



**VERSO**

---

Foreign Rights Catalogue / **Spring 2020**

# Contents

---

About Verso	2
Philosophy	3
Politics	7
America	12
History	17
Environment	23
Feminism	26
Art	29
Cities/Architecture	30



# About Verso

---

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).

# The Force of Nonviolence

## The Ethical in the Political

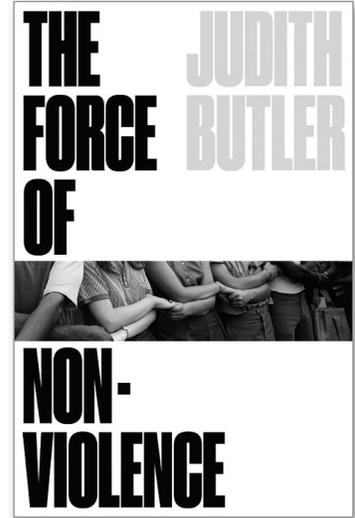
Judith Butler

### Towards a form of aggressive nonviolence.

Judith Butler's new book shows how an ethic of nonviolence must be connected to a broader political struggle for social equality. Further, it argues that nonviolence is often misunderstood as a passive practice that emanates from a calm region of the soul, or as an individualist ethical relation to existing forms of power. But, in fact, nonviolence is an ethical position found in the midst of the political field. An aggressive form of nonviolence accepts that hostility is part of our psychic constitution, but values ambivalence as a way of checking the conversion of aggression into violence. One contemporary challenge to a politics of nonviolence points out that there is a difference of opinion on what counts as violence and nonviolence. The distinction between them can be mobilised in the service of ratifying the state's monopoly on violence.

Considering nonviolence as an ethical problem within a political philosophy requires a critique of individualism as well as an understanding of the psychosocial dimensions of violence. Butler draws upon Foucault, Fanon, Freud, and Benjamin to consider how the interdiction against violence fails to include lives regarded as ungrievable. By considering how 'racial phantasms' inform justifications of state and administrative violence, Butler tracks how violence is often attributed to those who are most severely exposed to its lethal effects. The struggle for nonviolence is found in movements for social transformation that reframe the grievability of lives in light of social equality and whose ethical claims follow from an insight into the interdependency of life as the basis of social and political equality.

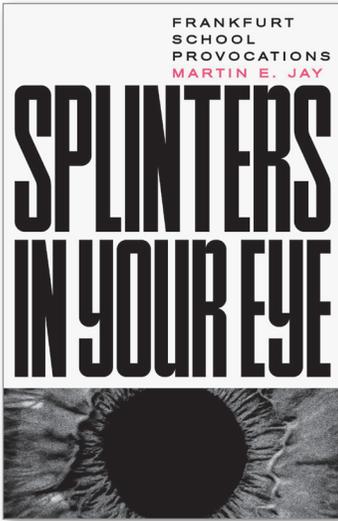
**Judith Butler** is Maxine Elliot Professor of Comparative Literature and Critical Theory at the University of California, Berkeley. She is the author of numerous books including *Precarious Life* (Verso, 2004), *Frames of War* (Verso, 2009), and *Towards a Performative Theory of Assembly* (Harvard University Press, 2015).



February 2020

224 pages

Spanish: Editorial Paidós



---

July 2020  
256 pages

---

# Splinters in Your Eye

Frankfurt School Provocations

Martin E. Jay

**Assessing the legacy of the Frankfurt School in the twenty-first century.**

Although successive generations of the Frankfurt School have attempted to adapt Critical Theory to new circumstances, the work done by its founding members continues in the twenty-first century to unsettle conventional wisdom about culture, society and politics. Exploring unexamined episodes in the school's history and reading its work in unexpected ways, these essays provide ample evidence of the abiding relevance of Horkheimer, Adorno, Benjamin, Marcuse, Löwenthal, and Kracauer in our troubled times. Without forcing a unified argument, they range over a wide variety of topics, from the uncertain founding of the School to its mixed reception of psychoanalysis, from Benjamin's ruminations on stamp collecting to the ironies in the reception of Marcuse's *One-Dimensional Man*, from Löwenthal's role in Weimar's Jewish Renaissance to Horkheimer's involvement in the writing of the first history of the Frankfurt School. Of special note are their responses to visual issues such as the emancipation of colour in modern art, the Jewish prohibition on images, the relationship between cinema and the public sphere, and the implications of a celebrated Family of Man photographic exhibition. The collection ends with an essay tracing the still metastasising demonisation of the Frankfurt School by the so-called Alt Right as the source of "cultural Marxism" and "political correctness," which has gained alarming international resonance and led to violence by radical right-wing fanatics.

**Martin Jay** is Sidney Hellman Ehrman Professor of History Emeritus at the University of California, Berkeley, where he taught Modern European Intellectual History and Critical Theory for forty-five years. Among his works are *The Dialectical Imagination; Marxism and Totality; Adorno; Permanent Exiles; Fin-de-siècle Socialism; Force Fields; Downcast Eyes; Cultural Semantics; Refractions of Violence; Songs of Experience; The Virtues of Mendacity; Essays from the Edge; Kracauer: l'exilé;* and *Reason after Its Eclipse*. He has been a regular columnist for *Salmagundi* since 1987.

---

# Dark Matter

## A Guide to Alexander Kluge and Oskar Negt

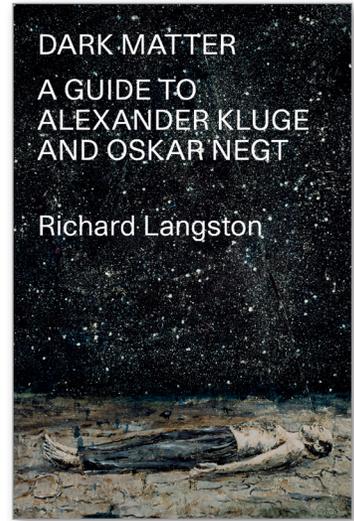
Richard Langston

### Unravelling the thought of Frankfurt School theorists Alexander Kluge and Oskar Negt.

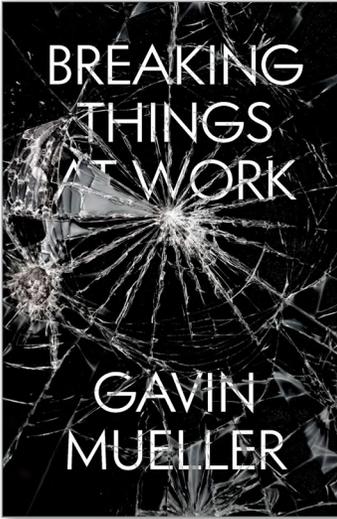
Collaborators for more than four decades, lawyer, author, filmmaker, and multimedia artist Alexander Kluge and social philosopher Oskar Negt are an exceptional duo in the history of Critical Theory precisely because their respective disciplines operate so differently. *Dark Matter* argues that what makes their contributions to the Frankfurt School so remarkable is how they think together in spite of these differences. Kluge and Negt's "gravitational thinking" balances not only the abstractions of theory with the concreteness of the aesthetic, but also their allegiances to Frankfurt School mentors with their fascination for other German, French, and Anglo-American thinkers distinctly outside the Frankfurt tradition.

At the core of all their adventures in gravitational thinking is a profound sense that the catastrophic conditions of modern life are not humankind's unalterable fate. In opposition to modernity's disastrous state of affairs, Kluge and Negt regard the huge mass of dark matter throughout the universe as the lodestar for thinking together with others, for dark matter is that absolute guarantee that happier alternatives to our calamitous world are possible. As illustrated throughout Langston's study, dark matter's promise – its critical orientation out of catastrophic modernity – finds its expression, above all, in Kluge's multimedia aesthetic.

