NEW BOOKS
AUTUMN & WINTER 2023/4
PLUTO PRESS
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Dear Reader,

As the war in Ukraine threatens to become a wider conflict, the IPCC delivers a final warning on the climate crisis, and the global economy teeters on the brink of another financial collapse, it can be hard to see a way forward. It is our job at Pluto to provide some of the tools for the global left to build alternatives and fight for change.

In our new catalogue we have a number of books on the insanity of contemporary capitalism. Let Them Eat Crypto by Peter Howson debunks the false prophets of blockchain and shows how the growth of cryptocurrencies is underpinned by labour exploitation and environmental degradation. Badvertising by Andrew Simms and Leo Murray provides shocking evidence of the psychological impact of being bombarded with advertising through every waking hour, and how it drives the consumption that fuels the climate crisis. Enough by Luke Hildyard shows that, far from being wealth creators, the wealthiest one percent of society are a drain on everyone else.

We also provide grounds for hope. Become Ungovernable by H.L.T. Quan outlines a groundbreaking feminist ethics of living, drawing on queer and Black radical traditions, exploring inclusion, mutuality and friendship. She Who Struggles, edited by Marral Shamshiri and Sorcha Thomson, is an inspiring collection of stories of the lives of twentieth-century female revolutionaries. And Unconditional Freedom by David Casassas shows how the implementation of Universal Basic Income can liberate our personal and social lives, and empower us in the workplace.

I sincerely hope that whatever your interest in radical politics, you will find something in this catalogue that will engage you and help you in your own lives and struggles.

David Castle
Editorial Director

It is our job at Pluto to provide some of the tools for the global left to build alternatives and fight for change.
“BEAUTY COMES FIRST. VICTORY IS SECONDARY. WHAT MATTERS IS JOY.”

–Sócrates
A unique people's history of football, providing a
global and diverse perspective from its origins to
the present day

**Winner of an English PEN Award 2022**

Football is so much more than the billionaire buyers and seven-
figure signing fees that dominate the headlines. Look beyond the
Premiership and the World Cup, the sublime brilliance of Messi and
Mbappé, and you’ll find a story unparalleled in the world of sport.

From England, France and Germany to Palestine, South Africa
and Brazil, A People’s History of Football reveals how the ‘beautiful
game’ has been a powerful instrument of emancipation for workers,
feminists, anti-colonialist activists, young people and protesters
around the world.

Mickaël Correia’s history from below retraces the journeys of
professionals, amateurs and enthusiasts alike. Countering the clichés
about football fans, he dives into football countercultures born after
the Second World War, from English hooligans to the ultras who
played a central role in the ‘Arab Spring’. And with chapters on
anti-fascism, the women’s game and the rise in community-owned
clubs, Correia reminds us that football can be a powerful social and
political force - as generous as it is subversive.

MICKAËL CORREIA is a journalist at Mediapart. He is the
author of several books, and his work focuses on social and
ecological struggles as well as working-class culture. He has
written for Le Monde Diplomatique, Le Canard Enchaîné and La
Revue du Crieur.

FIONN PETCH is a Scottish translator with a doctorate in
philosophy from the National University of Mexico. He has
translated fiction, poetry, drama and children’s books. He
also works on books and exhibition catalogues on art and
architecture. Among his noted translations are A Straggly
Smile by Vanessa Saint Cyr, The Distance Between Us by Renato
Cisneros and Fireflies by Luis Sagasti.
Let Them Eat Crypto: 
The Blockchain Scam That's Ruining the World

Peter Howson

A shocking exposé of the huge social, political and environmental costs of cryptocurrencies

The subject of immense hope, hype and confusion, crypto has amassed countless headlines in recent years. With cryptocurrencies, NFTs and metaverse markets crashing, the underlying blockchain technology is still promised to solve global development challenges, whilst revolutionising every industry. But is the technology really a silver bullet?

*Let Them Eat Crypto* puts blockchain, cryptocurrency and 'Web3' under the microscope like never before.

Peter Howson cuts through the jargon and bluster to tell an alarming story of how right-wing libertarian crypto entrepreneurs - often aided by charities, politicians and philanthropists - seek out and exploit conditions of poverty, oppression, corruption and conflict. Their goal? A new front of 'crypto-colonial' extractivism. *Let Them Eat Crypto* reveals the alarming truth: far from 'banking the unbanked', saving the gorillas or freeing people from oppressive governments, blockchain offers only false solutions, surveillance and hi-tech snake oil.

