborative. The four poets were entangled with one another in various ways. Chen Duxiu inspired Mao, though Mao later denounced him. Mao and Zheng joined the leadership under Chen Duxiu in the 1920s, though Mao later gaoled Zheng. The maverick Chen Yi was Zheng's associate in France and Mao's comrade-in-arms in China, but he clashed with the Maoists in the Cultural Revolution. Together, the four poets illustrate the complex relationship between Communist revolution and Chinese cultural tradition.

Gregor Benton, Emeritus Professor at Cardiff University, writes on Chinese history, dissent, and diaspora.

Feng Chongyi works on modern China at Sydney's University of Technology and is Professor of History at Nankai University.
In the Mind But Not From There
Real Abstraction and Contemporary Art
Edited by Gean Moreno

Artists and critics explore the concept of Real Abstraction to help understand contemporary cultural production

In the Mind But Not From There: Real Abstraction and Contemporary Art considers how the Marxian concept of ‘real abstraction’ – originally developed by Alfred Sohn-Rethel, and recently updated by Alberto Toscano – might help to define the economic, social, political, and cultural complexities of our contemporary moment. In doing so, this volume brings together noted contemporary artists, literary critics, curators, historians, and social theorists who connect the concept of ‘real abstraction’ with contemporary cultural production. Theoretical and artistic contributions from Benjamin Noys, Paul Chan, João Enxuto and Erica Love, Marina Vishmidt, Sven Lütticken, and many others help to map out the relationship between political economy and artistic production in the realm of contemporary, globalized cultural exchange.

This anthology places economic and social analyses alongside creative projects and visual essays to consider the many angles of contemporary art, and how inquiry into the production of abstraction through material and social processes can be used to better understand, and hopefully change, the conditions under which art is made, seen, and circulated today.

Gean Moreno is Curator of Programs at ICA Miami, where he established and runs the Art + Research Center. He has served on the Advisory Committee for the 2017 Whitney Biennial, and is the founder and current co-director of [NAME] Publications. His texts have appeared in numerous catalogues and anthologies, and he has written for various publications, including e-flux journal, Art in America, Kaleidoscope, and MONU – Magazine for Urbanism.
Killing for Show

Photography and War in Vietnam and Iraq

Julian Stallabrass

A history of war photography – from Vietnam to the War on Terror – and how photography has changed war

Since the Vietnam War the way we see conflict – through film, photographs, and pixels – has had a powerful impact on the political fortunes of the campaign, and the way that war has been conducted. In this fully illustrated and passionately argued account of war imagery, Julian Stallabrass tells the story of post-war conflict, how it was recorded and remembered through its iconic photography.

The relationship between war and photograph is constantly in transition, forming new perspectives, provoking new challenges: what is allowed to be seen? Does an image have the power to change political opinion? Stallabrass shows how photographs have become a vital weapon in the modern war: as propaganda – from close quarter fighting to the drone's electronic vision – as well as a witness to the barbarity of events such as the My Lai massacre, the violent suppression of insurgent Fallujah or the atrocities in Abu Ghraib.

Through these accounts Stallabrass maps a comprehensive theoretical re-evaluation of the relationship between war, politics and visual culture. Killing for Show is an essential volume in the history of photography.

Julian Stallabrass is Professor in art history at the Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London. His books include High Art Lite: The Rise and Fall of Young British Art; Art Incorporated: The Story of Contemporary Art; Gargantua: Manufactured Mass Culture; and Internet Art: The Online Clash of Culture and Commerce. In 2008 he curated the Brighton Photo Biennial, Memory of Fire: Images of War and the War of Images, nine contrasting exhibitions about war photography. He writes for New Left Review, Artforum, Texte zur Kunst, Bazaar Art and the London Review of Books.

