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Dear Reader

Pluto Press was formed in 1969, at a time when vibrant grassroots activism emerged from the ruptures of a failing system. Radical questions were voiced and movements for an alternative took shape. Fifty years later, it is clear that the ideological battle for hearts and minds is alive and well; history has not ended. Capitalism, once claimed to be synonymous with progress, is increasingly recognised by many around the world as bankrupt. In these times of uncertainty, opportunities arise. Radical publishing rejects simply plastering the wounds that are destroying our planet and social life. Instead, it exposes the transformative change required to address the catastrophes we face today.

Our forthcoming books continue to hone our understandings of how political-economy frames our daily lives. *Crude Britannia* vividly traces the role of big oil in shaping Britain’s politics, history and culture. The devastating human cost of global capitalism and consumerist society is laid bare in *Dying for an iPhone*, while *Hidden San Francisco* immerses the reader in how people and politics create an urban space. For the 30th anniversary of the Poll Tax rebellion, *Can’t Pay, Won’t Pay* tells the riveting story of how a social movement helped bring down one of the most powerful prime ministers of the UK.

As colonial tendencies take new forms and capitalism perpetuates crises at a global scale, we remain deeply committed to highlighting and learning from international resistance movements. Yasser Munif’s *The Syrian Revolution* continues our tradition of foregrounding grassroots struggles fighting for political change. We are humbled to be publishing the selected writings of Andaiye, one of the Caribbean’s most inspiring political voices. Andaiye’s works, along with Houzan Mahmoud’s collection *Kurdish Women’s Stories* reveal that there are truly radical political subjects outside the Western factory’s walls.

Pluto’s principles have endured for the last five decades - we continue to strengthen our intellectual tradition while keeping up with the many innovative experiments taking place in politics. We are proud to be working with the Left Book Club in their effort to strengthen the spirit of radical questioning and debate. We are energized by the books included in our *Outspoken* series, written for young audiences ready to build alternatives. Ideas are crucial for dismantling old worlds and creating new ones; now, more than ever, it is an exciting time to be working on our forthcoming projects.

Brekhna Aftab
Editorial Assistant
By December 2010, 18 workers had attempted suicide at Foxconn facilities, resulting in 14 deaths. Four survived with crippling injuries. They ranged in age from 17 to 25 and all were rural migrants in the prime of youth, emblematic of the new Chinese working class.
Dying for an iPhone: Apple, Foxconn and the Lives of China’s Workers

Jenny Chan, Mark Selden and Pun Ngai

Based on undercover research, Foxconn and Apple’s devastating treatment of workers is revealed.

Suicides, excessive overtime, hostility and violence on the factory floor in China. Drawing on vivid testimonies from rural migrant workers, student interns, managers and trade union staff, Dying for an iPhone is a devastating exposé of two of the world’s most powerful companies: Foxconn and Apple.

As the leading manufacturer of iPhones, iPads and Kindles, and employing one million workers in China alone, Taiwanese-invested Foxconn’s drive to dominate global electronics manufacturing has aligned perfectly with China’s goal of becoming the world leader in technology. This book reveals the human cost of that ambition and what our demands for the newest and best technology mean for workers.

Foxconn workers have repeatedly demonstrated their power to strike at key nodes of transnational production, challenge management and the Chinese state, and confront global tech behemoths. Dying for an iPhone allows us to assess the impact of global capitalism’s deepening crisis on workers.

JENNY CHAN is Assistant Professor of Sociology at The Hong Kong Polytechnic University. She is the Vice President of the International Sociological Association’s Research Committee on Labor Movements and an Editor of the Global Labour Journal. She has been published in Current Sociology, Critical Asian Studies and New Labor Forum.

MARK SELDEN is Senior Research Associate in the East Asia Program at Cornell University. He is editor of the online Asia-Pacific Journal. His books include China in Revolution: The Yenan Way Revisited, The Political Economy of Chinese Development and The Cambridge History of Communism.

PUN NGAI is Professor of Sociology at The University of Hong Kong. She is author of Made in China: Women Factory Workers in a Global Workplace and Migrant Labor in China.
Going beyond centre court, it’s time to explore the radical history of tennis.
A People’s History of Tennis

David Berry

Pristine lawns, tennis whites, strawberries and cream, tennis is synonymous with the upper echelons of society, but scratch beneath the surface and you’ll quickly discover a different history, one of untold struggles on and off the courts.

From the birth of modern tennis in Victorian Britain to the present day, we bear witness to struggles around sexuality, gender, race and class that have transformed the nature of tennis and sport itself. *A People’s History of Tennis* is populated by diverse voices, recounting the sport’s gay origins, ‘Workers’ Wimbledon’, battles for gender equality and more.

Going beyond centre court, this book reveals the hidden history of the game, providing a rich account of the challenges faced and victories won.