PETER HOWSON is a technology writer, researcher, and Assistant Professor in International Development at Northumbria University, Newcastle. He investigates the green-washing, aid-washing, and crypto-shenanigans that go on in Silicon Valley, as well as the lesser-known tech-hubs of the Global South.
BECOME UNGOVERNABLE IS A GATHERING OF TOOLS THAT INCLUDES THE MANY WORKS AND MOVEMENT ENDEAVORS THAT THE IMPERIAL ARCHIVE HAS LONG SOUGHT TO EVICT.

These are stories about governing and the many attempts at ungoverning; about the quest to render justice as something more than whatever the powerful say it is.
Become Ungovernable: An Abolition Feminist Ethic for Democratic Living

H.L.T. Quan

'A mammoth literary and theoretical accomplishment that could not be more relevant to this political moment' - Barbara Ransby

Become Ungovernable is a provocative new work of political thought setting out to reclaim 'freedom', 'justice' and 'democracy', revolutionary ideas that are all too often warped in the interests of capital and the state.

Revealing the mirage of mainstream democratic thought and the false promises of liberal political ideologies, H. L. T. Quan offers an alternative approach: an abolition feminism drawing on a kaleidoscope of refusal praxes, and on a deep engagement with the Black Radical Tradition and queer analytics.

With each chapter anchored by episodes from the long history of resistance and rebellions against tyranny, Quan calls for us to take up a feminist ethic of living rooted in the principles of radical inclusion, mutuality and friendship as part of the larger toolkit for confronting fascism, white supremacy and the neoliberal labour regime.

H. L. T. QUAN is a political theorist and an award-winning filmmaker. She is an Associate Professor of Justice and Social Inquiry in the School of Social Transformation at Arizona State University. Quan is the author of Growth Against Democracy: Savage Developmentalism in the Modern World and editor of Cedric J. Robinson: On Racial Capitalism, Black Internationalism, and Cultures of Resistance.

A sweeping, magisterial work of abolitionist feminist political theory

February 2024
320pp
234 x 153mm
Series: Black Critique
World. All languages

Author is a longtime activist, scholar and filmmaker admired by the likes of Angela Davis, Robin D. G. Kelley and Barbara Ransby

Will arm those opposing the relentless 'culture war' attacks, and be of use to students of Black and queer studies'

For readers of Alex Vitale, Michelle Alexander and Ruth Wilson Gilmore

RELATED TITLE: ABOLITION REVOLUTION
Aviah Sarah Day & Shanice Octavia McBean
Pb: £14.99
ISBN: 9780745346519
“Marketing raises enormous ethical questions every day – at least it does if you’re doing it right.

If this were not the case, the only possible explanations are either that you believe marketers are too ineffectual to make any difference, or you believe that marketing activities only affect people at the level of conscious argument. Neither of these possibilities appeals to me. I would rather be thought of as evil than useless.”

—RORY SUTHERLAND, President of the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising
Advertising is selling us a dream, a lifestyle. It promises us fulfilment and tells us where to buy it – in international flights, beef from (what was once) the Amazon, and a vast array of goods which we consume like there was no tomorrow. And if advertising succeeds in keeping us on our current trajectory, there may not be a tomorrow.

In *Badvertising*, Andrew Simms and Leo Murray raise the alarm on an industry that is making us both unhealthy and unhappy, and that is driving the planet to the precipice of environmental collapse in the process.

The book asks what is the psychological impact of being barraged by literally thousands of advertisements a day? How does the commercialisation of our public spaces weaken our sense of belonging? What are the pitfalls of regulation? How are car manufacturers, airlines and oil companies lobbying to weaken climate action? And most crucially of all, what can we do to stop it?

**ANDREW SIMMS** is the author of many books including *The New Economics*, *Ecological Debt*, *Tescopoly* and *Cancel the Apocalypse*. He is co-author, with David Boyle, of *Economics: A Crash Course*. He co-founded the New Weather Institute and coordinates the Rapid Transition Alliance. He is a research associate at the Centre for Global Political Economy, University of Sussex, and a fellow and former policy director of the New Economics Foundation (NEF).

**LEO MURRAY** co-founded Plane Stupid, where he played a central role in strategic planning and communication for three years from 2006. He also designed and co-founded the climate change campaigning organisation Possible in 2009, where he is currently director of innovation. Murray is the brains behind the Frequent Flyer Levy, and strategy lead for the Rapid Transition Taskforce.
My Great Arab Melancholy
Lamia Ziadé
Translated by Emma Ramadan

My Great Arab Melancholy is a beautiful, tragic and award-winning book from Lebanese writer and illustrator Lamia Ziadé. Blending the author's years of research, personal memoir and more than 300 illustrations, this compelling history of the modern Arab world explores the major thinkers, struggles and turning points that have shaped the Middle East as we know it today.