Praise for High Art Lite

“A lacerating analysis of the reactionary tendencies of high art lite itself.” Financial Times

“Combines the early Berger’s fierce critique of consumerist contamination with the later Berger’s sense of art’s high purpose.” Marina Warner, London review of Books

“Nimbly written and bolstered by a constellation of critical and cultural referents: balanced, engrossing, historically framed examination of this latest avant-garde, so startling yet so oddly familiar.” Kirkus Review
Against Creativity

Oli Mould

From line managers, corporate CEOs, urban designers, teachers, politicians, mayors, advertisers and even our friends and family, the message is ‘be creative’. Creativity is heralded as the driving force of our contemporary society, celebrated as agile, progressive and liberating. It is the spring of the knowledge economy and shapes the cities we inhabit. It even defines our politics. What could possibly be wrong with this?

In this brilliant, counter-intuitive blast, Oli Mould demands that we rethink the story we are being sold. Behind the novelty, he shows that creativity is a barely hidden form of neoliberal appropriation. It is a regime that prioritises individual success over collective flourishing. It refuses to recognise anything – job, place, person – that is not profitable. And it impacts on everything around us: the places where we work, the way we are managed, how we spend our leisure time.

Is there an alternative? Mould offers a radical redefinition of creativity, one embedded in the idea of collective flourishing, outside the tyranny of profit. Bold, passionate and refreshing, Against Creativity, is a timely correction to the doctrine of our times.

Oli Mould is Lecturer in Human Geography at Royal Holloway, University of London. His work focuses on issues of urban activism, social theory and creative resistance. He is the author of Urban Subversion and the Creative City and blogs at tacity.co.uk.

Praise for Urban Subversion and the Creative City

“A bold plea for truly creative urban thought and action ... Creative, that is, in a wide range of subversive but always social ways, and not only outside but against the softly suffocating hegemony of authorized versions of the Creative Cities script, in all its banal ubiquity.” Jamie Peck, Professor of Geography, University of British Columbia

“Thorough, engaging and critical in spirit, and packed full of theoretical insights and colourful examples of what the author calls ‘urban subversion’. Mould is keenly immersed in his subject matter, and his enthusiasm for it is both obvious and infectious. This is a book which every human geography and urban sociology student should read, and would enjoy at the same time” Robert Hollands, Newcastle University
For A Left Populism

Chantal Mouffe

Populism, today, is the expression of a crisis of liberal-democratic politics. It is more than an ideology or a political regime. It is a way of doing politics that can take various forms but emerges when one aims at building a new subject of collective action – the people.

In this new book the leading political thinker Chantal Mouffe proposes a new way to define left populism. The political is to be constructed by establishing a political frontier that divides society into two camps, mobilising an “underdog” against “those in power”. Populism, far from being a perversion of democracy, constitutes the most adequate political force to recover and reconstitute itself. This new politics must recognise its partisan character. This presents itself as more than the image of demagoguery and emotive rabbles seen across our media. Furthermore, it is an urgent struggle, because the future will be formed by the kind of populism that emerges victorious from the conflict against the current threats of post-politics and post-democracy.

Chantal Mouffe is Professor of Political Theory at the Centre for the Study of Democracy at the University of Westminster. Her books include Agonistics, The Return of the Political, Hegemony and Socialist Strategy (with Ernesto Laclau), The Dimensions of Radical Democracy, The Democratic Paradox and The Challenge of Carl Schmitt.

Praise for Chantal Mouffe

“Mouffe represents a position that every serious student of contemporary political thought must acknowledge and come to terms with.”

Philosopher’s Magazine

“Evocative and challenging.” Radical Philosophy

“Important and timely.” Political Theory
The Old Is Dying and the New Cannot Be Born

From Progressive Neoliberalism to Trump and Beyond

Nancy Fraser
with Bhaskar Sunkara

Neoliberalism is fracturing, but what will emerge in its wake?

Across the globe politics as usual is being rejected and faith in neoliberalism is fracturing beyond repair. Leading political theorist Nancy Fraser, in conversation with Jacobin publisher Bhaskar Sunkara, dissects neoliberalism’s current crisis and argues that we might wrest new futures from its ruins.