DAVID BERRY is a writer, journalist and filmmaker. He was a documentary director at BBC Television for twenty-five years. He has written about health and leisure for a wide variety of publications including the *Guardian*, the *Mirror*, *Prospect* and the *New Statesman*. He has been playing tennis since he was eleven years old.
More than two thirds of Britons would consider themselves feminist, but we have to ask whether its radical and rebellious roots are still at the core of our understanding. Has feminism become acceptable to the mainstream? Has it lost its radical implication in the eyes of cultural gatekeepers? Have we lost the ability and desire to look outwards towards internationalist frameworks of solidarity?
Feminism, Interrupted: Disrupting Power

Lola Olufemi

More than just a slogan on a t-shirt, feminism is a radical tool for fighting back against structural violence and injustice. *Feminism, Interrupted* is a bold call to seize feminism back from the cultural gatekeepers and return it to its radical roots.

Lola Olufemi explores state violence against women, the fight for reproductive justice, transmisogyny, gendered Islamophobia and solidarity with global struggles, showing that the fight for gendered liberation can change the world for everybody when we refuse to think of it solely as women’s work. Including testimonials from Sisters Uncut, migrant groups working for reproductive justice, prison abolitionists and activists involved in the international fight for Kurdish and Palestinian rights, Olufemi emphasises the link between feminism and grassroots organising.

Reclaiming feminism from the clutches of the consumerist, neoliberal model, *Feminism, Interrupted* shows that when ‘feminist’ is more than a label, it holds the potential for radical transformative work.

LOLA OLUFEMI is a black feminist writer and organiser from London. She has written and spoken at numerous events about feminism and decolonisation across the country, and was a member of the NUS Women’s Campaign and NUS National Executive Committee.

March 2020
144pp
198 x 129mm
Series: Outspoken
World: All languages

Argues that younger feminists need to reclaim feminism from a liberal and consumerist model, drawing out its radical potential to create change

Author is a journalist, writer and activist, with a strong online profile

RELATED TITLE:
MASK OFF
Masculinity Redefined
JJ Bola
Pb: £9.99
ISBN: 9780745338743
Now is the time to be talking about class. This generation have been some of the worst hit by austerity, and many now face a future where education, work, housing and social care are increasingly insecure and inaccessible.
In 1990, John Major hailed ‘the classless society’; in 1997, New Labour announced that ‘we’re all middle class now’, yet we live in an age where food banks, payday lenders and zero-hour contracts proliferate: it’s clear that class matters.

Foregrounding the economic nature of class, Split challenges the idea that class can be reduced to the cultural. From precarious labour to rising debt; from the housing crisis to environmental catastrophe; from an inflated prison population to the welfare state; Ben Tippet traces the class divide at the heart of all exploitation. Myth-busting meritocracy, he exposes the role that tax havens, colonialism and inheritance play in the wealth of the elite.

Split highlights the potential for a diverse and eclectic working-class bloc to fight back in an age of austerity and uncertainty.

BEN TIPPET is an educator, activist and writer. He is currently studying for a PhD at the University of Greenwich, researching the causes of wealth inequality in the UK. He is a researcher for The Transnational Institute and has written for Novara, Strike! and Economy.
Big Oil has helped finance the British Exchequer to the tune of £200 billion. These tax revenues have helped governments run the NHS, build schools and fight wars. Big Oil helped drive Margaret Thatcher’s neoliberal revolution. BP was once so close to another prime minister it became known as ‘Blair Petroleum’.
Crude Britannia:
How Big Oil Shaped a Country’s Past and Future

James Marriott and Terry Macalister

For decades, BP and Shell extracted the minerals, finance and skills of the UK. Always behind the scenes, Big Oil drove Britain’s economy and profoundly influenced its culture. Then, at the start of the 21st Century, the tide seemed to go out – Britain’s refineries and chemical plants were quietly closed; the North Sea oilfields declined. Now, while the country goes through the seismic upheavals of Brexit and the Climate Emergency, many believe the age of oil to be almost passed.

However, as Crude Britannia reveals, reports of the industry’s death are greatly exaggerated. Taking the reader on a journey across Britain - from North East Scotland, Merseyside and South Wales to the Thames Estuary and London - James Marriott and Terry Macalister tell the story of our country’s oil-stained past, present and future; of empire, economic deprivation and continuing political influence.

The authors speak to oil company executives and oil traders, as well as former shipyard and refinery workers, film makers and musicians, activists and politicians, putting real people and places at the heart of a compelling political analysis. Offering a rare insight on how to read the history of modern Britain, Crude Britannia shows what needs to be done to create a new energy system, that tackles climate change and underpins a fairer democratic society.

JAMES MARRIOTT is the co-author of The Oil Road: Journeys from the Caspian Sea to the City of London (Verso, 2012) and The Next Gulf: London, Washington and Oil Conflict in Nigeria (Constable, 2005). He is part of the internationally acclaimed arts-activist collective Platform, and has thirty years of experience in tackling oil and gas corporations.

TERRY MACALISTER has three decades of experience as an award-winning and radical journalist. He was the influential Energy Editor of the Guardian and is renowned for in-depth and on-the-spot investigations into boardroom bust-ups, manipulation of markets and environmental damage in the North Sea and the Arctic.

A fascinating look behind the curtain at the role played by Big Oil in British politics.