**Richard Langston** is Professor of German Literature at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He is the editor of *Difference and Orientation: An Alexander Kluge Reader*, the author of *Visions of Violence: German Avant-Gardes after Fascism*, lead translator of Kluge and Negt's *History and Obstinacy*, and co-editor of the *Alexander Kluge-Jahrbuch*.



August 2020  
352 pages



---

July 2020

176 pages

---

## Breaking Things at Work

Gavin Mueller

**An exhilarating challenge to the way we think about work, technology, progress, and what we want from the future.**

In the nineteenth century, English textile workers responded to the introduction of new technologies on the factory floor by smashing them to bits. For years the Luddites roamed the English countryside, practicing drills and manoeuvres that they would later deploy on unsuspecting machines. The movement has been derided by scholars as a backwards-looking and ultimately ineffectual effort to stem the march of history; for Gavin Mueller, the movement gets at the heart of the antagonistic relationship between all workers, including us today, and the so-called progressive gains secured by new technologies. The luddites weren't primitive and they are still a force, however unconsciously, in the workplaces of the twenty-first century world.

*Breaking Things at Work* is an innovative rethinking of labour and machines, leaping from textile mills to algorithms, from existentially threatened knife cutters of rural Germany to surveillance-evading truckers driving across the continental United States. Mueller argues that the future stability and empowerment of working-class movements will depend on subverting these technologies and preventing their spread wherever possible. The task is intimidating, but the seeds of this resistance are already present in the neo-Luddite efforts of hackers, pirates, and dark web users who are challenging surveillance and control, often through older systems of communication technology.

**Gavin Mueller** is the author of *Media Piracy in the Cultural Economy: Intellectual Property and Labor under Neoliberal Restructuring*. He is a Contributing Editor at *Jacobin*, and a member of the *Viewpoint Magazine* editorial collective.

---

# Why You Should Be A Trade Unionist

Len McCluskey

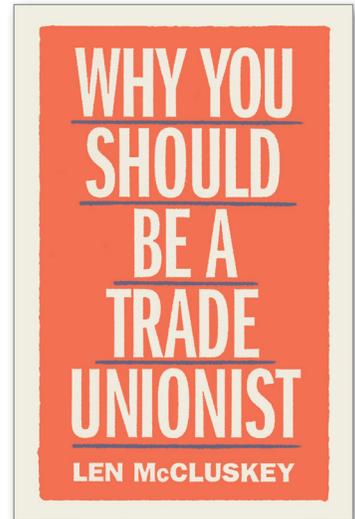
## Why every worker should join a trade union.

In this short and accessible book, Len McCluskey, General Secretary of Unite the Union, presents the case for joining a trade union. Drawing on anecdotes from his own long involvement in unions, he looks at the history of trade unions, what they do and how they give a voice to working people, as democratic organisations.

He considers the changing world of work, the challenges and opportunities of automation and why being trade unionists can enable us to help shape the future. He sets out why being a trade unionist is as much a political role as it is an industrial one and why the historic links between the labour movement and the Labour Party matter.

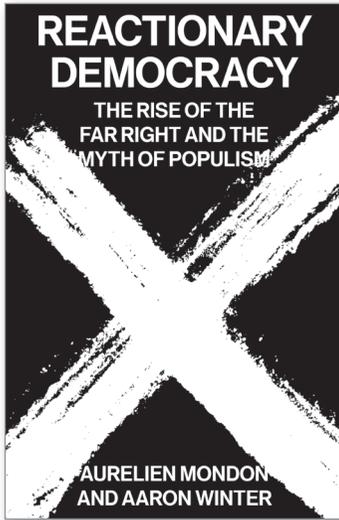
Ultimately, McCluskey explains how being a trade unionist means putting equality at work and in society front and centre, fighting for an end to discrimination, and to inequality in wages and power.

**Len McCluskey** is General Secretary of Unite the Union, the largest affiliate and a major donor to the Labour Party. As a young adult, he spent some years working in the Liverpool Docks for the Mersey Docks and Harbour Company prior to becoming a full-time union official for the Transport and General Workers' Union (T&GWU) in 1979. McCluskey was elected as the General Secretary of Unite in 2010, and was re-elected to his post in 2013 and 2017. He has been a prominent backer and supporter of Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn.



January 2020

160 pages



---

May 2020  
240 pages

---

# Reactionary Democracy

## How Racism and the Populist Far Right Became Mainstream

**Aurélien Mondon and Aaron Winter**

**Democracy must be anti-racist. Any less is cowardly. Any less is reactionary.**

Democracy is not necessarily progressive, and will only be if we make it so. What Mondon and Winter call ‘reactionary democracy’ is the use of the concept of democracy and its associated understanding of the power to the people (*demos cratos*) for reactionary ends. The resurgence of racism, populism and the far right is not the result of popular demands, it is the logical conclusion of manipulation by the elite of the working class to push reactionary ideas. These narratives portray racism as a popular demand, rather than as something encouraged and perpetuated by elites, exonerating those with the means to influence and control public discourse through the media in particular. This has legitimised the far right, strengthened its hand and compounded inequalities.

These actions divert us away from real concerns and radical alternatives to the current system. Through a careful and thorough deconstruction of the hegemonic discourse currently preventing us from thinking beyond the liberal vs populist dichotomy, this book develops a better understanding of the systemic forces underpinning our current model and its exploitative and discriminatory basis. The book shows us that the far right would not have been able to achieve such success, either electorally or ideologically, were it not for the help of elite actors like the media, politicians and academics. While the far right is a real threat and should not be left off the hook, the authors argue that we need to shift the responsibility of the situation towards those who too often claim to be objective bystanders despite their powerful standpoint and clear capacity to influence the agenda, public discourse, and narratives, particularly when they platform and legitimise racist and far right ideas and actors.

**Aurélien Mondon** researches and teaches at the University of Bath. His first book, *The Mainstreaming of the Extreme Right in France and Australia: A Populist Hegemony?*, was published in 2013 and he recently co-edited *After Charlie Hebdo: Terror, Racism and Free Speech*.

**Aaron Winter** is Senior Lecturer in Criminology at the University of East London. He is co-editor of *Discourses and Practices of Terrorism: Interrogating Terror* and more recently, *Historical Perspectives on Organised Crime and Terrorism*.

# Brazil Apart

1964–2019

Perry Anderson

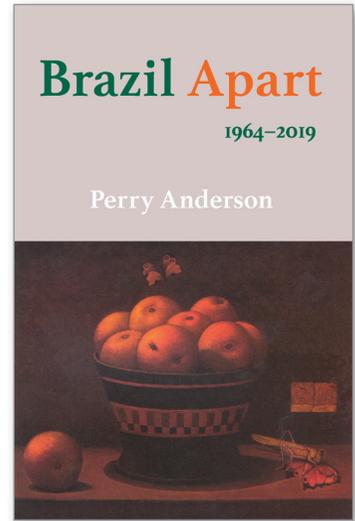
**Leading English-language account of the fall of Lula's Workers' Party and rise of Bolsonaro and the New Right.**

What does Brazil's lurch to the hard right under Jair Bolsonaro portend for Latin America's most populous society, and how has it come about?

Perry Anderson, foremost observer of the Brazilian scene in the English-speaking world, offers a matchless account of the country's recent political upheavals: after the dashed hopes of the Cardoso years, the soaring popularity of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva; the parliamentary coup d'état against his successor, Dilma Rousseff and the sweeping election victory of Bolsonaro, backed by the armed forces and a youthful new right.