Ziadé begins in South Lebanon, 'land of martyrs, ruins and passion', before taking the reader further afield, to Beirut, Jerusalem, Cairo and Baghdad. The book moves from the beginning of the 20th century to the present day, tracing the Arab world's tragedies and the derailing of dreams and possibilities caused in large part by Western imperialism and the conquest of Palestine.

Within these pages there are the blasts of explosions, blood, tears and tragedy, cemeteries, wreaths and ribbons, martyrs and paradise. Ziadé unearths the buried memory of resistance fighters and their lost ideals. In haunting prose and unforgettable images she celebrates the progressive, bold, revolutionary moments and figures of the Arab world’s recent past.

LAMIA ZIADÉ is a Lebanese author, illustrator and visual artist. Born in Beirut in 1968 and raised during the Lebanese Civil War, she moved to Paris at 18 to study graphic arts. She then worked as a designer for Jean Paul Gaultier, exhibited her art in numerous galleries internationally, and went on to publish several illustrated books, including Ô nuit, ô mes yeux and Bye bye Babylone.

EMMA RAMADAN is a literary translator based in Providence, RI, where she also co-owns Riffraff bookstore and bar. She has received the PEN Translation Prize, the Albertine Prize, an NEA Translation Fellowship, and a Fulbright for her work. Her translations include Sphinx and In Concrete by Anne Garréta, Pretty Things by Virginie Despentes, Zabor, or the Psalms by Kamel Daoud, and A Country for Dying by Abdellah Taïa.
James Baldwin: Living in Fire

Bill V. Mullen

The biography of one of the world’s most influential African-American writers

‘If you want to know the real Baldwin, this is the book to read’ - Robin D. G. Kelley

‘Fresh, incisive, and uplifting’ - Kirkus

Bill V. Mullen celebrates the life of the great African-American writer who created some of the most important literary work of his time, including the novels Go Tell It on the Mountain and If Beale Street Could Talk.

As a lifelong anti-imperialist, black queer advocate, and feminist, James Baldwin was a passionate chronicler of the rise of the Civil Rights Movement, the US war against Vietnam, the Palestinian liberation struggle and the rise of LGBTQ+ rights.

In James Baldwin: Living in Fire, Mullen pays homage to Baldwin’s truly radical approach to his life, writing and activism. Fighting towards what he hoped would be a post-racial society, Baldwin’s philosophy was tragically ahead of its time, predicting what has become the new civil rights movement of today.

BILL V. MULLEN is Professor of American Studies at Purdue University. He is the author of UnAmerican: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Century of World Revolution, amongst other books.
REVOLUTIONARY LIVES
Short, sharp biographies of radical political figures

"A powerful, concise account of one of the greatest internationalists of the twentieth century"
—Robin D.G. Kelley, Distinguished Professor, UCLA

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Frantz Fanon: Philosopher of the Barricades
9780745336251 | £16.99
Paul Robeson: The Artist as Revolutionary
9780745335322 | £16.99
For decades, conservative evangelicals and Trans-Exclusionary Radical Feminists (TERFs) have worked hand-in-hand to oppose trans liberation. But how did this alliance come about? What makes it tick? And how can trans people and allies respond?

This book, written by a transfeminist who is also an evangelical Christian, is a history and genealogy of reactionary ideas. *Gender Heretics* traces how a shared belief in the essential unity of the mind and the body, together with a common fear of ‘dualist’ or ‘Gnostic’ philosophies, first brought these groups into contact in the 1970s.

Morgan explores how theological arguments snaked their way from anti-trans feminist tracts into the everyday practices of evangelical churches today. She offers a hopeful way forward, advocating for a full recalibration of evangelical thought on gender identity and trans activism.

**REBECCA JANE MORGAN** is a transfeminist and evangelical Christian, a historian of modern Britain, popular culture and queer identities. Her PhD research at the University of Nottingham explores the history of trans politics in the UK since the 1970s.
She Who Struggles: Revolutionary Women Who Shaped the World

Edited by Marral Shamshiri and Sorcha Thomson

A collection examining the trailblazing lives and movements of radical women who have shaped the modern world

Rosa Luxemburg, Claudia Jones and Leila Khaled may have joined Lenin, Mao and Che in the pantheon of twentieth century revolutionaries, but the histories in which they figure remain unjustly dominated by men.

She Who Struggles sets the record straight, revealing how women have contributed to revolutionary movements across the world in endless ways: as leaders, rebels, trailblazers, guerrillas and writers; revolutionaries who also navigated their gendered roles as women, mothers, wives and daughters.

