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NEW BOOKS

AUTUMN 2022
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Dear Reader,

We are excited to share with you our Autumn 2022 list.

At a time when our industry and media are churning out takes on race and the culture wars, Olúfémi O. Táíwò’s *Elite Capture* is sharp, lucid and vital in equal measure. Offering us refreshingly nuanced lessons on the global Black radical tradition, the book makes the compelling case for a constructive approach to politics. Michael Richmond and Alex Charnley’s *Fractured* provides a crucial corrective to ahistorical debates, showing how race, gender and sexuality have always been an integral part of class struggle in the US and Britain.

In *Secret Power*, Stefania Maurizi’s gripping reconstruction of the WikiLeaks story, a terrifying web of state-sanctioned persecution and cover-ups is revealed. And contradictions abound in *The Anti-Capitalist Book of Fashion*, where Tansy E. Hoskins asks what happens when the worlds of anti-capitalism and fashion collide in the age of influencers and abysmal working conditions.

Feminist writer and movement participant, Dilar Dirik, offers a comprehensive history of a key revolutionary experiment with *The Kurdish Women’s Movement*. A collection of prison writings from twenty-two Kurdish women politicians jailed for their political beliefs, *The Purple Colour of Kurdish Politics*, is edited by the former mayor of Diyarbakır, Gültağ Kışank, who has been imprisoned since 2016. These inspiring books reflect Pluto’s ongoing commitment to publishing on the Kurdish question.

We are thrilled to be launching Pluto Audio, our new series of audiobooks, which kicks off with some of our most loved titles: Dan Hicks’ *The Brutish Museums*, JJ Bola’s *Mask Off*, Françoise Vergès’ *A Feminist Theory of Violence*, Amelia Horgan’s *Lost in Work*, and Suhaïymah Manzoor-Khan’s *Tangled in Terror*.

As always, thanks to our readers for all your enthusiasm and helping to keep our mission alive.

Happy reading!

Neda Tehrani
Commissioning Editor
‘A THINKER ON FIRE’
- ROBIN D. G. KELLEY

Photo: Jared Rodriguez
Identity politics is everywhere, polarising discourse from the campaign trail to the classroom and amplifying antagonisms in the media. But the compulsively referenced phrase bears little resemblance to the concept as first introduced by the radical Black feminist Combahee River Collective. While the Collective articulated a political viewpoint grounded in their own position as Black lesbians with the explicit aim of building solidarity across lines of difference, identity politics is now frequently weaponised as a means of closing ranks around ever-narrower conceptions of group interests.

But the trouble, Olúfémi O. Táíwò deftly argues, is not with identity politics itself. Through a substantive engagement with the global Black radical tradition and a critical understanding of racial capitalism, Táíwò identifies the process by which a radical concept can be stripped of its political substance and liberatory potential by becoming the victim of elite capture deployed by political, social and economic elites in the service of their own interests.

Táíwò’s crucial intervention both elucidates this complex process and helps us move beyond the binary of ‘class’ vs. ‘race’. By rejecting elitist identity politics in favour of a constructive politics of radical solidarity, he advances the possibility of organising across our differences in the urgent struggle for a better world.

OLÚFÉMI O. TÁÍWÒ is Assistant Professor of Philosophy at Georgetown University. His work draws liberally from the Black radical tradition, anti-colonial thought, German transcendental philosophy, contemporary philosophy of language, contemporary social science, and histories of activism and activist thinkers. His public philosophy, including articles exploring intersections of climate justice and colonialism, has been featured in The New Yorker, The Nation, Boston Review, Dissent, The Appeal, Slate, Al Jazeera, The New Republic, Aeon, and Foreign Policy. He is the author of Reconsidering Reparations.
Secret Power: WikiLeaks and its Enemies

Stefania Maurizi
Foreword by Ken Loach

An uncovering of the terrifying depths of authoritarian power that hide behind the infamous story of WikiLeaks

‘I want to live in a society where secret power is accountable to the law and to public opinion for its atrocities, where it is the war criminals who go to jail, not those who have the conscience and courage to expose them.’

It is 2008, and Stefania Maurizi, an investigative journalist with a growing interest in cryptography, starts looking into the little-known organisation WikiLeaks. Through hushed meetings, encrypted files and explosive documents, what she discovers sets her on a life-long journey that takes her deep into the realm of secret power.

Working closely with WikiLeaks’ founder Julian Assange and his organisation for her newspaper, Maurizi has spent over a decade investigating state criminality protected by thick layers of secrecy, while also embarking on a solitary trench warfare to unearth the facts underpinning the cruel persecution of Assange and WikiLeaks.

With complex and disturbing insights, Maurizi’s tireless journalism exposes atrocities, the shameful treatment of Chelsea Manning and Edward Snowden, on up to the present persecution of WikiLeaks: a terrifying web of impunity and cover-ups.

At the heart of the book is the brutality of secret power and the unbearable price paid by Julian Assange, WikiLeaks and truth-tellers.

STEFANIA MAURIZI is an investigative journalist who writes for the leading Italian newspaper la Repubblica. She has worked with Julian Assange and WikiLeaks since 2009, and is the only journalist to work on the entirety of the WikiLeaks secret documents.
FASHION IS SO INTERTWINED WITH CAPITALISM THAT THERE WOULD BE NO FASHION INDUSTRY WITHOUT THE CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION OF THE GLOBAL SOUTH, OF WOMEN, OF MIGRANT LABOUR, OF RACIST COLONIAL TRADE PRACTICES. YOU CANNOT UNDERSTAND FASHION UNTIL YOU COMPREHEND CAPITALISM.