Always something of a world unto itself, under the Workers' Party, Brazil had bucked the global trend towards a tighter neoliberalism. With its lodestar, Lula, now behind bars, a weighing up of the party's legacy, and of the contrasting Bolsonaro regime, is urgently needed.

**Perry Anderson** taught History at UCLA for thirty years and is an Editor at *New Left Review*. He is the author of, among other books, *The H-Word*, *The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci*, *American Foreign Policy and Its Thinkers*, *The Indian Ideology*, *The New Old World*, *Spectrum*, *Lineages of the Absolutist State*, *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism*, *Considerations on Western Marxism*, *English Questions* and *The Origins of Postmodernity*.

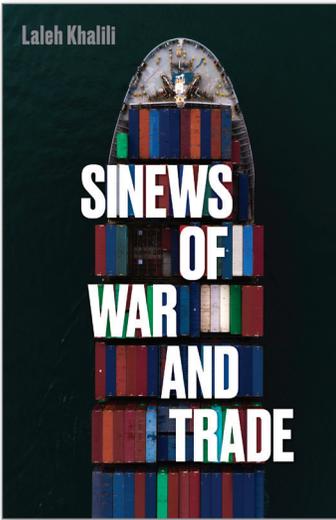


September 2019

240 pages

Portuguese (Brazil):  
Boitempo Editorial

Spanish: Grupo Editorial Akal



---

May 2020

336 pages

---

# Sinews of War and Trade

## Shipping and Capitalism in the Arabian Peninsula

**Laleh Khalili**

**How shipping is central to the very fabric of global capitalism.**

On the map of global trade, China is now the factory of the world. A parade of ships full of raw commodities – iron ore, coal, oil – arrive in its ports, and fleets of container ships leave with manufactured goods in all directions. The oil that fuels China’s manufacturing comes primarily from the Arabian peninsula. Much of the material shipped from China are transported through the ports of Arabian peninsula, Dubai’s Jabal Ali port foremost among them. China’s ‘maritime silk road’ flanks the peninsula on all sides.

*Sinews of War and Trade* is the story of what the making of new ports and shipping infrastructure has meant not only for the Arabian peninsula itself, but for the region and the world beyond. The book is an account of how maritime transportation is not simply an enabling companion of trade, but central to the very fabric of global capitalism. The ports that serve maritime trade, logistics, and hydrocarbon transport create racialised hierarchies of labour, engineer the lived environment, aid the accumulation of capital regionally and globally, and carry forward colonial regimes of profit, law and administration.

**Laleh Khalili** is a Professor of International Politics at Queen Mary University of London. She is the author of *Heroes and Martyrs of Palestine: The Politics of National Commemoration* and *Time in the Shadows: Confinement in Counterinsurgencies*.

---

# Levers of Power

## How the 1% Rules and What the 99% Can Do about It

**Kevin A. Young, Tarun Banerjee,  
and Michael Schwartz**

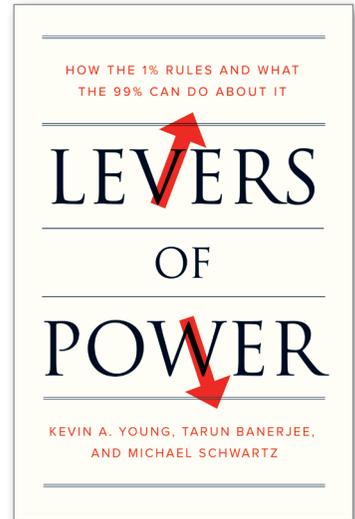
**Understanding the power of the corporations and how to take the struggle directly to them.**

It's no secret that the 1% – the business elite that commands the largest corporations and the connected network of public and private institutions – exercise enormous control over the US government. While this control is usually attributed to campaign donations and lobbying, *Levers of Power* argues that corporate power derives from control over the economic resources on which daily life depends. Government officials must constantly strive to keep capitalists happy, lest they go on “capital strike” – that is, refuse to invest in particular industries or locations, or move their holdings to other countries – and therefore impose material hardship on specific groups or the economy as a whole. For this reason, even politicians who are not dependent on corporations for their electoral success must fend off the interruption of corporate investment. *Levers of Power* documents the pervasive power of corporations and other institutions with decision-making control over large pools of capital, particularly the Pentagon. It also shows that the most successful reform movements in recent US history – for workers' rights, for civil rights, and against imperialist wars – succeeded by directly targeting the corporations and other institutional adversaries that initiated and benefitted from oppressive policies. Though most of today's social movements focus on elections and politicians, movements of the 99% are most effective when they inflict direct costs on corporations and their allied institutions. This strategy is also more conducive to building a revolutionary mass movement that can replace current institutions with democratic alternatives.

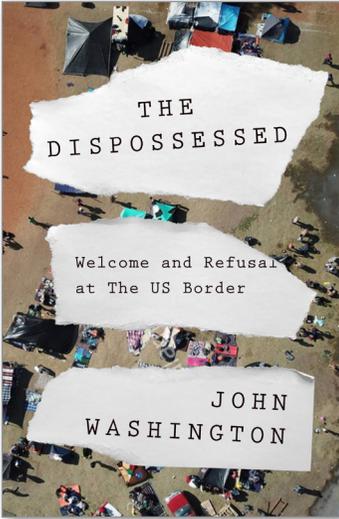
**Kevin A. Young** is Assistant Professor of History at the University of Massachusetts Amherst.

**Tarun Banerjee** is Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of Pittsburgh.

**Michael Schwartz** is Distinguished Teaching Professor of Sociology Emeritus at Stony Brook University.



July 2020  
240 pages



---

May 2020  
304 pages

---

# The Dispossessed

## Welcome and Refusal at the US border

**John Washington**

**The basic idea of asylum is simple. Someone comes to your door because they are in danger, because they are afraid. You open your door, and you share your roof. But within the simplicity lies a labyrinth.**

*The Dispossessed* is a detailed, novelistic account of one family's search for safety that lays bare US – in concert with other western nations – gutting of asylum protections. The narrative takes the reader through the inhumane debacle of family separation and the growing global refugee crisis at large. Adding historical, literary, and current political context to the immigration and refugee crises of today, Washington unearths the ancient origins of hospitality practices and traces the rise of asylum law through the Ancient Greeks, the early religious traditions, the international agreements of the twentieth century, and the unmet promises of today's US refugee policies.

Throughout, he traces one man's saga of seeking asylum, the separation from his daughter by US Border Patrol agents, and his ongoing struggles to find security after being repeatedly deported back to a gang-ruled rural community in El Salvador. *The Dispossessed* also delivers a host of other haunting and heartrending asylum stories. The book is a gripping and critical account of the US practices of welcome and refusal.

**John Washington** writes about immigration and border politics, as well as criminal justice, photography, and literature. He is also an award winning translator, having translated Óscar Martínez, Anabel Hernández, and Sandra Rodríguez Nieto, among others.

---

# Snowden's Box

## Trust in the Age of Surveillance

### Jessica Bruder and Dale Maharidge

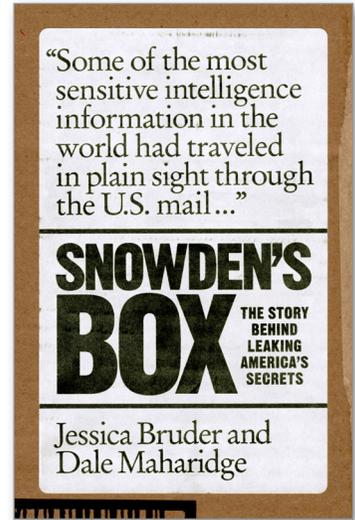
**Gripping behind-the-scenes story of Edward Snowden's massive leak of US secret surveillance.**

One day in the spring of 2013, a box appeared outside a fourth-floor apartment door in Brooklyn, New York. The recipient, who didn't know the sender, only knew she was supposed to bring this box to a friend, who would ferry it to another friend. This was Edward Snowden's box – printouts of documents proving that the US government had built a massive surveillance apparatus and used it to spy on its own people – and the friend on the end of this chain was filmmaker Laura Poitras.