Through exclusive interviews and original historical research, including primary sources never before translated into English, readers are introduced to largely unknown revolutionary women from across the globe. The collection ultimately presents a hidden history of revolutionary internationalism that will be a must read for activists engaging in feminist, anticolonial and antiracist struggle today.

MARRAL SHAMSHIRI is a researcher and activist. She is Managing Editor of the journal Cold War History and Council Member of the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies. She is active in the international solidarity campaign for Palestinian liberation, the refugee and migrant justice movement, and the movement to decolonise the university.

SORCHA THOMSON is a researcher and activist. She is a member of the Entangled Histories of Palestine and the Global New Left research project at Roskilde University, and an Associate Research Fellow at Birkbeck, University of London. She is co-editor of Palestine in the World and an editor of the History Workshop digital magazine. She has previously written for The Sunday Times, The Scotsman and other publications.
Empire of Normality: Neurodiversity and Capitalism

Robert Chapman

The neurodiversity movement suggests that it takes all kinds of minds for society to function. Instead of accepting their place as inferior, the divergent are reforging their position as ‘neurominorities’, and are organising in ever greater numbers to change how they are perceived and treated.

Robert Chapman looks at the history that led to this movement, showing how the rise of capitalism created an ‘empire of normality’ that transformed our understanding of the body into that of a productivity machine.

Blowing apart this outdated and oppressive understanding of mental functioning, Chapman argues that a bright future for neurodivergent communities could be achieved by challenging the deepest logics of capitalism. Liberation from oppression is possible, but only if we can change the conditions that gave rise to pervasive neuronormative domination across the modern world.

ROBERT CHAPMAN is a neurodivergent philosopher, writing on neurodiversity theory, madness and disability. They have taught at King’s College London, the University of Bristol and Sheffield Hallam where they are currently a Senior Lecturer in Education and Autism. They blog at Psychology Today and at Critical Neurodiversity.
Disability Praxis:
The Body as a Site of Struggle

Bob Williams-Findlay

A radical exploration of disability praxis from an experienced disability activist

The rise of the extreme right globally, the crisis of capitalism and the withdrawal of all but the most punitive arms of the state are having a disastrous impact on disabled people's lives. This is the political context in which the concept of 'disability praxis' is set. What then is its relevance to disruptive theory and practice?

Bob Williams-Findlay offers an account of the transformative potential of disability praxis and how it relates to disabled politics and activism. He addresses different sites of struggle, showing how disabled people have advanced radical theory into the implementation of policies.

Examining the growth of the global Disabled People's Movement during the 1960s, Williams-Findlay shows how a new social discourse emerged that shifted the focus away from seeing disability as restrictions on an individual's body, towards understanding the impact of restrictions created by capitalist relations. He shines light on the contested definitions of disability, asking us to reconsider how different socio-political contexts produce varied understandings of social oppression and how we may play a role in transforming definitions.

BOB WILLIAMS-FINDLAY is the founder of Birmingham Disability Rights Group and the former Chair of the national organisation BCODP. He has written in various publications on the topic of disability politics.
The story is all too familiar. The obscene wealth of the super-rich is locked away while millions are reduced to poverty. The British economy becomes more farcical by the day, and no major political party is stepping forward to even suggest redistribution.

The 1% have pulled the wool over our eyes, until now. In *Enough*, Luke Hildyard shows how the super-rich are far from hard-working, innovative and philanthropic, but are in fact the people behind the biggest scam today – the scam that is keeping us poor.

Tax and redistribution are not enough. Hildyard shows that it is reasonable to demand a change to the very structure of our economy and our culture in order to address inequality and raise living standards for the majority. It has gone too far – and this is the start of a new conversation to end it.

**LUKE HILDYARD** is the Director of the High Pay Centre, a UK think tank focused on pay and employment rights. He has commented on pay and inequality for the *Guardian*, *The Times*, *I*, *Daily Mirror*, *BBC*, *CNN* and *CNBC*.
Unconditional Freedom: Universal Basic Income and Social Power

David Casassas
Translated by Julie Wark

Explores the liberatory and socially transformative potential of Universal Basic Income (UBI)

As the rich get richer, taking more of our wealth, our democratic freedoms are also in danger. The elite are gaining large profits without duly contributing to society, hollowing out our public services and institutions and preventing the vast majority of us from living our lives fully and developing productive and reproductive projects of our own.

In Unconditional Freedom, David Casassas argues that for us to live freely, we need unconditional resources such as Universal Basic Income. In a sharp and lucid analysis of the power of ‘pre-distributing’ resources, he shows that UBI would not only liberate us from the nightmare of precarious employment, but that it would also increase our bargaining power as a class, opening doors to democratising our lives.