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The Anti-Capitalist Book of Fashion

Tansy E. Hoskins
Foreword by Andreja Pejić

*Selected by Emma Watson for her Ultimate Book List*

Fashion is political. From the red carpets of the Met Gala to online fast fashion, clothes tell a story of inequality, racism and climate crisis. In The Anti-Capitalist Book of Fashion, Tansy E. Hoskins unpicks the threads of capitalist industry to reveal the truth about our clothes.

Fashion brands entice us to consume more by manipulating us to feel ugly, poor and worthless, sentiments that line the pockets of billionaires exploiting colonial supply chains. Garment workers on poverty pay risk their lives in dangerous factories, animals are tortured, fossil fuels extracted and toxic chemicals spread just to keep this season’s collections fresh.

We can do better than this. Moving between Karl Lagerfeld and Karl Marx, The Anti-Capitalist Book of Fashion goes beyond ethical fashion and consumer responsibility showing that if we want to feel comfortable in our clothes, we need to reshape the system and ensure this is not our last season.

TANSY E. HOSKINS is an award winning author and journalist who investigates the global fashion industry. This work has taken her to Bangladesh, India, North Macedonia, and to the Topshop warehouses in Solihull. This is her third book.
Are you looking for new radical ideas to help your political activism this year? Do you love audio content? We have picked some of our best books and gone into the studio to produce high-quality audiobooks for activists to listen to on the go.

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From the Palestinian struggle against Israeli Apartheid, to First Nations’ mass campaigns against pipeline construction in North America, Indigenous peoples are at the forefront of some of the crucial struggles of our age. Rich with their unique histories, characteristics and social relations, they are connected by the shared enemy they face: settler colonialism.

In this introduction, Sai Englert highlights the ways in which it has, and continues to shape our global economic and political order. From the rapacious accumulation of resources, land, and labour, through Indigenous dispossession and genocide, to the development of racism as a form of social control, settler colonialism is deeply connected to many of the social ills we face today.

To understand settler colonialism, we need to start engaging with contemporary social movements and solidarity campaigns in order to see how struggles for justice and liberation are intertwined.

SAI ENGLERT is a lecturer at Leiden University. He works on settler colonialism, Zionism, labour movements, and antisemitism. He is a member of the editorial boards of Notes from Below and Historical Materialism.
George Floyd’s murder in Minneapolis triggered abolitionist shockwaves. Calls to defund the police found receptive ears around the world. Shortly after, Sarah Everard’s murder by a serving police officer compounded these calls in the UK. But to abolish the interlocking systems of police, prison and border power in Britain, we must confront the legacy of Empire.

*Abolition Revolution* is a historical, theoretical and practical guide to revolutionary abolitionist politics in Britain. The authors trace the evolution of policing and criminalisation from their colonial roots to their contemporary expression, as found in ‘Prevent’ and drug laws targeting Black communities. They also draw out a rich history of grassroots resistance, from the founding of the Notting Hill Carnival in 1959 to transformative responses to repressive community policing today.

With a forceful critique of carceral feminism, alongside an exposition of how these systems fail as a response to social dynamics such as crime, the book offers a compelling and grounded vision for abolition that takes us away from punitivity from above and into community based forms of accountability from below.

AVIAH SARAH DAY is a lecturer at Birkbeck, University of London where she teaches criminology. She spends the rest of her time as a community organiser with Sisters Uncut and Hackney Cop Watch. Day is also a proud trade unionist with an interest in building workers’ power through anarcho-syndicalism.

SHANICE OCTAVIA McBEAN is a Black writer and activist in Sisters Uncut. She grew up in Handsworth, Birmingham, before moving to Tottenham. Describing herself as a revolutionary and Afro-Marxist, she has also organised in anti-racist groups and trade unions.

Scott Branson

You may not realise it, but you are probably already practicing anarchism in your daily life. From relationships to school, work, art, even the way you organise your time, anarchism can help you find fulfilment, empathy and liberation in the everyday.

From the small questions such as ‘Why should I steal?’ to the big ones like ‘how do I love?’, Scott Branson shows that anarchism isn’t only something we do when we react to the news, protest or even riot. With practical examples enriched by history and theory, these tips will empower you to break free from the consumerist trappings of our world.

Anarchism is not just for white men, but for everyone. In reading this book, you can detach from patriarchal masculinity, norms of family, gender, sexuality, racialisation, individual responsibility and the destruction of our planet, and replace them with ideas of sustainable living, with ties of mutual aid, and the horizon of collective liberation.

SCOTT BRANSON is a queer and trans writer, translator, teacher, artist and anarchist organiser, living in Western North Carolina. They translated Guy Hocquenghem’s second book, Gay Liberation After May 68, as well as Jacques Lesage De La Haye’s The Abolition of Prison, and co-edited Surviving the Future: Abolitionist Queer Strategies. They are also a frequent co-host on the anarchist podcast The Final Straw Radio.
Football in the Land of the Soviets

Carles Viñas

Mistrusted and derided, instrumentalised and adored – the story of football in Tsarist and early Soviet Russia is as wild and intriguing as that of the country itself. In many ways it is the same story…

Football in the Land of the Soviets offers a fresh perspective on a momentous chapter in modern political history. Carles Viñas shows how the Russian game was transformed in just a few decades: from a minor émigré pastime, to a modernising driver of society, to a vanguard for Soviet diplomacy and internationalism, and finally, with the first championship of the Soviet League in 1936, into a truly mass phenomenon.

So exactly how did a bourgeois game end up as the collective passion of the Soviet working class? And why does it matter? Football in the Land of the Soviets brings these questions to the fore in this thrilling, unorthodox account of the fall of an imperial dynasty and the rise of the world’s first socialist state.