Thus the biggest national security leak of the digital era was launched via a remarkably analog network, the US Postal Service. This is just one of the odd, ironic details that emerges from the story of how Jessica Bruder and Dale Maharidge, two experienced journalists but security novices (and the friends who received and ferried the box) got drawn into the Snowden story as behind-the-scenes players. Their initially stumbling, increasingly paranoid, and sometimes comic efforts to help bring Snowden's leaks to light, and ultimately, to understand their significance, unfold in an engrossing narrative that includes emails and diary entries from Poitras. This is an illuminating essay on the status of transparency, privacy, and trust in the age of surveillance.

**Jessica Bruder** is the author of *Burning Book* and *Nomadland*, which was named a *New York Times* Notable Book and Editors' Choice and a finalist for the J. Anthony Lukas Prize and the Helen Bernstein Book Award. A movie based on the book, starring Frances McDormand, will open in 2019. She teaches at Columbia Journalism School and contributes to the *New York Times*, *New York*, *Harper's*, the *Washington Post*, the *Guardian*, and other outlets. She lives in Brooklyn.

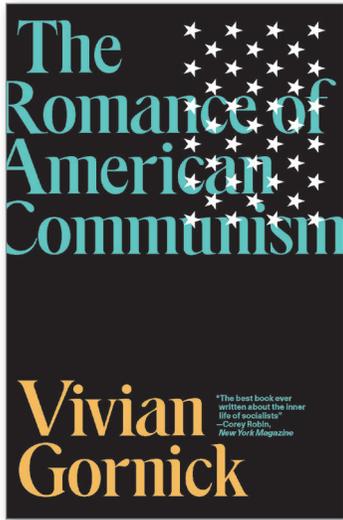
**Dale Maharidge** is the author of ten books, including, most recently, *Bringing Mulligan Home: The Other Side of the Good War*. He won the Pulitzer Prize in 1990, has been a Nieman Fellow at Harvard and held residencies at Yaddo and MacDowell colonies. He teaches at Columbia Journalism School and lives in New York and Northern California.



February 2020

160 pages





# The Romance of American Communism

Vivian Gornick

**'Before I knew that I was Jewish or a girl I knew that I was a member of the working class'.**

So begins Vivian Gornick's exploration of how the world of socialists, communists, and progressives in the 1940s and 1950s created a rich, diverse world where ordinary men and women felt their lives connected to a larger human project.

Now back in print after its initial publication in 1977 and with a new introduction by the author, *The Romance of American Communism* is a landmark work of new journalism, profiling American Communist Party members and fellow travelers as they joined the party, lived within its orbit, and left in disillusionment and disappointment as Stalin's crimes became public.

From the immigrant Jewish enclaves of the Bronx and Brooklyn and the docks of Puget Sound to the mining towns of Kentucky and the suburbs of Cleveland, over a million Americans found a sense of belonging and an expanded sense of self through collective struggle. They also found social isolation, blacklisting, imprisonment, and shattered hopes. This is their story – an indisputably American story.

**Vivian Gornick** is a writer and critic whose work has received two National Book Critics Circle Award nominations and been collected in *The Best American Essays 2014*. Her works include the memoirs *Fierce Attachments* and *The Odd Woman and the City* and the classic text on writing, *The Situation and the Story*.

---

---

February 2020

288 pages

---

# Bigger than Bernie

## How We Go from the Sanders Campaign to Democratic Socialism

Micah Uetricht and Meagan Day

**Win or lose, Bernie has changed everything. Now where does the political revolution go next?**

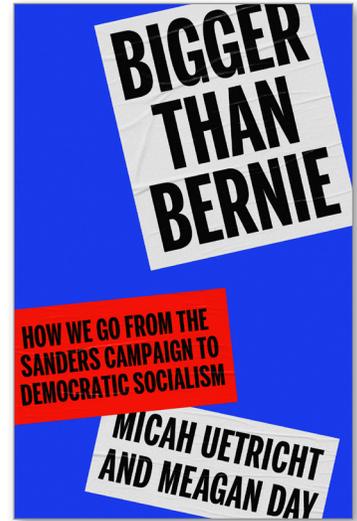
In 2016, Bernie Sanders's campaign for the presidency ended in defeat. Still, he changed everything, as the 2020 primary race attests, Sanders's once marginal watchwords are the new litmus tests. But his most singular features have proven unassimilable. His campaign isn't only aimed at the White House: he wants to organise a 'political revolution,' which he says will involve the active participation of 'millions of ordinary people' in the voting booth, in social movements, and in workplaces across the country. As he battles the likes of Biden and Trump, he can say that such a revolution is already underway, citing the massive growth of the Democratic Socialists of America, the teachers he inspired to lead strikes across red and blue states, and the new generation of radicals in Congress – led by AOC and Ilhan Omar – inspired by his example.

In *Bigger than Bernie*, activist-writers Meagan Day and Micah Uetricht give us an intimate map of this emerging movement to remake American politics top to bottom, profiling the grassroots organisers who are building something bigger, and more ambitious, than any one candidate. And as participants themselves, they provide a serious analysis of the prospects for long-term change, offering a strategy for making 'the political revolution' more than just a campaign slogan, providing insights into how we entrench democratic socialism in the halls of power and in our own lives.

*Bigger than Bernie* will prove to be essential, no matter how the primary unfolds. In the case of a Sanders victory, it'll offer unmatched insights into the people behind the most unique campaign in modern American history; and if he loses, it'll provide his core supporters with a clear-eyed sense of how the movement can sustain itself for the long-haul.

**Micah Uetricht** is the Managing Editor of *Jacobin*, the host of their podcast, 'The Mass Appeal,' and the author of *Strike for America: Chicago Teachers Against Austerity*.

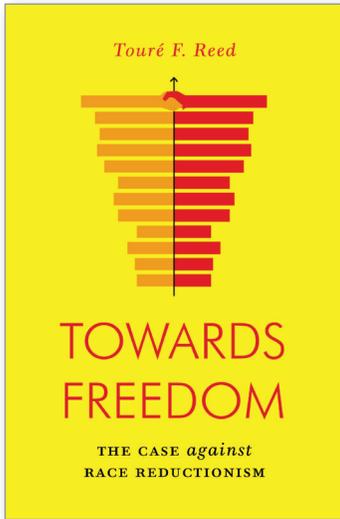
**Meagan Day** is the author of *Maximum Sunlight* and the Leading Staff Writer at *Jacobin* magazine. Her work has also appeared in *n+1*, the *New Inquiry*, the *Believer*, the *Towner*, *Full Stop*, *Mother Jones*, and elsewhere.



April 2020

224 pages





---

April 2020  
240 pages

---

## Toward Freedom

### The Case Against Race Reductionism

Touré F. Reed

**In the age of runaway inequality and Black Lives matter, there is an emerging consensus that our society has failed to redress racial disparities. But who is the culprit?**

For many progressives, racial identities are the engine of American history, and by extension, contemporary politics. They, in short, want to separate race from class. While policymakers and pundits find an almost metaphysical racism, or the survival of an ancient and primordial tribalism at the heart of American life, these inequities are better understood when traced to more comprehensible forces: to the contradictions in access to New Deal era welfare programs, to the blinders imposed by the Cold War, to Ronald Reagan's neoliberal assault on the half-century long Keynesian consensus. As Touré Reed argues in this rigorously constructed book, the road to a more just society for African Americans and everyone else, the fate of poor and working-class African Americans is inextricably linked to that of other poor and working-class Americans.