RELATED TITLE:
ARTWASH
Big Oil and the Arts
Mel Evans
Pb: £14.99
ISBN: 9780745335889

July 2020
Hb: £20 / ISBN: 9780745341095
304pp
230 x 150mm
World. All languages

Speaks to a multitude of national and international crises, including Brexit, global warming and neoliberalism

Draws on up-to-date and original research from two experts in the field
‘Over the last seven years, I have pieced together everything I could find about Keenie Meenie Services. What follows is a journey through some of the murkiest periods of Britain’s recent past, the impact it has had on other countries, the price people have paid and the profits some have made.’
Keenie Meenie: The British Mercenaries Who Got Away with War Crimes

Phil Miller

Keenie Meenie Services - the most powerful mercenary company you’ve never heard of - was involved in war crimes around the world from Sri Lanka to Nicaragua for which its shadowy directors have never been held accountable.

Like its mysterious name, Keenie Meenie Services escaped definition and to this day has evaded sanctions. Now explosive new evidence - only recently declassified - exposes the extent of these war crimes, and the British government’s tacit support for the company’s operations. Including testimonials from SAS veterans, spy chiefs and diplomats, we hear from key figures battle-hardened by the Troubles in Northern Ireland and the Iranian Embassy siege. Investigative journalist Phil Miller asks, who were these mercenaries: heroes, terrorists, freedom fighters or war criminals?

This book presents the first ever comprehensive case against Keenie Meenie Services, providing long overdue evidence on the crimes of the people that make a killing from killing.

PHIL MILLER is an investigative journalist and producer. His reporting on British special forces has triggered two government probes. He has worked for Corporate Watch and Reprieve, and written for various publications, including Private Eye, Vice, The Times, Guardian and New Internationalist.

RELATED TITLE: OUTSOURCED EMPIRE
How Militias, Mercenaries, and Contractors Support US Statecraft
Andrew Thomson
Pb: £19.99
ISBN: 9780745337036
This book peels back the layers of San Francisco history to discover memories, echoes, and ghosts of the city’s storied past, often hiding in plain view.
Hidden San Francisco:
A Guide to Lost Landscapes, Unsung Heroes and Radical Histories

Chris Carlsson

A radical, alternative guidebook to the lost history of San Francisco, complete with maps detailing walking and bike tours around the city.

‘San Francisco is long overdue for a history like this! Smart and accessible, this is a book that everyone who has left a piece of their heart in the city needs to read. Its vibrant stories of the past are invaluable tools for charting a sustainable, inclusive future’

Barbara Berglund Sokolov

San Francisco is an iconic and symbolic city. But only when you look beyond the picture-postcards of the Golden Gate Bridge and the quaint cable cars do you realise that the city’s most interesting stories are not the Summer of Love, the Beats or even the latest gold rush in Silicon Valley.

Hidden San Francisco is a guidebook like no other. Structured around the four major themes of ecology, labour, transit and dissent, Chris Carlsson peels back the layers of San Francisco’s history to reveal a storied past: behind old walls and gleaming glass facades lurk former industries, secret music and poetry venues, forgotten terrorist bombings, and much more. Carlsson delves into the Bay Area’s long prehistory as well, examining the region’s geography and the lives of its inhabitants before the 1849 Gold Rush changed everything, setting in motion the clash between capital and labour that shaped the modern city.

From the perspective of the students and secretaries, longshoremen and waitresses, Hidden San Francisco uncovers dozens of overlooked, forgotten and buried histories that pulse through the streets and hills even today, inviting the reader to see themselves in the middle of the ongoing, everyday process of making history together.

CHRIS CARLSSON is a writer, San Francisco historian, tour guide, photographer and occasional college professor. He conducts award-winning bicycle and walking tours of San Francisco history every year, and he is co-founder and co-director of Shaping San Francisco.
The decapitated body of 60-year-old weaver, James Wilson, is exhumed from an unmarked grave in Glasgow and taken home to Strathaven for burial. He had been hanged and beheaded that afternoon for treason, having taken part in the abortive uprising of 1820.
The Fight for Scottish Democracy: Rebellion and Reform in 1820

Murray Armstrong

Three Scottish weavers, James Wilson, Andrew Hardie and John Baird, were hanged and beheaded for high treason in the summer of 1820. Nineteen more men were transported to the penal colony of Botany Bay. Their crime? To have taken up arms against a corrupt and nepotistic parliament, and the aristocratic government that refused to reform it.

This ‘Radical War’ was the culmination of five years of unsuccessful mass petitioning of Westminster by working people in Scotland and England. The contempt and intransigence of the Tory government forced an escalation in tactics, and on Easter Monday of 1820, the call for a general strike was answered throughout the western counties of Scotland. Their demands were threefold: the vote for all men, annual parliaments and equal constituencies.

Coupled with an armed rebellion, the strike was met by the full military might of the British state; hundreds were arrested and imprisoned without trial, while hundreds more fled the country.

This Scottish general strike and insurrection is a little-known chapter of British history and yet remains an immensely important one in the long fight for democracy. In The Fight for Scottish Democracy, Murray Armstrong brings these events dramatically to life.

MURRAY ARMSTRONG is former associate editor at the Guardian, where he worked for over twenty years. He is the author of The Liberty Tree: The Stirring Story of Thomas Muir and Scotland's First Fight for Democracy (2014).