CARLES VIÑAS is an expert in football and skinhead culture. Exposing racism in the sport, as well as championing its radical history, his passion for the game has led him to write numerous books on the subject, including the award-winning St. Pauli: Another Football is Possible.
When the possibility of wiretapping first became known to Americans they were outraged. Now, in our post 9/11 world, it’s accepted that corporations are vested with human rights, and government agencies and corporations use computers to monitor our private lives. David H. Price pulls back the curtain to reveal how the FBI and other government agencies have always functioned as the secret police of American capitalism up to today, where they luxuriate in a near-limitless NSA surveillance of all.

Price looks through a roster of campaigns by law enforcement, intelligence agencies and corporations to understand how we got here. Starting with J. Edgar Hoover and the early FBI’s alignment with business, his access to 15,000 pages of never-before-seen FBI files shines a light on the surveillance of Edward Said, Andre Gunder Frank and Alexander Cockburn, Native American communists and progressive factory owners.

Price uncovers patterns of FBI monitoring and harassing of activists and public figures, providing the vital means for us to understanding how these new frightening surveillance operations are weaponised by powerful governmental agencies that remain largely shrouded in secrecy.

DAVID H. PRICE is Professor of Anthropology at Saint Martin’s University’s Department of Society and Social Justice. He is the author of a number of books on the FBI and CIA, and has written articles for The Nation, Monthly Review, CounterPunch, Guardian and Le Monde. His work has been translated into five languages.
We the Elites: Why the US Constitution Serves the Few
Robert Ovetz

Written by 55 of the richest white men, and signed by only 39 of them, the US constitution is the sacred text of American nationalism. Popular perceptions of it are mired in idolatry, myth and misinformation – many Americans have opinions on the constitution but have little idea what it says.

This book examines the constitution for what it is – a rulebook for elites to protect capitalism from democracy. Social movements have misplaced faith in the constitution as a tool for achieving justice when it actually impedes social change through the many roadblocks and obstructions we call ‘checks and balances’. This stymies urgent progress on issues like labour rights, poverty, public health and climate change, propelling the American people and rest of the world towards destruction.

Robert Ovetz’s reading of the constitution shows that the system isn’t broken. Far from it. It works as it was designed to.

ROBERT OVE TZ is a Senior Lecturer in Political Science at San José State University, US. He is the author of When Workers Shot Back: Class Conflict from 1877 to 1921 and the editor of Workers’ Inquiry and Global Class Struggle.
Fractured: Race, Class, Gender and the Hatred of Identity Politics

Michael Richmond and Alex Charnley

Identity politics has smeared political discourse for over a decade. The right use it to lament the loss of free speech, while many on the left bemoan that it will be the end of class politics. It has been used to dismiss movements such as Black Lives Matter and brought seemingly progressive people into the path of fascism. It has armed the march of the transphobes.

In Fractured, the authors move away from the identity politics debate. Instead of crudely categorising race, gender and sexuality as ‘identities’, or forcing them under the heading of ‘diversity’, they argue that the interconnectedness of these groupings has always been inseparable from the history of class struggle under British and American capitalism.

Through an appraisal of pivotal historical moments in Britain and the US, and a sharp look at contemporary debates, the authors tame the frenzied culture war, offering a refreshing and reasoned way to understand how class struggle is formed and creating the possibilities for new forms of solidarity in an increasingly fractured world.

MICHAEL RICHMOND is the former editor of The Occupied Times and current co-editor of Base Publication. He is the author of the novel Sisyphusa. He has written for publications including OpenDemocracy, Protocols and Asylum Magazine. He tweets @Sisyphusa.

ALEX CHARNLEY is co-editor of Base Publication. He has contributed essays to The Occupied Times alongside other publications.
Socialist Feminism: A New Approach

Frieda Afary

What is socialist feminism and why is it needed to fight the global rise of authoritarianism and fascism? Frieda Afary brings the insights gained through her study of feminist philosophy, her international activism and her work in community education as a public librarian in Los Angeles, offering a bold new vision of an alternative to capitalism, racism, sexism, heterosexism and alienation.

Socialist Feminism: A New Approach reclaims theories of women’s oppression through a return to humanism, enriched by social reproduction theories, Black feminist intersectionality, abolitionism, queer theories, Marxist-Humanism and the author’s own experiences as an Iranian American feminist, scholar and activist.

She looks at global developments in gender relations since the 1980s, the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, the distinct features of 21st century authoritarianism and current struggles against it, drawing out lessons for revolutionary theorising, organising and international solidarity including the #MeToo and Black Lives Matter movements.

This book also contains a study guide which transforms it into a useful pedagogical tool for teachers and activists.

FRIEDA AFARY is an Iranian American socialist feminist activist, translator and writer. She is a public librarian in Los Angeles, where she runs philosophy and politics classes for the community including young women activists and scholars representing Black Lives Matter, Latina, queer and labour activists.
Hope lies in our richness, in the joy of our collective creativity. But that richness exists in the peculiar form of money. The fact that we relate to one another through money causes tremendous social pain and destruction and is dragging us through pandemics and war towards extinction.

Richness against money: this battle will decide the future of humanity. If we cannot emancipate richness from money-capital-profit, there is probably no hope. Money seems invincible but the constant expansion of debt shows that its rule is fragile. The fictitious expansion of money through debt is driven by fear, fear of us, fear of the rabble. Money contains, but richness overflows.

In this final part of his ground-breaking trilogy, John Holloway expertly fuses anti-capitalism and anti-identitarianism, and brings hope into the critique of political economy and revolutionary theory, challenging us to find hope within ourselves and channel it into a dignified, revolutionary rage.