**Touré F. Reed** teaches twentieth-century US and Afro-American history at Illinois State University, and is the author of *Not Alms But Opportunity: The Urban League and the Politics of Racial Uplift, 1910-1950* (UNC Press, 2008). He is a fourth generation African American educator and a third generation professor.

---

# An Army Like No Other

How the Israel Defense Force Made a Nation

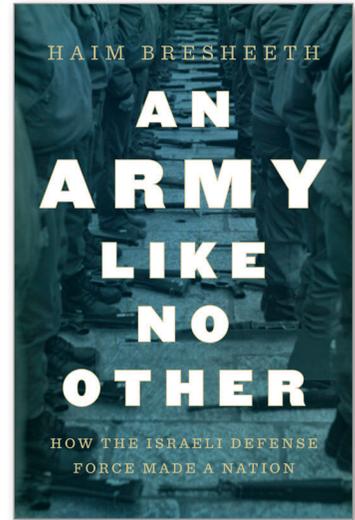
**Haim Bresheeth**

**A history of the IDF that argues that Israel is a nation formed by its army.**

The Israeli army, officially named the Israel Defence Forces (IDF), was established in 1948 by David Ben-Gurion, Israel's first prime minister, who believed that 'the whole nation is the army'. In his mind, the IDF was to be an army like no other. It was the instrument that might transform a diverse population into a new people. Since the foundation of Israel, therefore, the IDF has been the largest, richest and most influential institution in Israel's Jewish society and is the nursery of its social, economic and political ruling class.

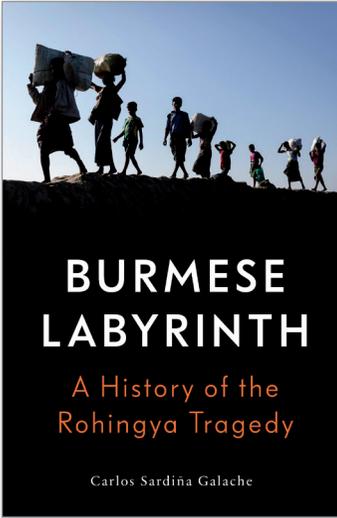
In this fascinating history, Bresheeth charts the evolution of the IDF from the Nakba to wars in Egypt, Lebanon, Iraq and the continued assaults upon Gaza, and shows that the state of Israel has been formed out of its wars. He also gives an account of his own experiences as a young conscript during the 1967 war. He argues that the army is embedded in all aspects of daily life and identity. And that we should not merely see it as a fighting force enjoying an international reputation, but as the central ideological, political and financial institution of Israeli society. As a consequence, we have to reconsider our assumptions on what any kind of peace might look like.

**Professor Haim Bresheeth** is a Filmmaker, Photographer and a Film Studies Scholar, and 2nd Researcher at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). He is the editor of *The Gulf War and the New World Order*, (with Nira Yuval-Davis), and the author of *The Holocaust for Beginners* (with Stuart Hood). His films include the widely shown *State of Danger* (1989, BBC2) – a documentary on the first Palestinian Intifada – and *London is Burning*, after the 2011 riots. He has also written in the Israeli *Ha'aretz* and the Cairo-based *Al-Ahram Weekly*.



May 2020

416 pages



---

March 2020

352 pages

---

# The Burmese Labyrinth

## A History of the Rohingya Tragedy

**Carlos Sardiña Galache**

**A first-hand account of the complex, bloody history of Myanmar and the origins of the ethnic cleansing of the Rohingyas.**

In 2011, Myanmar embarked on a democratic transition from a brutal military rule that culminated four years later, when the first free election in decades saw a landslide for the party of celebrated Nobel Prize winner Aung San Suu Kyi. Yet, even as the international community was celebrating a new dawn, old wars were raging in the northern borderlands. A crisis was emerging in western Arakan state where the regime intensified its oppression of the vulnerable Muslim Rohingya community. By 2017, the conflict had escalated into a military onslaught against the Rohingya that provoked the most desperate refugee crisis of our times, as over 750,000 of them fled their homes to neighbouring Bangladesh.

In *The Burmese Labyrinth*, journalist Carlos Sardiña Galache gives the in depth story of the country. Burma has always been an uneasy balance between multiple ethnic groups and religions. He examines the deep roots behind the ethnic divisions that go back prior to the colonial period, and so shockingly exploded in recent times. This is a powerful portrait of a nation in perpetual conflict with itself.

**Carlos Sardiña Galache** was born in Madrid in 1978 and has covered Burma as a freelance journalist since 2010. Based in Bangkok, he visited the country regularly covering its many conflicts during the transition period. His work has been published in outlets like *Al Jazeera*, the *Intercept*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *South China Morning Post*, *TIME*, the *Bangkok Post*, or *Nikkei Asian Review*. He currently works for the Spanish news agency EFE in Bangkok.

---

# Red Flag Wounded

## Stalinism and the Fate of the Soviet Experiment

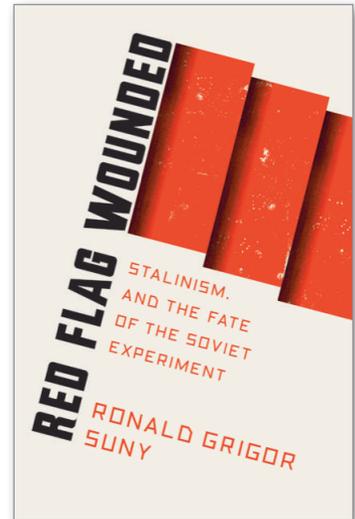
Ronald Suny

### Tracking the degeneration of the Russian Revolution.

*Red Flag Wounded* brings together essays covering the controversies and debates over the fraught history of the Soviet Union from the revolution to its disintegration. Those monumental years were marked not only by violence, mass killing, and the brutal overturning of a peasant society but also by the modernisation and industrialisation of the largest country in the world, the victory over fascism, and the slow recovery of society after the nightmare of Stalinism.

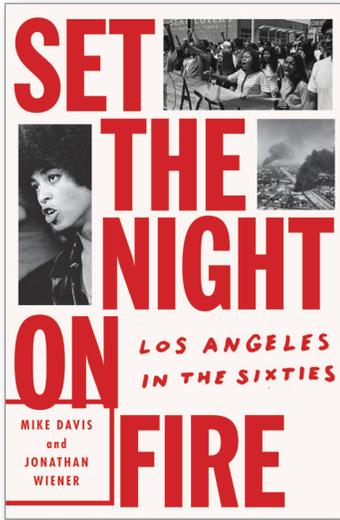
Ronald Grigor Suny is one of the most prominent experts on the revolution, the fate of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet empire, and the twists and turns of Western historiography of the Soviet experience. As a biographer of Stalin and a long-time commentator on Russian and Soviet affairs, he brings novel insights to a history that has been misunderstood and deliberately distorted in the public sphere. For a fresh look at a story that affects our world today, this is the place to begin.

**Ronald Grigor Suny** is the William H. Sewell Jr Distinguished Professor of History at the University of Michigan and Emeritus Professor of Political Science and History at the University of Chicago. He is the author of *The Soviet Experiment*; *Red Flag Unfurled: History, Historians, and the Russian Revolution*; and *They Can Live in the Desert but Nowhere Else: A History of the Armenian Genocide*.