The global political, ecological, economic, and social breakdown – symbolised, but not caused, by Trump’s election – has destroyed faith that neoliberal capitalism is beneficial to the majority. Fraser explores how this faith was built through the late twentieth century by balancing two central tenets: recognition (who deserves rights) and distribution (who deserves income). When these began to fray, new forms of outsider populist politics emerge on the left and the right. These, Fraser argues, are symptoms of the larger crisis of hegemony for neoliberalism, a moment when, as Gramsci had it, ‘the old is dying and the new cannot be born.’

In an accompanying interview with Jacobin publisher Bhaskar Sunkara, Fraser argues that we now have the opportunity to build progressive populism into an emancipatory social force, one that can claim a new hegemony.

Nancy Fraser is Loeb Professor of Philosophy and Politics at the New School for Social Research, Einstein Fellow of the city of Berlin, and holder of the ‘Global Justice’ Chair at the Collège d’études mondiales in Paris. Her books include Redistribution or Recognition; Adding Insult to Injury; Scales of Justice; Justice Interruptus; and Unruly Practices.

Bhaskar Sunkara is the founding Editor and publisher of Jacobin magazine.
In *Legislature by Lot*, John Gastil and Erik Olin Wright make the case for pairing a sortition body with an elected chamber within a bicameral legislature. Gastil is a leading deliberative democracy scholar, and Wright a distinguished sociologist and series editor of the Real Utopias books, of which this is a part. In this volume, they bring together critics and advocates of sortition who studied ancient Athens, deliberative polling, political theory, social movements, and civic innovation. The constellation of voices in this book lays out a wide variety of ideas for how to implement sortition, without obscuring its limitations, and examine its potential for reshaping modern politics.

**John Gastil** holds a joint appointment as Professor of Communication Arts and Sciences and Professor of Political Science at Penn State University. He is the author of Democracy in *Small Groups* and *By Popular Demand*.

**Erik Olin Wright** is Vilas Distinguished Professor of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin. He is the author of many books, including *Class Counts* and *Envisioning Real Utopias*.
Mobility Justice

The Politics of Movement in an Age of Anxiety

Mimi Sheller

Mobility justice is one of the crucial political and ethical issues of our day. We are in the midst of a global climate crisis and extreme challenges of urbanisation. At the same time it is difficult to ignore the deaths of thousands of migrants at sea and in deserts, the xenophobic treatment of foreign-born populations, refugees and asylum seekers, as well as the persistence of racist violence and ethnic exclusions on our doorstep. This, in turn, is connected to other kinds of uneven mobility: relations between people, access to transport, urban infrastructures and global resources such as food, water, and energy.

In Mobility Justice, Mimi Sheller makes a passionate argument for a new understanding of the contemporary crisis of mobility. She shows how power and inequality inform the governance and control of movement, connecting these scales of the body, street, city, nation, and planet into one overarching theory of mobility justice. This can be seen on a local level in the differential circulation of people, resources, and information, as well as on an urban scale, with questions of public transport and ‘the right to the city’. On the planetary scale, she demands that we rethink the reality where tourists and other kinetic elites are able to roam freely, the military origins of global infrastructure, and the contested politics of migration and restricted borders.

Mobility Justice offers a new way to understand the deep flows of inequality and uneven accessibility of a world in which the mobility commons has been enclosed.

Mimi Sheller is Professor of Sociology and Director of the Center for Mobilities Research and Policy at Drexel University. She is the author of Democracy after Slavery, Consuming the Caribbean, Citizenship from Below and Aluminum Dreams.