A brand-new history of Scotland’s radical war for democracy in 1820.

RELATED TITLE:
JOHN MACLEAN
Hero of Red Clydeside
Henry Bell
Pb: £14.99
ISBN: 9780745338385

April 2020
Hb: £75 / ISBN: 9780745341323
304pp
198mm x 129mm
World: All languages
Vicious Games: Capitalism and Gambling

Rebecca Cassidy

Based on over ten years’ experience working in the industry, this is an exposé of the gambling business.

Gambling is everywhere, on our TVs and phones, on billboards on our streets, and emblazoned across the chests of idolised sports stars. Why has gambling suddenly expanded? How was it transformed from a criminal activity to a respectable business run by multinational corporations listed on international stock markets? And who are the winners and losers created by this transformation?

Vicious Games is based on field research with the people who produce, shape and consume gambling. Rebecca Cassidy explores the gambling industry’s affinity with capitalism and the free market and how the UK has led the way in exporting ‘light touch’ regulation and ‘responsible gambling’ around the world. She reveals how the industry extracts wealth from some of our poorest communities, and examines the adverse health effects on those battling gambling addiction.

The gambling industry has become increasingly profitable and influential, emboldened by thirty years of supportive government policies and boosted by unnatural profits. Through an anthropological excavation, Vicious Games opens up this process, with the intention of creating alternative, more equitable futures.

REBECCA CASSIDY is Professor of Anthropology at Goldsmiths University. She is the co-author of Qualitative Research in Gambling: Exploring the Production and Consumption of Risk (Routledge, 2015).

RELATED TITLE:
THE RISE OF NERD POLITICS
Digital Activism and Political Change
John Postill
Pb: £19.99
ISBN: 9780745399836
The Experience Society: How Consumer Capitalism Reinvented Itself

Steven Miles

Airbnb, gaming, escape rooms, major sporting events: contemporary capitalism no longer demands we merely consume things, but that we buy experiences. This book is concerned with the social, cultural and personal implications of this shift.

The technologically-driven world we live in is no closer to securing the utopian ideal of a leisure society. Instead, the pursuit of leisure is often an attempt to escape our everyday existence. Exploring examples including sport, architecture, travel and social media, Steven Miles investigates how consumer culture has colonised ‘experiences’, revealing the ideological and psycho-social tensions at the heart of the ‘experience society’.

The first critical analysis of the experience economy by a UK sociologist sheds light on capitalism’s ever more sophisticated infiltration of the everyday.

STEVEN MILES is Professor in Sociology at Manchester Metropolitan University. He is the author of five books including Consumerism as a Way of Life (Sage, 1998) Spaces for Consumption (Sage, 2004) and Retail and the Artifice of Social Change (Routledge, 2016). He is Editor-in-Chief of the Journal of Consumer Culture.

RELATED TITLE:
CAPITALISM’S NEW CLOTHES
Enterprise, Ethics and Enjoyment in Times of Crisis
Ciara Colin Cremin
Pb: £26.99
ISBN: 9780745328140
Black Minded: The Political Philosophy of Malcolm X

Michael Sawyer

An exploration of Malcolm X’s political philosophy.

Known as ‘the angriest black man in America’, Malcolm X was one of the most famous activists to ever live. Going beyond biography, Black Minded examines Malcolm X’s philosophical system, restoring his thinking to the pantheon of Black Radical Thought.

Michael Sawyer argues that the foundational concepts of Malcolm X’s political philosophy - economic and social justice, strident opposition to white supremacy and Black internationalism - are often obscured by an emphasis on biography. The text demonstrates the way in which Malcolm X’s philosophy lies at the intersection of the thought of W.E.B. Du Bois and Frantz Fanon and is an integral part of the revolutionary politics formed to alleviate the plight of people of African descent globally.

Exploring themes of ontology, the body, geographic space and revolution, Black Minded provides a much-needed appraisal of Malcolm X’s political philosophy.

MICHAEL SAWYER is Assistant Professor of Race, Ethnicity, and Migration Studies in the Department of English at Colorado College. He is the author of An Africana Philosophy of Temporality (Palgrave Press, 2018).

March 2020
Hb: £75 / ISBN: 9780745340739
160pp
215 x 135mm
Series: Black Critique
World: All languages

First detailed engagement with Malcolm X as a political philosopher rather than political activist

Multidisciplinary work employing historical analysis, literary critique, aesthetic theory, philosophy and political theory

RELATED TITLE:
MOVING AGAINST THE SYSTEM
The 1968 Congress of Black Writers and the Making of Global Consciousness
Edited by David Austin
Ph: £19.99
ISBN: 978074538651
The Point is to Change the World: Selected Writings of Andaiye

Andaiye
Edited by Alissa Trotz

Radical activist, thinker, comrade of Walter Rodney, Andaiye was one of the Caribbean’s most important political voices. For the first time, her writings are published in one collection.

Through essays, letters and journal entries, Andaiye’s thinking on the intersections of gender, race, class and power are powerfully articulated, Caribbean histories emerge, and stories from a life lived at the barricades are revealed. We learn about the early years of the Working People’s Alliance, the meaning and impact of the murder of Walter Rodney and the fall of the Grenada Revolution. Throughout, we bear witness to Andaiye’s acute understanding of politics rooted in communities and the daily lives of so-called ordinary people.