While it would be naïve to say that UBI alone would put an end to capitalist social relations, Casassas convincingly argues that it would help pave the way for social emancipation.

DAVID CASASSAS is a lecturer in social and political theory, social movements and economic sociology at the University of Barcelona. He was the Secretary of the Basic Income Earth Network (BIEN) and he is now a member of its International Advisory Board. He has widely published on republicanism, socialism and basic income and is the author of the highly praised Spanish book The City in Flames: The validity of Adam Smith’s Commercial Republicanism.

JULIE WARK is a translator and human rights activist. She is correspondent for Europe for CounterPunch and author of The Human Rights Manifesto and Against Charity (with Daniel Raventós).
Vladimir Lenin lies in a tomb in Moscow’s Red Square. History has not been kind to this Russian leader, his teachings reviled by modern mainstream politics. But in today’s capitalist society, riven by class inequality and imperialist wars, perhaps it is worth returning to this communist icon’s demand for ‘Peace, Land and Bread’, and his radical understanding of democracy.

Lenin was wrestling with the question of ‘what is to be done?’ when facing the catastrophes of his own time. Against the odds, the Bolshevik party succeeded in rejecting both the corrupt and decaying Romanov dynasty, as well as the capitalist economic system which had started to take root in Russia.

To understand how this happened, and what we can learn from him today, Paul Le Blanc takes us through Lenin’s dynamic revolutionary thought, how he worked as part of a larger collective and how he centred the labour movement in Russia and beyond, uncovering a powerful form of democracy that could transform our activism today.

PAUL LE BLANC is an activist and acclaimed American historian teaching at La Roche University, Pennsylvania. A conscientious objector to the Vietnam War, his politics were at odds with the establishment from a young age. He has written extensively on the history of the labour and socialist movements of the United States and Europe, including books on Lenin, Trotsky, Luxemburg and the importance of the revolutionary collective.
Revolutionary Movements in Africa: An Untold Story

Edited by Pascal Bianchini, Ndongo Samba Sylla and Leo Zeilig

While the revolutionary leftist movements of the 1960s and '70s in Europe, the United States and Latin America have been the subject of abundant literature, similar movements that emerged in Africa have received comparatively very little attention. This book sheds new light on these political movements.

Africa's left were extremely active in these years. With pro-Soviet movements, Maoism, Trotskyism, Guevarism, Pan-Africanism and the Black Panthers, the rumble of revolution was felt across the continent. From feminist student rebels in Nigeria to pro-democracy moments in Liberia, the exciting and complex interplay between these many actors changed Africa forever.

Can we see echoes of these movements in African politics today? What can we learn from the people who lived through these decades? This unique collection will open the eyes of leftists across the world who will find new and important insights into an important chapter in global history.

PASCAL BIANCHINI is a sociologist and independent researcher based in Senegal. He has written extensively on social movements, protest, class and education in Africa including École et Politique en Afrique Noire.

NDONGO SAMBA SYLLA is a Senegalese development economist. He has previously worked as a technical advisor at the Presidency of the Republic of Senegal, and is Programme manager at the West Africa office of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. He is the co-author of Africa's Last Colonial Currency: The CFA Franc Story and author of The Fair Trade Scandal.

LEO ZEILIG is a writer and researcher. He has written extensively on African politics and history, including books on working-class struggle and the development of revolutionary movements. He is an editor of the Review of African Political Economy and is the author many books, including A Revolutionary for Our Time: The Walter Rodney Story.
On Cuddling: Loved to Death in the Racial Embrace

Phanuel Antwi

What can a cuddle tell us about intimacy, violence and racism?

Ranging from the terrifying embrace of the slave ship’s hold to the racist encoding of ‘cuddly’ toys, On Cuddling is a unique combination of essay and poetry that contends with the way racial violence is enacted through intimacy.

Informed by Black feminist and queer poetics, Phanuel Antwi focuses his lens on the suffering of Black people at the hands of state violence and racial capitalism. As radical movements grow to advance Black liberation, so too must our ways of understanding how racial capitalism embraces us all. Antwi turns to cuddling, an act we imagine as devoid of violence, and explores it as a tense transfer point of power.

Through archival documents and multiple genres of writing, it becomes clear that the racial violence of the state and economy has always been about the (mis)management of intimacies, and we should face it with resistance and solidarity.

PHANUEL ANTWI is Canada Research Chair in Black Arts and Epistemologies. He is an artist, teacher and organiser concerned with race, poetics, movements, intimacy and struggle. He works with text, dance, film and photography to intervene in artistic, academic and public spaces. He is a curator, activist and associate professor at the University of British Columbia.