Praise for Consuming the Caribbean

“This is a stunning book! It is beautifully reasoned and well-documented and demonstrates Sheller’s mastery of her material, but it is much more. It is original in its approach ... and above all, it is elegantly and sensitively written.”
Janet Abu Lughod

“Beautifully written, clearly argued ... A wonderful book that deserves considerable attention.” Cultural Geographies
First We Take Rome
How the Populist Right Conquered Italy

David Broder

Italy’s political disaster analysed

It is difficult for Italians to have much faith in the future. The last Labour Minister said it was a good thing if young people emigrated, to stop them ‘getting under our feet’; one recent Prime Minister said that young Italians should not invest their hopes in securing stable jobs, for that would be ‘boring’, anyway.

Examining Italy’s history since the end of the Cold War, First We Take Rome argues that its dismal situation should not be understood in terms of a stereotypical narrative of Italian chaos or backwardness. A country that once boasted Europe’s strongest Left, today Italy epitomises the crisis of democracy in the West.

The scandals of Silvio Berlusconi’s rule, the pervasive corruption of public life and sky-high youth unemployment are indicators of a particularly sick society. Yet forging the difficulty of a new force to renew Italy’s institutions is also apparent as its atomised citizens lose hope in political change.

What has broken apart in Italy is not just its once-mighty Left but the very foundation of social solidarity. Not only this or that political party, but public life itself, is in full-scale collapse.

David Broder is a Rome-based writer and translator. He is a contributing editor for Jacobin magazine and regularly writes on Italian politics for publications including Internazionale.
Empire of Borders
How the US is Exporting its Border Around the World

Todd Miller

The United States is outsourcing its border patrol abroad – and essentially expanding its borders in the process

The twenty-first century has been an era of hardening borders – increased borderland patrols, surveillance and militarization are widening the chasm between those who can vacation (or do business) where they please, and others whose movements are restricted by armed guards. But as journalist Todd Miller finds in Empire of Borders, the US border is also becoming increasingly fluid, expanding thousands of miles outside of US territory often to protect Washington’s interests.

In places like Argentina, Kosovo, Honduras, Jordan and Afghanistan, US border patrol works alongside local agents to block migrants, terrorists, drug runners and smugglers from approaching the United States. Empire of Borders traces the rise of this border regime, along with practices of ‘extreme vetting’ and the vast global industry for border and homeland security. But in visiting Syria, Guatemala, Kenya, Palestine, Mexico and the Philippines, Miller instead finds a global war against the poor.

Todd Miller is the author of Border Patrol Nation and Storming the Wall, which was awarded the 2018 Izzy Award for investigative journalism. His writing has appeared in the New York Times, TomDispatch, Mother Jones, The Nation, Al Jazeera English, and Salon.
Our History Is the Future

Standing Rock versus the Dakota Access Pipeline, and the Long Tradition of Indigenous Resistance

Nick Estes

How two centuries of Indigenous resistance created the movement proclaiming ‘Water is life’

In 2016, a small protest encampment at the Standing Rock reservation in North Dakota, initially established to block construction of the Dakota Access oil pipeline, grew to be the largest indigenous protest movement in the twenty-first century. Water Protectors knew this battle for native sovereignty had already been fought many times before, and that, even after the encampment was gone, their anti-colonial struggle would continue. In Our History is the Future, Nick Estes traces traditions of Indigenous resistance leading to the #NoDAPL movement. Our History is the Future at once a work of history, a personal story, and a manifesto.

Nick Estes is a citizen of the Lower Brule Sioux Tribe and an Assistant Professor of American Studies at the University of New Mexico.
The People and the Party

The Tiananmen Conflict of 1989

Chaohua Wang

Thirty years after the massacre of June 4, 1989: A personal account of the democratic protests of Tiananmen Square and reflections on how they transformed modern China

In April, 1989, the sudden death of Hu Yaobang caused a public outcry. On the day of Hu's memorial, thousands of students crowded onto Tiananmen Square in the centre of Beijing to protest the Communist Party’s handling of recent reforms. Despite initial attempts to quell the protests, with both the Party and the state media branding the gathering as ‘unpatriotic’, the students launched one big rally after another, eventually occupying the square in a mass hunger strike in mid May.