Featuring forewords by Clem Seecharan and Robin DG Kelley, these texts will become vital tools in our own struggles to ‘overturn the power relations which are embedded in every unequal facet of our lives’.

ANDAIYE was a Guyanese social, political and gender rights activist. She was an early member of the executive of the Working People’s Alliance, a founding member of the women’s development organisation Red Thread in Guyana in 1986 and an executive member of the Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action.

ALISSA TROTZ is the Director of the Women & Gender Studies Institute, and Director of the undergraduate Caribbean Studies Program at New College at the University of Toronto.

RELATED TITLE:
CEDRIC J. ROBINSON
On Racial Capitalism, Black Internationalism, and Cultures of Resistance
Cedric J. Robinson
Edited by H.L.T. Quan.
Pb: £24.99
ISBN: 9780745340036

An inspiring collection from one of the Caribbean’s most vital political figures.
In a time of intensified global white supremacist and patriarchal violence, anti-racist feminist movements and analyses have never been more vital. Women of colour are at the forefront of such struggles worldwide - but are white feminists really by their side?

Despite a rich history of black critique of racist and imperial feminist politics, racism still exists within contemporary British feminist movements. To explain why, Terese Jonsson examines the history of feminism over the last forty years. She argues that black British feminism’s central role in shaping the movement has been marginalised through narratives which repeatedly position white women at the centre of the story, from the women’s liberation movement in the 1960s to today.

Analysing the ways in which whiteness continues to pervade both academic and popular feminist literature, as well as feminist debates in the liberal media, and despite an increased attention to race, intersectionality and difference, that stories told by white feminists are shaped by their desire to maintain an ‘innocent’ position towards racism.

TERESE JONSSON is a member of the editorial collective of Feminist Review.
Kurdish Women’s Stories

Edited by Houzan Mahmoud

From all four parts of Kurdistan and across the diaspora, Kurdish women from different geographical, political and educational backgrounds pick up a pen, reflect and remember.

Going beyond exoticising stereotypes and patriarchal representations, *Kurdish Women’s Stories* gives twenty women authorial freedom to write about their own lived experiences. With contributors ranging from 20 to 70 years of age, we hear stories of imprisonment, exile, disappearances of loved ones, gender-based violence, uprisings, feminist activism and armed resistance, including first-hand accounts of political moments from the 1960s to today.

Conceived as part of Culture Project’s self-writing program, this book is essential reading for anyone who wants to better understand the struggle of Kurdish women through their own words.

**HOUZAN MAHMOUD** is a Kurdish women’s rights and anti-war activist. She is the co-founder of the Iraqi Women’s Rights Coalition and Culture Project, an online and print magazine that gives a platform to Kurdish voices. She has written for the Guardian, openDemocracy, the Independent and the New Statesman.

**RELATED TITLE:**
*SARA* 
*My Whole Life Was a Struggle*
Sakine Cansiz
Translated by Janet Biehl
Pb: £17.99
ISBN: 9780745338019
Fascism: History and Theory
Revised Edition

David Renton

‘Excellent... genuinely thought provoking and refreshing’
Race and Class

Across Europe and the world, far right parties have been enjoying greater electoral success than at any time since 1945. Right-wing street movements draw huge supporters and terrorist attacks on Jews and Muslims proliferate. It sometimes seems we are returning to the age of fascism.

To explain this disturbing trend, David Renton surveys the history of fascism in Europe from its pre-war origins to the present day, examining Marxist responses to fascism in the age of Hitler and Mussolini, the writings of Trotsky and Gramsci and contemporary theorists. Renton theorises that fascism was driven by the chaotic and unstable balance between reactionary ambitions and the mass character of its support. This approach will arm a new generation of anti-fascists to resist those who seek to re-enact fascism.

Rewritten and revised for the twentieth anniversary of its first publication, Renton’s classic book synthesises the Marxist theory of fascism and updates it for our own times.

DAVID RENTON is a barrister, historian and anti-fascist activist. His previous books include Never Again: Rock Against Racism and the Anti-Nazi League (Routledge, 2018) and The New Authoritarians (Pluto, 2019).
I Want to Believe:
Posadism and Leftwing UFOlogy

A.M. Gittlitz

Advocating nuclear war, attempting communication with dolphins and taking an interest in the paranormal and UFOs, there is perhaps no greater (or stranger) cautionary tale for the Left than that of Posadism.

Named after the Argentine Trotskyist J. Posadas, the movement’s journey through the fractious and sectarian world of mid-20th century revolutionary socialism was unique. Although at times significant, Posadas’s movement was ultimately a failure. As it disintegrated, it increasingly grew to resemble a bizarre cult, detached from the working class it sought to liberate. The renewed interest in Posadism today - especially for its more outlandish fixations - speaks to both a cynicism towards the past and nostalgia for the earnest belief that a better world is possible.

Drawing on considerable archival research, and numerous interviews with ex- and current Posadists, I Want to Believe tells the fascinating story of this most unusual socialist movement and considers why it continues to capture the imaginations of leftists today.