Race & Ethnicity

November 2023
144pp
215 x 110mm
Series: Vagabonds
World. All languages

An experimental take on the epidemic of racial injustice from a daring voice of Black, queer radicalism

Part of the Vagabonds series - experimental, cutting-edge writing for activists

For readers of Sara Ahmed, Saidiya Hartman, Fred Moten, Denise Ferreira da Silva and Christina Sharpe

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Ere Roosevelt Came: The Adventures of the Man in the Cloak - A Pan-African Novel of the Global 1930s

Dusé Mohamed Ali
Edited by Marina Bilbija and Alex Lubin

Strange and speculative, this 1934 pan-Africanist novel conveys the complexities of Black internationalism in the interwar years

Ere Roosevelt Came is a short novel by early pan-Africanist Dusé Mohamed Ali. Originally serialised in Ali's Nigerian magazine The Comet in 1934, it grapples with the rise of global fascism and white supremacy, and the growing geopolitical influence of the USA in the interwar period.

This is a fantastical, intricately woven and speculative story about how Black American airmen, organising in secret, fight an international assemblage of white supremacists and Russian foreign agents bent on instigating a new world war. The narrative reveals how Black liberation struggles, Bolshevism, and the rise of so-called 'coloured' Japanese empires were bound together in the Pan-African literary imaginary.

Written by a Sudanese-Egyptian, serialised in West Africa, and set in the USA, Ere Roosevelt Came is a Pan-African novel par excellence, and a fascinating historical document that conveys the complexities of Black internationalism in the interwar years.

The novel is presented with two original, contextualising essays and appendices featuring selected other writings to provide further insight into Ali's vision of a Pan-African future.

DUSÉ MOHAMED ALI (1866-1945) was a Sudanese-Egyptian political activist known for his African nationalism. He was also a playwright, historian, journalist, editor and publisher. He inspired many Black nationalists, including a young Marcus Garvey, who he mentored.

MARINA BILBija is Assistant Professor of English at Wesleyan University. Her work has appeared in American Literary History, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, South Atlantic Review and Modern Fiction Studies.

ALEX LUBIN is Professor of African American Studies at Penn State University. He is the author of Romance and Rights: The Politics of Interracial Intimacy, 1945-1956; Geographies of Liberation: The Making of an Afro-Arab Political Imaginary, and Never-Ending War on Terror.

First ever publication in book form of this Pan-African novel par excellence

A valuable historical document including two original contextualising essays and appendices of Ali’s other relevant writings

For readers of Frantz Fanon, Marcus Garvey and W.E.B. Du Bois

RELATED TITLE:
REWRITING EXODUS
American Futures from Du Bois to Obama
Anna Hartnell
Pb: £29.99
ISBN: 9780745329550
As If Already Free: Anthropology and Activism After David Graeber

Edited by Holly High and Joshua O. Reno

'A highly original thinker' - New York Times

David Graeber (1961–2020) was an American anthropologist and anarchist activist, who left us with new ways to understand humankind. This collection of new writing brings together his insights into one book, showing how deeply his work continues to influence us today.

Graeber’s writing resonates with both scholars and activists looking to shake things up. The impact of his work is broad in scope, from birth to banking, and he picks open social hierarchy and political power to expose what really makes human society tick.

In today’s neoliberal world, we can turn to his legacy to provide a way for us to understand what went wrong, and how to fix it. This collection of writings by colleagues and friends is both an introduction to his life and works, a guide to his key ideas, and an inspiring example of how anthropologists are continuing to use his work today.

HOLLY HIGH is an Associate Professor at Deakin University, Australia. She has written two books, Fields of Desire and Projectland and edited the collection Stone Masters.

JOSHUA O. RENO is a Professor at Binghamton University. A socio-cultural anthropologist, he is the author of Waste Away, Military Waste and co-author of Imagining the Heartland. He co-edited the collection Economies of Recycling.
Society Despite the State: Reimagining Geographies of Order

Anthony Ince and Gerónimo Barrera de la Torre

The logic of the state has come to define social and spatial relations, embedding itself into our understandings of the world and our place in it. Anthony Ince and Gerónimo Barrera de la Torre challenge this logic as the central pivot around which knowledge and life orbit, by exposing its vulnerabilities, contradictions and, crucially, alternatives.

Society Despite the State disrupts the dominance of state-centric modes of thinking by presenting a radical political geography framework inspired by anarchist thought and practice. The book also draws on a broad range of voices that hold affinities with Western anarchism but also exceed it.