In The People and the Party, Chaohua Wang, who became a leading member of the standing committee of the Beijing Autonomous Association of College Students, narrates the events of the square. She integrates the drama with in depth analysis of what was going on in the headquarters of the central government and the army, as they attempt to regain control and impose order. By June 2, the Party elders agreed that decisive action was needed, and the Army was sent into the city. Over the next two days troops violently cleared the protesters; thousands were reported to be killed and many more injured.

The book vividly recalls these events and analyzes how they changed the course of Chinese history over the following thirty years. Wang was named one of the twenty-one most wanted leaders of the student movement. She spent more than six months in hiding before traveling to the United States. Since then, China has continued its policies of marketization without democratization, becoming the world’s newest superpower.

Chaohua Wang received her PhD in Chinese literature and civilization from the University of California, Los Angeles. She studies and writes on modern Chinese literature and intellectual history. She is the editor of One China, Many Paths.
Intent to Deceive
Denying the Rwandan Genocide

Linda Melvern

A shocking exposé of genocide denial in the aftermath of Rwanda 1994

The 1994 genocide of the Tutsi by the Hutu was an attempt to exterminate a minority people. It was unprecedented in speed and scale, comparable to the genocide of the Armenians by Turkey and the Nazi Holocaust. But the violence continues today as supporters of the racist ideology of Hutu power undermine the established version of events through systematic denial, propaganda and fake news. This campaign seeks to minimise what occurred and blame the victims for their fate. The systematic denial continues to spread and is promoted by media, academics, lawyers and politicians.

In this searing account of the aftermath of the genocide, investigative journalist Linda Melvern exposes the attempts to falsify the historical record. This includes a campaign by French military officers, implicated in events, to lay the blame on volunteer peacekeepers in the UN military operation. She reveals the true story behind the owner of Hotel Rwanda, Paul Rusesabagina, and his links with the killers, as well as the number of génocidaires at large, and the priest killers protected by the Vatican. The excessive secrecy and unwarranted concealment of pertinent facts by Western governments serves Hutu Power in its disinformation campaign.

*Intent to Deceive* is a chilling, thoroughly investigated exposé of how politicians continue to use the crime for their own ends, long after the killing has ceased.

**Linda Melvern** is a widely published investigative journalist. She is a former Honorary Professor in the Department of International Politics at the University of Aberystwyth and was a consultant to the Military One prosecution team at the International Criminal Tribunal on Rwanda. Her previous books include *Conspiracy to Murder* and *A People Betrayed*.

Praise for *Conspiracy to Murder*

“The best overall account of the background to the genocide, and the failure to prevent it.” General Romeo Dallaire

“An epic and shaming story of culpability and missed opportunities ... in the finest traditions of investigative journalism.” John Pilger

“Melvern offers a vivid picture of the role of Western nations in abetting, ignoring and allowing Rwanda’s genocide.” *New York Times Book Review*
Insurgent Empire

Anticolonialism and the Making of British Dissent

Priyamvada Gopal

Upsets received views to show how rebellious colonies changed British attitudes to empire

Much has been written on how colonial subjects took up British and European ideas and turned them against empire when making claims to freedom and self-determination. The possibility of reverse influence has been largely overlooked. *Insurgent Empire* shows how Britain’s enslaved and colonial subjects were not merely victims of empire and subsequent beneficiaries of its crises of conscience but also agents whose resistance both contributed to their own liberation and shaped British ideas about freedom and who could be free. This book examines dissent over the question of empire in Britain and shows how it was influenced by rebellions and resistance in the colonies from the West Indies and East Africa to Egypt and India. It also shows how a pivotal role in fomenting dissent was played by anticolonial campaigners based in London, at the heart of the empire.

Priyamvada Gopal is University Reader in Anglophone and Related Literatures in the Faculty of English at the University of Cambridge and Fellow Churchill College. She is the author of *Literary Radicalism in India: Gender, Nation and the Transition to Independence* and *The Indian English Novel: Nation, History and Narration*.