JOHN HOLLOWAY has published widely on Marxist theory, on the Zapatista movement and on the new forms of anti-capitalist struggle. His book Change the World without Taking Power has been translated into eleven languages and has stirred an international debate, and Crack Capitalism is a renowned classic. He is currently Professor of Sociology in the Instituto de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades of the Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla in Mexico.
Mutant Ecologies: Manufacturing Life in the Age of Genomic Capital

Erica Borg and Amedeo Policante

Mutant Ecologies traces the spinning of new synthetic threads into the web of life. It is a critical cartography of the shifting landscapes of capital accumulation conjured by recent developments in genomic science, genome editing and the biotech industry.

CRISPR crops, Enviropigs™, Friendly™ Mosquitoes, humanised mice, autocidal rats, pigs growing human organs – these are but a few of the dazzling new life-forms that have recently emerged from the world’s corporate and university laboratories, all promising to lubricate the circuits of capital accumulation in distinct ways. The deliberate induction of genetic mutations is increasingly central to business operations in a number of sectors, from agriculture to pharmaceuticals.

While the Nobel Committee recently proclaimed the life sciences to have entered ‘a new epoch’, the authors show how these technological innovations continue to operate within a socio-historical context defined by the iron rules of capitalist competition and exploitation. Capital no longer contents itself with simply appropriating the living bodies of plants and animals. It purposefully designs their internal metabolism, and redesigns the countless living vectors that constitute the global biosphere. It is driving a biological revolution, which will ripple through the everyday lives of people everywhere.

ERICA BORG is a geographer and political ecologist based at King’s College, London. Their research focuses on the relations between capitalism, colonialism, patriarchy and ecological crisis.

AMDEO POLICANTE is a Research Fellow at the Helmholtz Institute for Functional Marine Biodiversity of the University of Oldenburg, and at the Alfred Wegener Institute for Polar and Marine Research. He is the author of The Pirate Myth and The New Mercenaries.

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An underreported topic which has huge, dystopian implications for the future of the human race

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INHUMAN POWER
Artificial Intelligence and the Future of Capitalism
Nick Dyer-Witheford, Arle Mikkel Kjølsen & James Steinhoff
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‘The Left Behind’ is a defining motif of contemporary British political discourse. It is the thread that knits together the 2016 Brexit referendum, the crumbling of the fabled ‘Red Wall’ in the North, and the pernicious culture war being waged today. But who are the Left Behind?

James Morrison goes in search of the reality behind the rhetoric, offering the first comprehensive, historical analysis of the origins, uses and meanings of the term. He interrogates the popular archetype of the Left Behind – as a working class, leave-voting white male from a former industrial heartland – and situates the concept in the context of longstanding, demonising discourses aimed at communities seen as backward and ‘undeserving’.

Analysing national newspaper coverage and parliamentary discussions, and drawing on interviews with MPs, community leaders, charities and people with direct lived experiences of poverty and precarity, The Left Behind grapples with the real human cost of austerity for neglected post-industrial communities and other marginalised groups across the world, and the stigmatising discourse that does little to serve them.

JAMES MORRISON is a reader in journalism at Robert Gordon University. He spent over a decade as a staff reporter for newspapers including the Independent on Sunday as well as working as a freelance writer for the Guardian. His previous books include Scroungers: Moral Panics and Media Myths.
Scotland Rising: The Case for Independence

Gerry Hassan

A systematic exploration of the arguments for Scottish independence from a sympathetic angle

The Scottish independence question is one of the pivotal questions facing British politics and the future of the United Kingdom. It is also one of the most contentious and misunderstood.

In Scotland Rising, Gerry Hassan addresses the fundamental questions covering the Scottish independence debate so that people can better understand the case for independence and the nuances, contours and implications for the whole United Kingdom. Looking beyond the merits and shortcomings of the SNP and the Conservative government in Westminster, Hassan tackles the larger driving dynamics of ‘the Scottish Question’ – a growing desire amongst many Scots for an explicit discussion about society, public policy choices and wider values.

Addressing the constitutional framework, and questions about the role of government and democracy, the nature of the British state, society and capitalism, Scotland Rising makes an urgent and intelligent contribution to one of the defining political questions of our time.

GERRY HASSAN is one of the leading commentators on the Scottish independence debate. He is the author of many books, including The Strange Death of Labour Scotland and Scotland the Brave? He has written for the Guardian, OpenDemocracy, Bella Caledonia, The Scotsman, New Statesman and the Irish Times.

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Author is a leading commentator and writer on the Scottish independence debate

Popular support for Scottish independence has grown since the 2014 referendum

For readers of Ben Jackson and T. M. Devine

RELATED TITLE:
A NEW SCOTLAND
Building an Equal, Fair and Sustainable Society
Gregor Gall
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The Kurdish Women’s Movement: History, Theory, Practice

Dilar Dirik

‘One the foremost writers and participants in the Kurdish women’s movement’ - Harsha Walia

The Kurdish women’s movement is at the heart of one of the most exciting revolutionary experiments in the world today: Rojava. Forged over decades of struggle, most recently in the fight against ISIS, Rojava embodies a radical commitment to ecology, democracy and women’s liberation. But while striking images of Kurdish women in military fatigues proliferate, a true understanding of the women’s movement remains elusive.

Taking apart the superficial and Orientalist frameworks that dominate, Dilar Dirik offers instead an empirically rich account of the women’s movement in Kurdistan. Drawing on original research and ethnographic fieldwork, she surveys the movement’s historical origins, ideological evolution, and political practice over the past forty years. Going beyond abstract ideas, Dirik locates the movement’s culture and ideology in its concrete work for women’s revolution in the here and now.