August 2020

320 pages



---

April 2020  
800 pages

---

# Set the Night on Fire

Los Angeles in the Sixties

Mike Davis and Jon Wiener

**A magisterial, kaleidoscopic, riveting movement history of Los Angeles in the sixties.**

Histories of the US sixties invariably focus on New York City, but Los Angeles was an epicenter of that decade's political and social earthquake. L.A. was a launchpad for Black Power – where Malcolm X and Angela Davis first came to prominence and the Watts uprising shook the nation – and home to the Chicano walkouts and Moratorium, as well as birthplace of 'Asian America' as a political identity, base of the antiwar movement, and of course, centre of California counterculture.

Mike Davis and Jon Wiener provide the first comprehensive movement history of L.A. in the sixties, drawing on extensive archival research, scores of interviews with principal figures of the 1960s movements, and personal histories (both Davis and Wiener are native Los Angelenos). Following on from Davis's award-winning L.A. history, *City of Quartz*, *Set the Night on Fire* is a fascinating historical corrective, delivered in scintillating and fiercely elegant prose.

**Mike Davis** is the author of several books including *City of Quartz*, *The Monster at Our Door*, *Buda's Wagon*, and *Planet of Slums*. He is the recipient of the MacArthur Fellowship and the Lannan Literary Award.

**Jon Wiener** is Host and Producer of *Start Making Sense*, the *Nation's* weekly podcast. He is an Emeritus Professor of US history at UC Irvine, and his most recent book is *How We Forgot the Cold War: A Historical Journey across America*.

---

# Who Killed Berta Cáceres?

**Nina Lakhani**

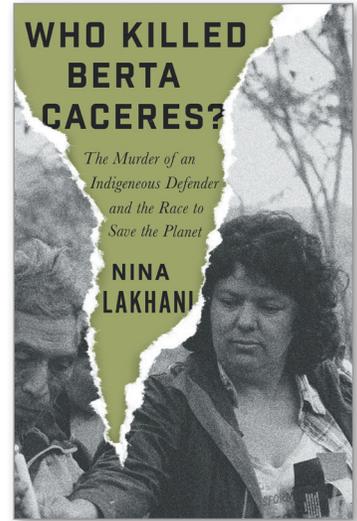
**Deeply affecting and polemical portrait of the life and death of a courageous environmental activist**

The very first time Honduran environmental activist Berta Cáceres met the writer Nina Lakhani, Cáceres said, “The army has an assassination list with my name at the top. I want to live, but in this country there is total impunity. When they want to kill me, they will do it.” In 2015, Cáceres won the Goldman Prize, the world’s most prestigious environmental award, for her leadership of indigenous organisations against illegal logging and the construction of four giant dams. The next year she was murdered.

Lakhani tracked Cáceres’s remarkable career in the face of years of threats – two fellow environmental campaigners were killed before her – and the journalist also endured threats and harassment herself. She was the only foreign journalist to attend the 2018 trial of Cáceres’s killers, where security officials of the dam builders were found guilty of orchestrating her murder. Many questions about who ordered the killing remain.

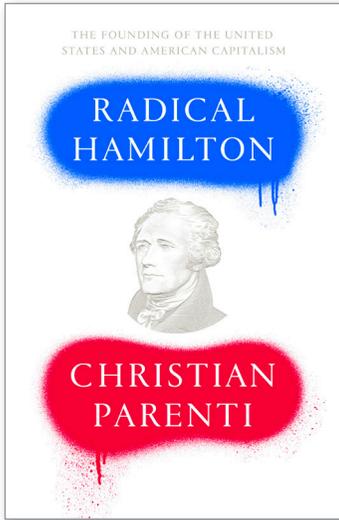
Drawing on years of familiarity with Cáceres, her family, and her movement, as well as interviews with company and government officials, Lakhani paints an intimate portrait of a remarkable woman as well as a state beholden to both corporate control and US power.

**Nina Lakhani** reports on Central America for the *Guardian*, BBC, Al Jazeera, *Global Post*, the *Daily Beast*, and elsewhere. She previously worked for the *Independent*. She is based Mexico City.



June 2020

320 pages



---

August 2020

416 pages

---

# Radical Hamilton

## How State Power and the “Means Proper” Industrialized America

**Christian Parenti**

**A dramatic re-evaluation of the founding of the United States and the history of capitalism.**

In retelling the story of the radical Alexander Hamilton, Parenti rewrites the history of early America and the global economy. For much of the twentieth century, Hamilton – sometimes seen as the bad boy of the founding fathers or portrayed as the patron saint of bankers – was out of fashion. In contrast his rival Thomas Jefferson, the patrician democrat and slave owner who feared government overreach, was claimed by all. But more recently, Hamilton has become a subject of serious interest again.

He was a contradictory mix: a tough soldier, austere workaholic, exacting bureaucrat, sexual libertine, glory-obsessed romantic with suicidal tendencies – and pioneer of industrialisation. As Parenti argues, we have yet to fully appreciate Hamilton as the primary architect of American capitalism and the developmental state. In exploring his life and work, Parenti rediscovers this gadfly as a pathbreaking political thinker and institution builder. In this vivid portrait, Hamilton emerges as a singularly important historical figure: a thinker and politico who laid the foundation for America’s ascent to global supremacy and mass industrialisation – for better or worse.

**Christian Parenti** is Associate Professor of Economics at John Jay College, City University of New York (CUNY), a Contributing Editor to the *Nation*, and the author of five books.

---

# The Conservation Revolution

## Radical Ideas for Saving Nature Beyond the Anthropocene

**Bram Büscher and Robert Fletcher**

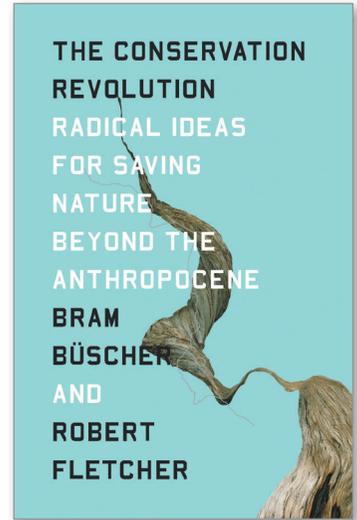
### **An anti-capitalist manifesto for conservation.**

Conservation needs a revolution. This is the only way it can contribute to the drastic transformations needed to come to a truly sustainable model of development. The good news is that conservation is ready for revolution. Heated debates about the rise of the Anthropocene and the current 'sixth extinction' crisis demonstrate an urgent need and desire to move beyond mainstream approaches. Yet the conservation community is deeply divided over where to go from here. Some want to place 'half earth' into protected areas. Others want to move away from parks to focus on unexpected and 'new' natures. Many believe conservation requires full integration into capitalist production processes.

Building a razor-sharp critique of current conservation proposals and their contradictions, Büscher and Fletcher argue that the Anthropocene challenge demands something bigger, better and bolder. Something truly revolutionary. They propose convivial conservation as the way forward. This approach goes beyond protected areas and faith in markets to incorporate the needs of humans and nonhumans within integrated and just landscapes. Theoretically astute and practically relevant, *The Conservation Revolution* offers a manifesto for conservation in the twenty-first century – a clarion call that cannot be ignored.

**Bram Büscher** is Professor and Chair of the Sociology of Development and Change group at Wageningen University and holds visiting positions at the University of Johannesburg and Stellenbosch University. He is the author of *Transforming the Frontier: Peace Parks and the Politics of Neoliberal Conservation in Southern Africa*. He is one of the senior editors of the open-access journal *Conservation & Society*.