Praise for *On the English Novel in India*

“This book provides a brilliantly lucid commentary on the development of this genre in (Anglophone) India and the emergence, shape and trajectory of its major themes and formal modes across the twentieth century as a whole. Composed primarily as a series of snapshot readings of key texts, it is both authoritative and richly insightful. Succinct and precise, it is remarkable also for the deftness of its judgement and the acuity and penetration of its argument.” Neil Lazarus, University of Warwick
Stone Men
The Palestinians Who Built Israel
Andrew Ross

The story of Palestine’s stonemasons and the building of Israel

‘They demolish our houses while we build theirs.’ This is how a Palestinian stonemason, in line at a checkpoint outside a Jerusalem suburb, described his life to Andrew Ross. Palestinian ‘stone men’, utilising some of the best-quality dolomitic limestone deposits in the world and drawing on generations of artisanal knowledge, have built almost every state in the Middle East except their own. Today the business of quarrying, cutting, fabrication, and dressing is Palestine’s largest employer and generator of revenue, supplying the construction industry in Israel, along with other Middle East countries and even more overseas.

Drawing on hundreds of interviews in Palestine and Israel, Ross’s engrossing, surprising, and gracefully written story of this fascinating ancient trade shows how the stones of Palestine, and Palestinian labour, have been used to build out the state of Israel – in the process, constructing ‘facts on the ground’ – even while the industry is central to Palestinians’ own efforts to erect bulwarks against the Occupation. For decades, the hands that built Israel’s houses, schools, offices, bridges, and even its separation barriers have been Palestinian. Looking at the Palestine–Israel conflict in a new light, this book asks how this record of achievement and labour can be recognised.


“Books by Andrew Ross are always exhilarating adventures at the cutting edge of social thought ... Ross is a shrewd cross between Jonathan Swift and C. Wright Mills.” Mike Davis

“Andrew Ross is the very model for a scholar-activist.” David Graeber

“Ross is a raconteur with delicious – and telling anecdotes.” New York Times Book Review
Seattle General Strike
The Forgotten History of Labor’s Most Spectacular Revolt
Cal Winslow

A thrilling account of one of the most dramatic chapters in the history of American labour, retold for the strike’s 100th anniversary

One hundred years before the dystopian promise of Seattle’s wish-fulfilment centres, the city seemed on the precipice of another future entirely. For five days in February 1919, the emerald city’s working class struck across all trades and sectors; as production came to a stop, the real work began: committees were organised to feed the hungry, others to keep the peace and tend to the sick. To the terror of Western tycoons, it seemed as if a red star was flying over Seattle.

Cal Winslow retells this woefully forgotten story with fresh eyes. Drawn from original research, Winslow does justice to the leading role that women, black, and Japanese-immigrant workers played in the upsurge, just as he tells the multitudinous histories of resistance that were bound together by the act of the strike.

Cal Winslow is Director of the Mendocino Institute and Fellow in Environmental Politics, Institute of International Studies, UC Berkeley. Among his books are Labor’s Civil War in California and Rebel Rank and File.

Eugene V. Debs
A Graphic Biography
Noah Van Sciver

Script by Paul Buhle and Steve Max, with Dave Nance

A graphic biography of socialist labour legend Eugene V. Debs

Eugene Victor Debs led the Socialist Party in the early twentieth century to federal and state office across the country, helped to pioneer a fighting union politics that organised all workers, and became the beloved figurehead of American radicalism. Imprisoned for speaking out against World War I, Debs ran for president from prison, receiving over one million votes. Debs’s story is the story of labour battles in industrialising America, of a socialist politics grown directly out of the Midwestern heartland, and of a distinctly American vision of socialism.

This graphic biography, published in collaboration with the Democratic Socialists of America is geared toward a new generation exploring socialist and working-class radicalism.

Noah Van Sciver is an Ignatz award-winning cartoonist who first came to comic readers’ attention with his critically acclaimed, Eisner nominated comic book series Blammo.
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