Taking the reader from the guerrilla camps in the mountains to radical women’s academies and self-organised refugee camps, readers around the world can engage with the revolution in Kurdistan, both theoretically and practically, as a vital touchstone in the wider struggle for a militant anti-fascist, anti-capitalist feminist internationalism.

DILAR DIRIK was born in Antakya and grew up in Offenbach am Main. She is a postdoctoral fellow at the University of Oxford and holds a PhD in Sociology from the University of Cambridge. She has written on the Kurdish struggle for a range of publications including openDemocracy and ROAR Magazine. She tweets @Dlrdrk1.
The Purple Colour of Kurdish Politics: Women Politicians Write from Prison

Edited by Gültan Kıșanak
Translated by Ruken Isik, Emek Ergun and Janet Biehl

Prison writings from 22 Kurdish women who were elected to office in Turkey and then imprisoned by the state on political grounds.

Gültan Kıșanak, a Kurdish journalist and former MP, was elected co-mayor of Diyarbakır in 2014. Two years later, the Turkish state arrested and imprisoned her. Her story is remarkable, but not unique. While behind bars, she wrote about her own experiences and collected similar accounts from other Kurdish women, all co-chairs, co-mayors and MPs in Turkey; all incarcerated on political grounds.

The Purple Colour of Kurdish Politics is a one-of-a-kind collection of prison writings from more than 20 Kurdish women politicians. Here they reflect on their personal and collective struggles against patriarchy and anti-Kurdish repression in Turkey; on the radical feminist principles and practices through which they transformed the political structures and state offices in which they operated. They discuss what worked and what didn’t, and the ways in which Turkey’s anti-capitalist and socialist movements closely informed their political stances and practices.

Demonstrating Kurdish women’s ceaseless political determination and refusal to be silenced – even when behind bars – the book ultimately hopes to inspire women living under even the most unjust conditions to engage in collective resistance.

GÜLTAN KİŞANAK is a longtime journalist, politician and anticcolonial feminist activist for Kurdish liberation. She was elected to Parliament in 2007 as the MP from Diyarbakır. In 2014, she was elected co-mayor of Diyarbakır, after running as a candidate of the pro-Kurdish Democratic Regions Party (DBP). In 2016 she was arrested and charged with ‘being a member of an armed illegal organisation’, for which she was sentenced to 14 years and three months’ imprisonment.
‘Smartly defines the present moment’

TEEN VOGUE

Star authors like Amelia Horgan, Suhaiymah Manzoor-Khan and Lola Olufemi write on the hottest political issues facing young people today

Series coverage in: Guardian, New Statesman, VICE, BBC Radio 4, Independent, gal-dem, Evening Standard, Cosmopolitan, HuffPost, Stylist and more...
Hostile Homelands: The New Alliance Between India and Israel

Azad Essa
Foreword by Linah Alsaafin

Under Narendra Modi, India has changed dramatically. As the world attempts to grapple with its trajectory towards authoritarianism and ‘Hindutva’ (Hindu Nationalism), little attention has been paid to the linkages between Modi’s India and the governments from which it has drawn inspiration, as well as military and technical support.

India once called Zionism racism, but, as Azad Essa argues, the state of Israel has increasingly become a cornerstone of India’s foreign policy. Looking to replicate the ‘ethnic state’ in the image of Israel in policy and practice, the annexation of Kashmir increasingly resembles Israel’s settlercolonial project of the occupied West Bank. The ideological and political linkages between the two states are alarming; their brands of ethnonationalism deeply intertwined.

Hostile Homelands puts India’s relationship with Israel in its historical context, looking at the origins of Zionism and Hindutva; India’s changing position on Palestine; and the countries’ growing military-industrial relationship from the 1990s. Lucid and persuasive, Essa demonstrates that the India-Israel alliance spells significant consequences for democracy, the rule of law and justice worldwide.

AZAD ESSA is an award-winning journalist and author. He is currently senior reporter for Middle East Eye, and previously worked at Al Jazeera between 2010-2018. He is the author of The Moslems are Coming and Out of the Shadows. He is the co-founder of the Daily Vox in South Africa. He has written for publications including The Washington Post, Foreign Policy and the Guardian.

November 2022
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India remains in the international spotlight following the abrogation of Kashmir’s semi-autonomy in 2019, the launch of the National Register of Citizens (NRC) and the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA)

For readers of K.S. Komireddi, Vijay Prashad and S. Jaishankar

RELATED TITLE:
INDIAN DEMOCRACY
Origins, Trajectories, Contestations
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Pb: £24.99
ISBN: 9780745338927
At every home game of FC Barcelona, at 17 minutes and 14 seconds of play, the 100,000-capacity Camp Nou stadium is filled by the roar of “IN-DE-PEN-DÈN-CI-A!” Time stops for a second. History lives in the present...

Catalonia’s national consciousness has deep roots. There are countries twice the size with histories half as interesting. *A People’s History of Catalonia* tells that history, from below, in all its richness and complexity. The region’s struggle for independence has, for centuries, been violently resisted, the Catalan language suppressed and its leaders jailed. But the fight of an oppressed nation for its sovereignty has often dovetailed with that of a militant working class for social justice.

From the peasant revolts of the 15th century and the siege of Barcelona in 1714, to defeat in the Spanish Civil War, and the slow re-emergence of the workers’ movement and anti-Francoist resistance in the years that followed, Michael Eaude tells a compelling story whose ending has yet to be written.

MICHAEL EAUDE has lived between Barcelona and the hills of Valencia for thirty years. He is the author of several books including *Catalonia: A Cultural History* and *Triumph at Midnight in the Century: A Critical Biography of Arturo Barea*. He has written for the *Guardian*, *Literary Review* and *Socialist Review*.