A.M. GITTLLITZ is a journalist and social critic based in Brooklyn, New York. He has contributed to The New Inquiry, the New York Times and Vice. He has been interviewed about his work on CBC Radio and Novara Media.
Can’t Pay, Won’t Pay: The Fight to Stop the Poll Tax

Simon Hannah

A history of the social movement that brought down Margaret Thatcher’s government.

Thirty years ago, a social movement helped bring down one of the most powerful British Prime Ministers of the 20th Century. For the 30th anniversary of the Poll Tax rebellion, Simon Hannah looks back on those tumultuous days of resistance, telling the story of the people that beat the bailiffs, rioted for their rights and defied a government.

Starting in Scotland where the ‘Community Charge’ was first trialled, Can’t Pay, Won’t Pay immerses the reader in the gritty history of the rebellion. Amidst the drama of large scale protests and blockaded estates a number of key figures and groups emerge: Neil Kinnock and Tommy Sheridan; Militant, Class War and the Metropolitan Police.

Assessing this legacy today, Hannah demonstrates the centrality of the Poll Tax resistance as a key chapter in the history of British popular uprisings, Labour party factionalism, the anti-socialist agenda and failed Tory ideology.

SIMON HANNAH is a writer and political activist. He is the author of A Party with Socialists in It (Pluto, 2018). His work has been featured in Open Democracy and New Left Project. He is an active trade unionist and a member of the Labour Party.

March 2020
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This concise people’s history of Europe tells the story of the last hundred years of a very old continent and the ordinary people that shaped the events that defined it from World War I to today.

From the Russian Revolution, through May ’68 and the Prague Spring, to the present day, we hear from feminists, trade unionists, conscientious objectors and activists and learn of immigration struggles, anti-colonial conflicts and labour movements. Cutting against the grain of mainstream histories, this is a history of Europe told from below.

Containing new and fascinating insights, Raquel Varela paints a different picture of the European story; one where ordinary Europeans are active agents of their own history.

RAQUEL VARELA is a Professor at New University of Lisbon, and Senior Visiting Professor at the Fluminense Federal University. She is also president of the International Association of Strikes and Social Conflicts and co-editor of its journal. She is the author of A People’s History of the Portuguese Revolution (Pluto, 2018).

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Russia and the Media: The Makings of a New Cold War

Greg McLaughlin

President Vladimir Putin is a figure of both fear and fascination in the Western imagination. In the minds of media pundits and commentators, he personifies Russia itself - a country riven with contradictions, enthralling and yet always a threat to world peace.

But recent propaganda images that define public debate around growing tensions with Russia are not new or arbitrary. Russia and the Media asks, what is the role of Western journalism in constructing a new kind of Cold War with Russia? Focusing on British and US media coverage of moments of crisis and of co-operation between the West and Russia, McLaughlin exposes how such a Cold War framework shapes public perceptions of a major, hostile power reasserting itself on the world stage.

Scrutinising events such as the Ukraine/Crimea crisis, the Skripal Poisoning and Russia’s military intervention in Syria - as well as analysing media coverage of the 2018 Russian presidential election and build up to the 2018 World Cup - Russia and the Media makes a landmark intervention at the intersection of media studies and international relations.

GREG MCLAUGHLIN is an Associate of the Centre for Media Research at Ulster University. He is the author of The War Correspondent (Pluto, 2nd edition, 2016) and co-author with Stephen Baker of The Propaganda of Peace: The Role of Media and Culture in the Northern Ireland Peace Process (2010) and The British Media and Bloody Sunday (2015).
Whatever Happened to Antisemitism? The Redefinition of a Persistent Hatred

Antony Lerman

A rigorous and clear-sighted exploration of antisemitism, and the consequences of its politically motivated redefinition.

What is antisemitism? One of the most controversial topics of our time, academics, journalists and activists remain divided on its meaning. But as Antony Lerman explains in this rigorous interrogation of the ‘new antisemitism’, the word has been actively - and problematically - redefined in the twenty-first century, with profound consequences.

In Whatever Happened to Antisemitism? Lerman brings to bear his unparalleled experience from 35 years studying the phenomenon in order to argue that its redefinition can only be understood in the geopolitical context of the past thirty years. Originating from within pro-Israel advocacy groups, Zionist organisations and the Israeli government, the redefinition of antisemitism has more recently been adopted by the European Union, the International Holocaust Remembrance Association and a growing number of Western governments.

Addressing the policy implications for combating antisemitism, and exposing the urgent need for fundamental changes, Whatever Happened to Antisemitism? offers the reader a uniquely clear-sighted approach to an enduringly controversial issue.


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‘Shanzhai’, from Cantonese slang, refers to the production of fake goods in China, which enjoy an anti-authoritarian-like dissemination across the global market. Starting with mobile phones, now fashion brands are subverted in this way, with many women at the helm of design and production. *Fashioning China* looks at the women designers simultaneously subverting and reinforcing the nationalist-developmentalist, masculinist and technocratic dream of brands that are ‘Made in China’.

Broadening the digital labour debate beyond typical masculine and techno-utopic readings, Sara Liao studies the precarious practices of women trying to create sustainable and creative lives, vividly illustrating a fashion culture that exists online as a significant part of the digital economy.