**Robert Fletcher** is Associate Professor in the Sociology of Development and Change group at Wageningen University in the Netherlands. He is the author of *Romancing the Wild: Cultural Dimensions of Ecotourism* and co-editor of *NatureTM Inc.: Environmental Conservation in the Neoliberal Age* and *Lessons from the Ecolaboratory: Negotiating Environment and Development in Costa Rica*. He is Co-Editor-in-Chief of *Geoforum* and associate editor of *Conservation & Society*.



February 2020

224 pages



# The Case for the Green New Deal

**Ann Pettifor**

**The Green New Deal: We have to change everything.**

To protect the future of life on earth, we need to do more than just reimagine the economy – we have to change everything. From one of the original thinkers of the program that helped ignite the US Green New Deal campaign, Ann Pettifor explains how we can afford what we can do, and what we need to do before it is too late.

*The Case for the Green New Deal* argues that economic change is wholly possible, based on the understanding that finance, the economy and the ecosystem are all tightly bound together. The GND demands total de-carbonisation and a commitment to an economy based on fairness and social justice. It proposes a radical new understanding of the international monetary system. And offers a roadmap for its overhaul both nationally and globally, taking it back from the 1 percent. It is a radical, urgent manifesto that we must act on now.

**Ann Pettifor** is the Director of *Prime* (Policy Research in Macroeconomics) and a Fellow of the New Economics Foundation. She is known for her leadership of the Jubilee 2000 campaign and one of the few economist who predicted the 2008 crisis. That year she was one of the coauthors of *The Green New Deal*. In 2015 she was invited onto the economic advisory board of the British Labour Party by Jeremy Corbyn. She is the author of *The Production of Money* and in 2018 was award the prestigious Hannah Arendt Prize for political thought.

---

---

September 2019

208 pages

---

German: Hamburger Edition

Swedish: Verbal förlag

# A Planet to Win

## Why We Need a Green New Deal

**Kate Aronoff, Alyssa Battistoni, Daniel Aldana Cohen, and Thea Riofrancos**

Foreword by Naomi Klein

**In the twenty-first century, all politics are climate politics.**

The age of climate gradualism is over as unprecedented disasters are exacerbated by inequalities of race and class. We need profound, radical change. A Green New Deal can tackle the climate emergency and rampant inequality at the same time. Cutting carbon emissions while winning immediate gains for the many is the only way to build a movement strong enough to defeat big oil, big business, and the super-rich – starting right now.

*A Planet to Win* explores the political potential and concrete first steps of a Green New Deal. It calls for dismantling the fossil fuel industry and building beautiful landscapes of renewable energy, guaranteeing climate-friendly work and no-carbon housing and free public transit showing how a Green New Deal in the United States can strengthen climate justice movements worldwide. We stand on the brink of disaster – but also at the cusp of wondrous, transformative change.

**Kate Aronoff** is Fellow at the Type Media Center and a contributing writer to the *Intercept*. She is the co-editor of *We Own The Future* and author of *The New Denialism*. Her writing has appeared in the *Guardian*, *Rolling Stone*, *Harpers*, *In These Times*, and *Dissent*.

**Alyssa Battistoni** is Postdoctoral Fellow at Harvard University and an editor at *Jacobin*. Her writing has appeared in the *Guardian*, *n+1*, the *Nation*, *Jacobin*, *In These Times*, *Dissent*, and the *Chronicle of Higher Education*.

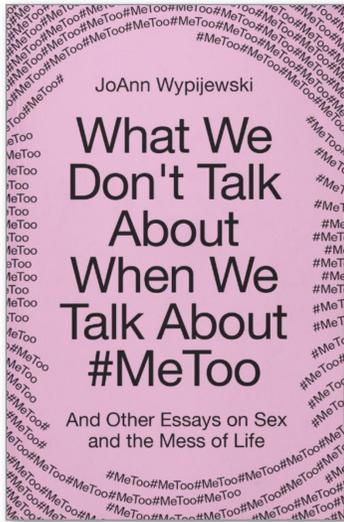
**Daniel Aldana Cohen** is Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of Pennsylvania, where he directs the Socio-Spatial Climate Collaborative, or (SC)2. His writing has appeared in the *Guardian*, *Nature*, the *Nation*, *Jacobin*, *Public Books*, *Dissent*, and *NACLA*.

**Thea Riofrancos** is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Providence College and the author of *Resource Radicals*. Her writing has appeared in the *Guardian*, *n+1*, *Jacobin*, the *Los Angeles Review of Books*, *Dissent*, and *In These Times*. She serves on the steering committee of the DSA's Ecosocialist Working Group.



November 2019

208 pages



---

June 2020  
272 pages

---

# What We Don't Talk About When We Talk About #MeToo

Essays on Sex, Authority and the Mess of Life

JoAnn Wypijewski

**A searing indictment of modern sexual politics.**

What if we took sex out of the box marked 'special', either the worst or best thing that a human person can experience, and considered it within the complexity of reality? In this extraordinary book, despite longstanding tabloid-style sexual preoccupations with villains and victims, shame and virtue, JoAnn Wypijewski does exactly that.

From the HIV crisis to the paedophile priest panic, Woody Allen to Brett Kavanaugh, child pornography to Abu Ghraib, Wypijewski takes the most famous sex panics of the last decades and turns them inside out, weaving what together becomes a searing indictment of modern sexual politics, exposing the myriad ways sex panics and the expansion of the punitive state are intertwined.

What emerges is an examination of the multiple ways in which the ever-expanding default language of monsters and victims has contributed to the repressive power of the state. Politics exists in the mess of life. Sex does too, Wypijewski insists and so must sexual politics, to make any sense at all.

**JoAnn Wypijewski** is a writer and editor based in New York. From 1982 to 2000, she was an editor at the *Nation* magazine. She has written for the magazine, as well as for *Harper's*, *CounterPunch*, the *New York Times Magazine*, the *Guardian*, and other publications. She is on the editorial committee of the *New Left Review*. She was the co-editor with Kevin Alexander Gray and Jeffrey St. Clair, of *Killing Trayvons: An Anthology of American Violence*.

---

# Burn It Down!

## Feminist Manifestos for the Revolution

Edited by Breanne Fahs

**The most comprehensive collection of feminist manifestos, chronicling our rage and dreams from the nineteenth century to today.**

In this landmark collection spanning three centuries and four waves of feminist activism and writing, *Burn It Down!* is a testament to what is possible when women are driven to the edge. The manifesto – raging and wanting, quarreling and provocative – has always been central to feminism, and it's the angry, brash feminism we need now.

Collecting over 75 manifestos from around the world, *Burn It Down!* is a rallying cry and a call to action. Among this quarrelsome sisterhood, you'll find:

- *Dyke Manifesto* by the Lesbian Avengers
- *The Ax Tampax Poem Feministo* by the Bloodsisters Project
- *The Manifesto of Apocalyptic Witchcraft* by Peter Grey
- Simone de Beauvoir's pro-abortion *Manifesto of the 343*
- *Double Jeopardy: To Be Black and Female* by Frances M. Beal
- *The Futurist Manifesto of Lust* by Valentine de Saint-Point
- *Zapatista Women's Revolutionary Laws*
- *Riot Grrrl Manifesto* by Bikini Kill
- *Anarchy and the Sex Question* by Emma Goldman

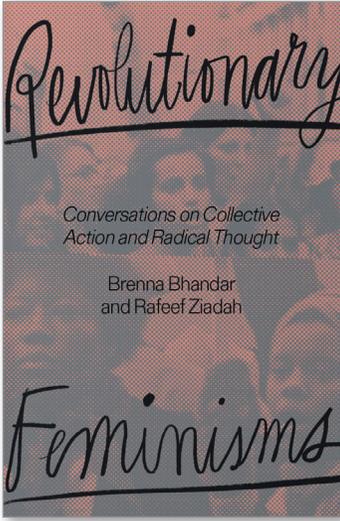
Breanne Fahs argues that we need manifestos in all their urgent rawness – their insistence that we have to act *now*, that we must face *this*, that the bleeding edge of rage and defiance is where new ideas are born.