The book challenges radical scholars to confront and understand the state through a gaze and set of intellectual tools that the authors have termed 'post-statism'. In de-centring the state’s operational logics and rationalities, the authors incorporate a variety of threads to build a picture of an alternative way of understanding and challenging statism’s effects on our spatial and political imaginations.

ANTHONY INCE is Senior Lecturer in Human Geography at Cardiff University. He has been active within radical movements for more than a decade. He primarily studies issues around human agency, and the capacity of people in different contexts to collectively self-manage the affairs of life.

GERÓNIMO BARRERA DE LA TORRE holds a PhD in Latin American Studies from the University of Texas at Austin and is a postdoctoral research associate at Brown University. His research focuses on the political ecology of forest conservation, historical geography, post-statist geographies and participatory cartography.

A sharp, critical perspective on what the state is and does, drawing on anarchist, feminist and indigenous thought

February 2024
176pp
216 x 140mm
Series: Radical Geography
World. All languages

Authors are based in the UK and US, with strong connections to geography and anarchist studies networks

For readers of Peter Gelderloos, Bob Jessop and John Holloway

RELATED TITLE:
NEW BORDERS
Hotspots and the European Migration Regime
Antonis Vradis, Evie Papada, Joe Painter and Anna Papoutsi
Pb: £22.99
ISBN: 9780745338453
Dismantling Green Colonialism: Energy and Climate Justice in the Arab Region

Edited by Hamza Hamouchene and Katie Sandwell

The Arab region is a focus of world politics, with authoritarian regimes, significant fossil fuel reserves and histories of colonialism and imperialism. It is also the site of potentially immense green energy resources.

The writers in this collection explore a region ripe for energy transition, but held back by resource-grabbing and (neo)colonial agendas. They show the importance of fighting for a just energy transition and climate justice - exposing policies and practices that protect global and local political elites, multinational corporations and military regimes.

Covering a wide range of countries from Morocco, Western Sahara, Algeria and Tunisia to Egypt, Sudan, UAE, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Palestine, this book challenges Eurocentrism and highlights instead a class-conscious approach to climate justice that is necessary for our survival.

HAMZA HAMOUCHENE is a London-based Algerian researcher and activist. He is the North Africa Programme Coordinator at the Transnational Institute, and a founding member of Algeria Solidarity Campaign (ASC), Environmental Justice North Africa (EJNA) and the North African Food Sovereignty Network (NAFSN). He has written and edited several books including The Arab Uprisings: A Decade of Struggles and The Struggle for Energy Democracy in the Maghreb. His writings have appeared in Africa Is A Country, Guardian, Huffington Post, Middle East Eye, New Internationalist, Jadaliyya, openDemocracy and ROAR.

KATIE SANDWELL is a Programme Coordinator with the Transnational Institute. She has published on global food sovereignty movements, just transition and land struggles and is co-author of From Crisis to Transformation: What is Just Transition?
Israel is destroying both lives and livelihoods as it decimates the fertile lands of Palestine.

The perimeter around the occupied Gaza Strip is formed by a sophisticated system of fences, forts and surveillance technologies. With each Israeli incursion, a military no-go area, or a 'buffer zone', is established along Gaza's 'borders', extending deep into Palestinian residential areas and farmlands—further compounding the Gaza Strip's isolation from the rest of Palestine.

Since 2014, the bulldozing of Palestinian lands by the Israeli occupation forces has been complemented by unannounced aerial spraying of military herbicides, extending the reach of Israeli violence into the realm of chemical warfare. Today, the spraying has destroyed entire swaths of arable land in Gaza, forcibly changing a once-lush Palestinian landscape, and providing the Israeli army with better visibility to fire at Palestinian targets with lethal force from a distance.

This book is a vivid document of this latest stage of Israeli warfare, including original maps, images and visualisations which deepen our understanding of its environmental and human impact. It collects new documents, original archival materials, stills of drone footage, first-hand testimonies of farmers, organisers and protesters, and documents affected vegetation in Gaza as 'silent witnesses' to Israeli settler-colonial violence.

SHOURIDEH C. MOLAVI is a writer and scholar in political science and urban studies. She is the dedicated Palestine-Israel researcher at Forensic Architecture, an independent research agency based at Goldsmiths, University of London, and teaches in the Department of Urban Studies at the University of Basel in Switzerland. She is the author of Stateless Citizenship: The Palestinian-Arab Citizens of Israel.