Drawing on material from interviews, participant observation, archives, policy documents, films and advertisements, Liao takes a multi-disciplinary approach to the topic, charting out the politics of intellectual property rights, globalisation, technocracy, patriarchy and nationalism in a non-Western context.

SARA LIAO is Assistant Professor at the School of Journalism and Communication in the Chinese University of Hong Kong. She has published in several journals including, Fashion Theory, International Journal of Communication, Communication, Culture, Critique, and Chinese Journal of Communication.
The Syrian Revolution: Between the Politics of Life and the Geopolitics of Death

Yasser Munif

A contemporary history of political violence and grassroots struggles in Syria since 2011.

Understanding the Syrian revolution is unthinkable without an in-depth analysis from below. Paying attention to the complex activities of the grassroots resistance, this book demands we rethink the revolution.

Having lived in Syria for over fifteen years, Yasser Munif is expert in exploring the micropolitics of revolutionary forces. He uncovers how cities are managed, how precious food is distributed and how underground resistance thrives in regions controlled by regime forces. In contrast, the macropolitics of the elite Syrian regime are undemocratic, destructive and counter-revolutionary. Regional powers, Western elites, as well as international institutions choose this macropolitical lens to apprehend the Syrian conflict. By doing so, they also choose to ignore the revolutionaries’ struggles.

By looking at the interplay between the two sides, case studies of Aleppo and Manbij and numerous firsthand interviews, Yasser Munif shows us that this macro and geopolitical authoritarianism only brings death, and that by looking at the smaller picture - the local, the grassroots, the revolutionaries, we can see the politics of life emerge.

YASSER MUNIF is a Sociology Assistant Professor in the institute for Liberal Arts at Emerson College. He is the co-founder of the Global Campaign for Solidarity with the Syrian Revolution.

January 2020
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Author lived in Syria for fifteen years - his connections make him well placed to write about the hidden people fighting in the grassroots

A bold political intervention backed up by hard facts and personal experience

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Concerns over the rise of fascism have been preoccupied with the Trump presidency and the Brexit vote in the UK, yet, globally, we are witnessing a turn towards anti-democratic and illiberal forces.

From the tragic denouement of the Egyptian Revolution to the consolidation of the so-called Gujarat Model in India under the leadership of Prime Minister Narendra Modi and the consolidation of the power of Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, to the recent election of Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil, fascist ideology, aesthetics and fascist personalities appear across the globe.

*Spectres of Fascism* makes a significant contribution to the unfolding discussion on whether what we are witnessing today is best understood as a return to classic twentieth-century ‘fascism,’ or some species of what has been called ‘post-fascism.’ Applying a uniquely global perspective, it combines analyses of historical contexts, theoretical approaches and contemporary geopolitics.

SAMIR GANDESHA is Associate Professor in the Department of the Humanities at Simon Fraser University.

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Nestor Makhno and Rural Anarchism in Ukraine, 1917-1921

Colin Darch

The definitive history of the Ukrainian anarcho-communist Makhnovists.

Histories of the Russian Revolution often present the Bolshevik seizure of power in 1917 as the central event, neglecting the diverse struggles of urban and rural revolutionaries across the heartlands of the Russian Empire. This book takes as its subject one such struggle, the anarcho-communist peasant revolt led by Nestor Makhno in left-bank Ukraine, locating it in the context of the final collapse of the Empire that began in 1914.

Between 1917 and 1921, the Makhnovists fought German and Austrian invaders, reactionary monarchist forces, Ukrainian nationalists and sometimes the Bolsheviks themselves. Drawing upon anarchist ideology, the Makhnovists gathered widespread support amongst the Ukrainian peasantry, taking up arms when under attack and playing a significant role – in temporary alliance with the Red Army – in the defeats of the White Generals Denikin and Wrangel. Often dismissed as a kulak revolt, or a manifestation of Ukrainian nationalism, Colin Darch analyses the successes and failures of the Makhnovist movement, emphasising its revolutionary character.

Over 100 years after the revolutions, this book reveals a lesser known side of 1917, contributing both to histories of the period and broadening the narrative of 1917, whilst enriching the lineage of anarchist history.

COLIN DARCH is a fellow of the Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa, and an honorary researcher at the University of Cape Town.

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Workers’ Inquiry and Global Class Struggle: Strategies, Tactics, Objectives

Edited by Robert Ovetz

Rumours of the death of the global labour movement have been greatly exaggerated. Rising phoenix-like from the ashes of the old trade union movement, workers’ struggle is being reborn from below.

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In one of the first major studies to critically assess this new cycle of working class struggle, Robert Ovetz collects together case studies from over a dozen contributors, looking at workers’ movements in China, Mexico, the US, South Africa, India, Turkey, France, Italy, Portugal and the UK. The book reveals how these new forms of struggle are no longer limited to single sectors of the economy or contained by state borders, but are circulating internationally and disrupting the global capitalist system as they do.