**Breanne Fahs** is Professor of Women and Gender Studies at Arizona State University. She is the author of *Performing Sex*, *Valerie Solanas, Out for Blood*, and *Firebrand Feminism*, and co-editor of *The Moral Panics of Sexuality*, and *Transforming Contagion*. She is the Founder and Director of the Feminist Research on Gender and Sexuality Group at Arizona State University, and also works as a Clinical Psychologist.



March 2020

512 pages



---

July 2020  
288 pages

---

# Revolutionary Feminisms

Conversations on Collective Action and Radical Thought

Edited by Brenna Bhandar and Rafeef Ziadah

**A unique book, tracing forty years of anti-racist feminist thought.**

Black, anticolonial, anti-racist feminist thought is often sidelined in mainstream discourses that transform feminism into simplistic calculations of how many women are in positions of power. This unique book sets the record straight. Through interviews with key scholars, including Angela Y. Davis and Silvia Federici, Bhandar and Ziadah present a serious and thorough discussion of race, class, gender, and sexuality not merely as intersections to be noted or additives to be mixed in, but as co-constitutive factors that must be reckoned with if we are to build effective coalitions.

Collectively, these interviews trace the ways in which black, Third World and post-colonial feminists as well as indigenous women have created new ways of seeing, new theoretical frameworks for analysing political problems, and new ways of relating to one another.

**Brenna Bhandar** is a Senior Lecturer at SOAS, School of Law. She is the author of *Colonial Lives of Property: Law, Land and Racial Regimes of Ownership*. She is co-editor (with Jon Goldberg-Hiller) of *Plastic Materialities: Legality, Politics and Metamorphosis in the work of Catherine Malabou* and (with Davina Bhandar) *Reflections on Dispossession: Critical Feminisms*. She is an active supporter of the BDS campaign.

**Rafeef Ziadah** is a Palestinian human rights activist and academic. She is currently a postdoctoral research fellow at SOAS, University of London. She is a member of the Palestinian Academic and Cultural Boycott Campaign and the Palestinian Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions National Committee secretariat and is a founding member of the international Israeli Apartheid Week, held on more than 240 campuses yearly. She is also an established performance poet.

---

# What Comes after Farce?

Hal Foster

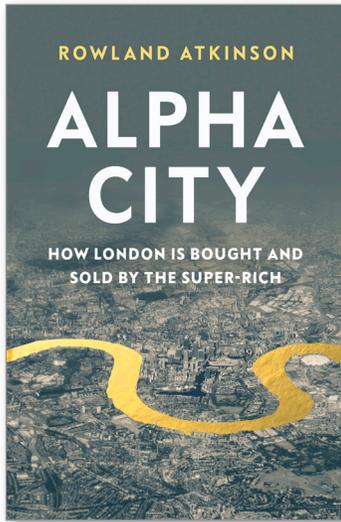
## Surveying the artistic and cultural scene in the era of Trump.

If farce follows tragedy, what follows farce? Where does the double predicament of a post-truth and post-shame politics leave artists and critics on the left? How to demystify a hegemonic order that dismisses its own contradictions? How to belittle a political elite that cannot be embarrassed, or to mock party leaders who thrive on the absurd? How to out-dada President Ubu? And, in any event, why add outrage to a media economy that thrives on the same? *What Comes After Farce?* comments on shifts in art, criticism, and fiction in the face of the current regime of war, surveillance, extreme inequality, and media disruption. A first section focuses on the cultural politics of emergency since 9/11, including the use and abuse of trauma, paranoia, and kitsch. A second reviews the neoliberal makeover of art institutions during the same period. Finally, a third section surveys transformations in media as reflected in recent art, film, and fiction. Among the phenomena explored here are “machine vision” (images produced by machines for other machines without a human interface), “operational images” (images that do not represent the world so much as intervene in it), and the algorithmic scripting of information so pervasive in our everyday lives.

**Hal Foster** is the author of numerous books, including *The Art-Architecture Complex*, *The First Pop Age: Painting and Subjectivity in the Art of Hamilton, Lichtenstein, Warhol, Richter, and Ruscha*, *Bad New Days: Art, Criticism, Emergency*, and, with Richard Serra, *Conversations about Sculpture*. A member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, he delivered the 2018 Mellon Lectures at the National Gallery in Washington. He teaches at Princeton University, co-edits the journal *October*, and contributes regularly to the *London Review of Books*.



May 2020  
208 pages



---

June 2020  
320 pages

---

## Alpha City

### How London is Bought and Sold by the Super Rich

**Rowland Atkinson**

**How London was bought and sold by the super-rich and what it means for the rest of us.**

Who owns London? In recent decades London has been bought by the super-rich. It is today the essential 'World City' for High Net Worth Individuals (HNWI) and Ultra High Net Worth Individuals (UHNWI). Compared to New York or Tokyo, the two other key 'world' cities, it has the largest number of wealthy people per head of population. Taken as a whole, London is the epicentre of the world's financial markets, an elite cultural hub, a place to hide one's wealth.

*Alpha City* presents the story of the property boom economy of recent decades. It tells the story of eager developers, sovereign wealth and grasping politicians who paved the way for the wealthy colonisation of the cityscape. The consequences of this transformation of the capital for capital is the brutal expulsion of the urban poor, austerity, demolitions, and a catalogue of social injustices. This Faustian pact has resulted in the sale and destruction of public assets, in exchange for boom time for the .01%.

*Alpha City* moves from gated communities and the mega-houses of the super rich to the disturbing rise of evictions and displacements from the city. It shows how the consequences of widening inequality impresses itself upon the urban geography. This is the most harrowing portrait of the city.

**Rowland Atkinson** is Research Chair in Inclusive Societies at the University of Sheffield. His research has focused on the spatial impacts of social inequalities, taking in work on gentrification and displacement, gated communities, public housing, social exclusion, fortress homes and, of course, the super-rich. Seeing the role of social science as bringing attention to social problems he has highlighted the need for social housing and more attention to be paid to the invisible casualties of complex urban processes. He is the author of *Domestic Fortress* (with Sarah Blandy) and *Urban Criminology* (with Gareth Millington).

---





# Agents and Representatives

Federico Campagna  
Rights Manager  
6 Meard Street  
London W1F 0EG  
Tel +44 207 437 3546  
Fax +44 207 734 0059  
federico@verso.co.uk

## **Japan**

Tsutomu Yawata  
The English Agency (Japan) Ltd.  
Sakuragi Bldg, 4F  
6-7-3 Minami Aoyama  
Minato-ku, Tokyo 107-0062  
Japan  
Tel +81 3 3406 5385  
Fax +81 3 3406 5387  
tsutomu\_yawata@ej.co.jp

## **Portugal and Brazil**

Goncalo Gama Pinto  
Ilidio Matos  
Rua António Pedro, 68 - 4º Dto.,  
1000-039 Lisboa  
Portugal  
goncalo.gamapinto@ilidiomatos.com

## **Turkey**

Müge Gürsoy Sökmen  
Metis Yayinlari  
Ipek Sokak 5  
34433 Beyoğlu  
Istanbul  
Turkey  
Tel +90 212 2454696  
Fax +90 212 2454519  
mugesokmen@metiskitap.com

[www.versobooks.com](http://www.versobooks.com)