RELATD TITLE:
*A PEOPLE’S HISTORY OF THE PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION*
Raquel Varela
Pb: £19.99
ISBN: 9780745338576
Workers Can Win: A Guide to Organising at Work

Ian Allinson

The Covid, climate and cost of living crises all hang heavy in the air. It’s more obvious than ever that we need radical social and political change. But in the vacuum left by defeated labour movements, where should we begin? For longtime workplace activist Ian Allinson, the answer is clear: organising at work is essential to rebuild working-class power.

The premise is simple: organising builds confidence, capacity and collective power – and with power we can win change. Workers Can Win is an essential, practical guide for rank-and-file workers and union activists. Drawing on more than 20 years of organising experience, Allinson combines practical techniques with an analysis of the theory and politics of organising and unions.

The book offers insight into tried and tested methods for effective organising. It deals with tactics and strategies, and addresses some of the roots of conflict, common problems with unions and the resistance of management to worker organising. As a 101 guide to workplace organising with politically radical horizons, Workers Can Win is destined to become an essential tool for workplace struggles in the years to come.

IAN ALLINSON has been a workplace activist since 1991, working for a private sector employer that did not recognise the union, and where he led a number of strikes including the first national strike in the IT industry. He served ten years on the national Executive Committees of Amicus and Unite, and was a candidate for Unite General Secretary in 2017. He is currently industrial action coordinator on the executive committee of Manchester TUC, where he was previously President.
Powerful financial forces have supported the neoliberal project since the 1980s to advance their interests; but there are now signs that these forces have a new face and a new strategy. The majority of the British finance sector threw its support behind Britain leaving the European Union, a flagship institution of neoliberalism. Beyond this counterintuitive move, what was really happening and why? *Alt-Finance* examines a new authoritarian turn in financialised democracies, focusing on the City of London, revealing a dangerous alternative political project in the making.

In a clash with traditional finance, the new behemoths of financial capital – hedge funds, private equity firms and real estate funds – have started to cohere around a set of political beliefs, promoting libertarian, authoritarian, climate-denying and Eurosceptic views. Protecting investments, supressing social dissent and reducing state interference are at the core of their mission for a new world order.

By following the money, the authors provide indisputable evidence of these worrying developments. Through a clear analysis of the international dealings of this new authoritarian-libertarian regime, not just in Britain but in the US and Brazil, we can understand how our world is being shaped against our will by struggles between dominant groups.

**MARLÈNE BENQUET** is a CNRS research fellow at the University of Paris Dauphine. She is the co-editor of *Accumulating Capital Today: Contemporary Strategies of Profit and Dispossessive Policies*.

**THÉO BOURGERON** is a Leverhulme Early Career Fellow at the University of Edinburgh. He has published in international journals such as *Economy & Society* and *Organization*, and is the co-editor of *Accumulating Capital Today: Contemporary Strategies of Profit and Dispossessive Policies*. 
Capitalism in the 21st Century: Through the Prism of Value

Michael Roberts and Guglielmo Carchedi

Contemporary capitalism is always evolving. From digital technologies to cryptocurrencies, current trends in political economy are much discussed, but often little understood. So where can we turn for clarity? As Michael Roberts and Guglielmo Carchedi argue, new trends don’t necessarily call for new theory.

In *Capitalism in the 21st Century*, the authors show how Marx’s law of value explains numerous issues in our modern world. In both advanced economies and the periphery, value theory provides a piercing analytical framework through which we can approach topics as varied as labour, profitability, automation and AI, the environment, nature and ecology, the role of China, imperialism and the state.

This is an ambitious work that will appeal to both heterodox economists and labour movement activists alike, as it demonstrates the ongoing contemporary relevance of Marxist theory to current trends in political economy.

**MICHAEL ROBERTS** has worked in the City of London for over 40 years as an economist and financial adviser. He is author of several books including *The Great Recession, The Long Depression and Marx 200*. He blogs at thenextrecession.wordpress.com.

**GUGLIELMO CARCHEDI** was Professor of Economics at Amsterdam University and is the author of several works including *Frontiers of Political Economy, For Another Europe and Behind the Crisis*. 

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Michael Roberts worked in the City of London as an economist for over 40 years

Roberts blogs at ‘The Next Recession’, widely cited by leftist economists

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PsychoPolitics

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An impassioned critique of mental health movements from one of the left’s most important thinkers on health

‘A powerful and impassioned defence of psychiatry, urging the Left to confront the harsh realities of mental illness’ - William Davis, author of The Happiness Industry

A new edition of one of the most significant and credible critiques of the anti-psychiatry movement.

As relevant today as it was when first published in 1982, the book changed the conversation on mental health and illness, demanding that we assess its relationship to the wider decay of social institutions. Dissecting the work of popular anti-psychiatric thinkers, Erving Goffman, R.D. Laing, Michel Foucault and Thomas Szasz, Sedgwick exposed the conservative undercurrents and false hopes represented by the alternative psychiatry of the sixties and seventies, challenging the very real impact it had on our collective responsibility to look after the mentally ill.

With a new introduction that highlights the relevance of Sedgwick’s demands for modern mental health movements, the practice of psychiatry and for left-wing activists, this new edition further cements PsychoPolitics’ cult classic status.

PETER SEDGWICK (1934-1983) was a Marxist, a trained psychologist and the translator of the revolutionary Victor Serge. His classic book PsychoPolitics is considered to be his major achievement, lauded by psychiatrists, social workers and philosophers alike.
For mainstream economics, cultural production raises no special questions: creative expression is to be harvested for wealth creation like any other form of labour. As Karl Marx saw it, however, capital is hostile to the arts because it cannot fully control the process of creativity. But while he saw the arts as marginal to capital accumulation, that was before the birth of the mass media.