ROBERT OVETZ is a Lecturer in Political Science at San Jose State University. He is the author of When Workers Shot Back (Brill, 2018), a member of the editorial board of the Journal of Labor and Society and is on the editorial committee of Notes From Below.
Grassroots Economies: Living with Austerity in Southern Europe

Edited by Susana Narotzky

A comparative ethnography of the grassroots economic responses to austerity policies in Southern Europe.

The austerity crisis has radically altered the economic landscape of Southern Europe. But alongside the decimation of public services and infrastructure lies the wreckage of a generation’s expectations and visions for the future. In Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal, there is a new, difficult reality of downward mobility.

Grassroots Economies interrogates the effects of the economic crisis on the livelihoods of working people, providing insight into their real-life anxieties and contradictions. Drawing on a rich seam of ethnographic material, the contributors construct a distinctive comparative analysis from across the region to explore the tensions and struggles in people’s coping mechanisms and support structures.

The book traces grassroots economic practices located in place - with concrete meanings, values and ideologies - to wider processes of dispossession and accumulation, and ultimately demonstrates that everyday interactions on the local scale provide a significant sense of the global.

SUSANA NAROTZKY is Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Barcelona. She is the former President of the European Association of Social Anthropologists.

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The book is a powerful petition for the reversal of the increasing privatisation of the state and the neoliberalism that underlies it.

WENDY FITZGIBBON is a Reader in Criminology at the University of Leicester. She previously worked as a probation officer. She is the author of Pre-emptive Criminalisation; Risk Control And Alternative Futures (NAPO, 2004) and Probation and Social Work on Trial (Palgrave, 2011).

JOHN LEA is a Visiting Professor at Goldsmiths College, University of London. He is the author of several books, including What Is To Be Done About Law and Order? (Pluto, 1993) and Crime and Modernity (Sage Publications, 2002).
The University and Social Justice: Struggles Across the Globe

Edited by Aziz Choudry and Salim Vally

Explores activist movements in higher education from around the world, and their connections to broader anti-capitalist and anti-colonial struggles.

Higher education has long been contested terrain. From student movements to staff unions, the fight for accessible, critical and quality public education has turned university campuses globally into sites of struggle.

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In this critical collection, Aziz Choudry, Salim Vally and a host of international contributors bring grounded, analytical accounts of diverse struggles relating to higher education into conversation with each other.

Featuring contributions written by students and staff members on the frontline of struggles from 12 different countries, including Canada, Chile, France, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Occupied Palestine, the Philippines, South Africa, Turkey, the UK and the USA, the book asks what can be learned from these movements’ strategies, demands and visions.

AZIZ CHOUDRY is Associate Professor and Canada Research Chair in Social Movement Learning and Knowledge Production in the Department of Integrated Studies in Education, McGill University, and Visiting Professor at the Centre for Education Rights and Transformation (CERT), University of Johannesburg. He is editor of Activists and the Surveillance State (Pluto, 2019) and co-editor of Just Work? Migrant Workers’ Struggles Today (Pluto, 2016).

SALIM VALLY is Professor and Director of CERT, Faculty of Education, at the University of Johannesburg and the National Research Foundation - South African Research Initiative’s Chair in Community, Adult and Workers Education. He is co-editor of Education, Economy and Society (UNISA Press, 2014), and Reflections on Knowledge, Learning and Social Movements: History’s Schools (Routledge, 2018).
Capitalism is in a profound state of crisis. Beyond the mere dispassionate cruelty of ‘ordinary’ structural violence, it appears today as a global system bent on reckless economic revenge; its expression found in mass incarceration, climate chaos, unpayable debt, pharmaceutical violence and the relentless degradation of common life.

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*Revenge Capitalism* offers no easy answers, but is a powerful call to the radical imagination.

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Formed amidst the incendiary violence and political turmoil of the 1960s, beyond the barricades, the Situationist International (SI) remains to this day influential in anti-capitalist cultural, political and philosophical debates.

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Including contributions from key thinkers, including Anselm Jappe and Michael Löwy, as well as new and upcoming scholars, The Situationist International unpacks the complexity of a group that has come to define radical politics and culture in the postwar period.

ALASTAIR HEMMENS is a Leverhulme Early Career Fellow in French at Cardiff University School of Modern Languages. He is the editor of a volume of essays L’Extrême Littéraire (CSP, 2012).

GABRIEL ZACARIAS is Professor of Art History at the University of Campinas, Brazil. He is the editor and contributor of the journal Marges.

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AARON JAFFE is Assistant Professor of Philosophy and Liberal Arts at The Juilliard School in New York. His articles have appeared in Comparative Literature and Culture, Philosophy and Social Criticism, Science and Society, Thesis Eleven, Critical Horizons and Res Publica. He is a contributor to The Bloomsbury Companion to Marx.

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This book introduces a praxeology of cultural and aesthetic translation as a viable key concept for research into dance and art.

GABRIELE KLEIN is professor of dance and performance studies at Hamburg University. She leads the master’s program in performance studies and the research network Translating and Framing. Practices of Medial Transformations. She is a member of the Hamburg Cluster of Excellence Understanding Written Artefacts. Her research fields are the social and political theory of dance, choreography, and performance, body politics, and transnational popular dance cultures.
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GABRIELE DIETZE was Harris Guest Professor at Dartmouth and Trier.

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