Engaging with the major issues in Marxist theory around art and capitalism, From Printing to Streaming traces how the logic of cultural capitalism evolved from the print age to digital times, tracking the development of printing, photography, sound recording, newsprint, advertising, film and broadcasting, exploring the peculiarities of each as commodities, and their recent transformation by digital technology, where everything melts into computer code.

Showing how these developments have had profound implications for both cultural creation and consumption, Chanan offers a radical and comprehensive analysis of the commodification of artistic creation and the struggle to realise its potential in the digital age.

MICHAEL CHANAN is a documentary filmmaker, writer and professor of film and video at the University of Roehampton, London. His films include Detroit - Ruin of a City, The American Who Electrified Russia, and Interrupted Memory. He is the author of Cuban Cinema, and The Politics of Documentary.
**Of Black Study**

Joshua Myers

An exploration of the ways that Black intellectuals arrived at a critique of Western knowledge

*Of Black Study* explores how the ideas of Black intellectuals created different ways of thinking and knowing in their pursuit of conceptual and epistemological freedom.

Joshua Myers explores the work of thinkers who broke with the racial and colonial logics of academic disciplinarity. Bookended by meditations with June Jordan and Toni Cade Bambara, the book focuses on how W.E.B. Du Bois, Sylvia Wynter, Jacob Carruthers and Cedric Robinson contributed to Black Studies approaches to knowledge production within and beyond Western structures of knowledge.

Especially geared toward understanding the contemporary evolution of Black Studies in the neoliberal university, *Of Black Study* allows us to consider the stakes of intellectual freedom and the path toward a new world.

**JOSHUA MYERS** is an Associate Professor of Africana Studies at Howard University. He is the author of *Cedric Robinson: The Time of the Black Radical Tradition* and *We are Worth Fighting For: A History of the Howard University Protest of 1989.*
The Future of Black Studies

Abdul Alkalimat

At a turning point for the growing field of Black Studies, one of its founders looks to its future

The marginalisation of Black voices from the academy is a problem in the Western world. But Black Studies, where it exists, is a powerful, boundary-pushing discipline, grown out of struggle and community action. Here, Abdul Alkalimat, one of the founders of Black Studies in the US, presents a reimagining of the future trends in the study of the Black experience.

Taking Marxism and Black Experientialism, Afro-Futurist and Diaspora frameworks, he projects a radical future for the discipline at this time of social crisis. Choosing cornerstones of culture, such as the music of Sun Ra, the movie Black Panther and the writer Octavia Butler, he looks at the trajectory of Black liberation thought since slavery, including new research on the rise in the comparative study of Black people all over the world.

Turning to look at how digital tools enhance the study of the discipline, this book is a powerful read that will inform and inspire students and activists.

ABDUL ALKALIMAT is a founder of the field of Black Studies and Professor Emeritus at the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign. A lifelong scholar-activist with a PhD from the University of Chicago, he has lectured, taught and directed academic programs across the US, the Caribbean, Africa, Europe and China. His activism extends from having been chair of the Chicago chapter of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in the 1960s, to a co-founder of the Black Radical Congress in 1998.

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Refugee Talk: Propositions on Ethics and Aesthetics

Eva Rask Knudsen and Ulla Rahbek

Refugee Talk explores cultural responses to the ongoing refugee crisis. Looking at ethical questions and political rhetoric surrounding the refugee experience, the authors uncover the reality behind the fraught discussions taking place today.

With an understanding of how to meaningfully negotiate responses through philosophy, media representations, art, activism and literature, the authors insist that a radically different approach is needed, advocating for, along with other reorientations, a new refugee vocabulary as a launching pad for interventions into polarised debates.

By centring conversation as a method and ethical practice to engage in the discourses surrounding refugees, Refugee Talk is structured around dialogues with academics, activists, journalists and refugee artists and writers, creating a comprehensive humanities approach that places ethics and aesthetics at its core.

EVA RASK KNUDSEN is Associate Professor in the Department of English, Germanic and Romance Studies at Copenhagen University. Most recently, she is co-author with Ulla Rahbek of In Search of the Afropolitan: Encounters, Conversations, and Contemporary Diasporic African Literature.

ULLA RAHBEK is Associate Professor in the Department of English, Germanic and Romance Studies at Copenhagen University. Most recently, she is the author of British Multicultural Literature and Superdiversity and co-author with Eva Rask Knudsen of In Search of the Afropolitan: Encounters, Conversations, and Contemporary Diasporic African Literature.
Seeing Like a Smuggler: 
Borders from Below

Edited by Mahmoud Keshavarz 
and Shahram Khosravi

The word smuggler often unleashes a simplified, negative image painted by the media and the authorities. Such state-centric perspectives hide many social, political and economic relations generated by smuggling. This book looks at the practice through the eyes of the smugglers, revealing how their work can be productive, subversive and deeply sociopolitical.

By tracing the illegalised movement of people and goods across borders, Seeing Like a Smuggler shows smuggling as a contradiction within the nation-state system, and in a dialectical relation with the national order of things. It raises questions on how smuggling engages and unsettles the ethics, materialities, visualities, histories and the colonial power relations that form borders and bordering.

Covering a wide spectrum of approaches from personal reflections and ethnographies to historical accounts, cultural analysis and visual essays, the book spans the globe from Colombia to Ethiopia, Singapore to Guatemala, Afghanistan to Zimbabwe, and from Kurdistan to Bangladesh, to show how people deal with global inequalities and the restrictions of poverty and immobility.

MAHMOUD KESHAVARZ is Senior Lecturer in Design Studies at the University of Gothenburg. He is the author of The Design Politics of the Passport. He co-edits the journal Design and Culture.

SHAHRAM KHOSRAVI is Professor in Anthropology at Stockholm University. He is the author of Young and Defiant in Tehran, which was highly recommended by Choice. He has also contributed to publications such as The New York Times.
Anarchists have been central in helping communities ravaged by disasters, stepping in when governments wash their hands of the victims. Looking at Hurricane Sandy, Covid-19, and the social movements that mobilised relief in their wake, *Disaster Anarchy* is an inspiring and alarming book about collective solidarity in an increasingly dangerous world.

As climate change and neoliberalism converge, mutual aid networks, grassroots direct action, occupations and brigades have sprung up in response to this crisis with considerable success. Occupy Sandy was widely acknowledged to have organised relief more effectively than federal agencies or NGOs, and following Covid-19 the term ‘mutual aid’ entered common parlance.

However, anarchist-inspired relief has not gone unnoticed by government agencies. Their responses include surveillance, co-option, extending at times to violent repression involving police brutality. Arguing that disaster anarchy is one of the most important political phenomena to emerge in the 21st century, Rhiannon Firth shows through her research on and within these movements that anarchist theory and practice is needed to protect ourselves from the disasters of our unequal and destructive economic system.

RHIANNON FIRTH is currently a lecturer in Sociology at UCL. She is the author of two books: *Utopian Politics: Citizenship and Practice and Coronavirus, Class and Mutual Aid in the UK*. She is active in social movements and popular education projects in London.
Finance, mobile and digital technologies – or ‘fintech’ – are being heralded in the world of development by the likes of the IMF and World Bank as a silver bullet in the fight against poverty. But should we believe the hype?

*A Critical History of Poverty Finance* demonstrates how newfangled ‘digital financial inclusion’ efforts suffer from the same essential flaws as earlier iterations of neoliberal ‘financial inclusion’. Relying on artificially created markets that simply aren’t there among the world’s most disadvantaged economic actors, they also reinforce existing patterns of inequality and uneven development, many of which date back to the colonial era.

Bernards offers an astute analysis of the current fintech fad, contextualised through a detailed colonial history of development finance, that ultimately reveals the neoliberal vision of poverty alleviation for the pipe dream it is.

**NICK BERNARDS** is Associate Professor of Global Sustainable Development at the University of Warwick. He is the author of *The Global Governance of Precarity: Primitive Accumulation and the Politics of Irregular Work.*
Faced with an ecological crisis of existential proportions, the economic relations of capitalism have only fanned the flames. The transformation of property relations is an urgent necessity, but not, in itself, enough to save us. Enter ‘degrowth’: a concept that radically challenges contemporary life, culture and economics as we know it.

Through an impressive synthesis of the traditions of eco-Marxism and feminist ecological economics, Éric Pineault presents a well-rounded critique of contemporary capitalist growth and its socio-ecological contradictions, in which growth is understood as both a biophysical and accumulation process.

The book provides fresh answers to key questions of current socio-ecological debates: Why does capitalist society depend on accelerating growth? Why is the constant upscaling of its economic process necessary for its social stability? How does this deepen the ecological contradictions that humanity now faces? And what can we learn from this for our understanding of emancipatory futures?

ÉRIC PINEAULT is a Professor in the Department of Sociology and the Institute of Environmental Sciences at the Université du Québec à Montréal. His research focuses on financial institutions, extractive economies, the issue of ecological transition and degrowth as well as the general macroeconomic and social transformations of advanced capitalism.
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The defeat of socialist firebrand Jeremy Corbyn as Labour Leader in 2019 confirmed Tony Benn's famous retort 'the Labour party has never been a socialist party, although there have always been socialists in it.'

For over a hundred years, the British Labour Party has been a bastion for working-class organisation and struggle. However, has it ever truly been on the side of the workers? Where do its interests really lie? And can we rely on it to provide a barrier against right-wing forces?

Simon Hannah’s smart and succinct history of the Labour left guides us through the twists and turns of the party, from the Bevanite movement and the celebrated government of Clement Attlee, through the emergence of a New Left in the 1970s and the Blairism of the 1990s, to Corbyn’s defeat and his replacement by Keir Starmer.

This new edition is updated throughout, with a new final chapter and conclusion bringing the story up to date.

**SIMON HANNAH is a writer, labour activist and trade unionist. His work has been featured in openDemocracy and New Left Project.**
A Socialist History of the French Revolution

Jean Jaurès
Abridged and edited by Mitchell Abidor
Introduction by Henry Heller

'Tantalizing prose' - TLS

Jean Jaurès was the celebrated French Socialist Party leader, assassinated in 1914 for trying to use diplomacy and industrial action to prevent the outbreak of war. Published just a few years before his death, his magisterial A Socialist History of the French Revolution has endured for over a century as one of the most influential accounts of the French Revolution ever to be published.

Written in the midst of his activities as leader of the Socialist Party and editor of its newspaper, L’Humanité, Jaurès intended the book to serve as both a guide and an inspiration to political activity; even now it can serve to do just that.

Jaurès’s verve, originality and willingness to criticise all players in this epic drama make this a truly moving addition to the shelf of great books on the French Revolution. Now available for the first time in paperback, Mitchell Abidor’s abridged translation of Jaurès’s original six volumes makes this exceptional work truly accessible to an Anglophone audience.

JEAN JAURÈS (1859-1914) was the leader of the French Socialist Party, which opposed Jules Guesde’s revolutionary Socialist Party of France. An antimilitarist, Jaurès was assassinated at the outbreak of World War I, and remains one of the main inspirations to the French left. His defining work was A Socialist History of the French Revolution.

MITCHELL ABIDOR is a writer and translator living in Brooklyn, USA. Amongst his many works, he is the author of May Made Me.
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