EYAL WEIZMAN is an architect and the founding director of Forensic Architecture and Professor of Spatial and Visual Cultures at Goldsmiths, University of London. He is the author of over 15 books, including Hollow Land: Israel’s Architecture of Occupation.
Anarcho-Indigenism: Conversations on Land and Freedom

Edited by Francis Dupuis-Déri and Benjamin Pillet

Explores the possibilities that indigenous thought and traditions have for emancipatory, decolonial, feminist societies beyond the state

As early as the end of the 19th century, anarchists such as Peter Kropotkin and Élisée Reclus became interested in indigenous peoples, many of whom they saw as societies without a state or private property, living a form of communism. Contemporary thinkers such as David Graeber and John Holloway have continued this tradition of engagement with the practices of indigenous societies and their politics, while indigenous activists and intellectuals coined the term ‘anarcho-indigenism’, in reference to a long history of (often imperfect) collaboration between anarchists and indigenous activists, over land rights and environmental issues, including recent high profile anti-pipeline campaigns.

Anarcho-Indigenism is a dialogue between anarchism and indigenous politics. In their interviews, contributors Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, Véronique Hébert, Gord Hill, Freda Huson, J. Kéhaulani Kauanui, Clifton Ariwakehe Nicholas and Toghestiy reveal what indigenous thought and traditions and anarchism have in common, without denying the scars left by colonialism even within this anti-authoritarian movement. They ultimately offer a vision of the world that combines anti-colonialism, feminism, ecology, anti-capitalism and anti-statism.

FRANCIS DUPUIS-DÉRI is a Professor of Political Science and a member of the Institut de Recherches et d’études Féministes at the Université du Québec à Montréal. He has been active in anarchist-leaning collectives in Quebec, France and the United States. He is the author of several books such as Anarchy Explained to My Father, with his father Thomas Déri and Who’s Afraid of the Black Blocs?: Anarchy in Action Around the World.

BENJAMIN PILLET is a translator and community organiser. He holds a PhD in Political Thought from the Université du Québec à Montréal, Quebec and a MA in History and Political Theory from Sciences Po Paris, France. His research interests include settler colonial studies, decolonial theory and praxis, intercultural solidarity and critical race theory.

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Just Transformations:
Grassroots Struggles for Alternative Futures

Edited by Iokiñe Rodriguez, Leah Temper and Mariana Walter

The climate crisis is the greatest existential threat humanity faces today. The need for a radical societal transformation in the interests of social justice and ecological sustainability has never been greater. But where can we turn to find systemic alternatives?

From India, Turkey and Bolivia, to Venezuela, Canada and Lebanon, Just Transformations looks to local environmental struggles for the answers. With each case study grounded in the social movements and specific politics of the region in question, this volume investigates the role that resistance movements play in bringing about sustainable transformations, the strategies and tools they utilise to overcome barriers, and how academics and grassroots activists can collaborate effectively.

The book provides a toolkit for scholar-activists who want to build transformative visions with communities. Interrogating each case study for valuable lessons, the contributors develop a conceptualisation of a just transformation that emerges from the changes that communities themselves are trying to produce.

IOKIÑE RODRÍGUEZ is Senior Lecturer at the University of East Anglia. She is co-founder of Grupo Confluencias, a consortium of Latin American conflict transformation practitioners, researchers and institutions that work on platforms for deliberation, joint research and training in this area. She is a researcher in the ACKnowl-EJ project (Activist-academic Co-production of Knowledge for Environmental Justice).

LEAH TEMPER is an ecological economist, scholar-activist and filmmaker based at McGill University and the Autonomous University of Barcelona. She is the founder and co-director of the Global Atlas of Environmental Justice, and Research Associate for the Leadership for the Ecozoic program. She is currently Principle Investigator of the ACKnowl-EJ project.

MARIANA WALTER is a Political Ecologist and Ecological Economist based at the Institute of Sciences and Technologies of the Autonomous University of Barcelona. She is currently the Scientific Project Manager for the ACKnowl-EJ project.
This book explores the ways that social movements are important and overlooked laboratories of learning and sources of knowledge-making, drawing on the findings from a collaborative research project which took place in Turkey, Colombia, Nepal and South Africa.

It argues that social movements in the Global South, struggling in some of the most complex and conflict-affected contexts, can offer us exciting, innovative insights into the myriad of ways that movements learn and produce knowledge as they struggle for a better world.

These movements advocate for marginalised communities defending their basic rights to education, health, housing, life, dignity and equal treatment before the law, often fighting against state repression and violence. Learning from the inspiring frontline, grassroots movements are at the heart of the struggle for global social justice.

MARIO NOVELLI is Professor in the Political Economy of Education at the University of Sussex. TEJENDRA PHERALI is Professor of Education, Conflict and Peace at the IOE, UCL’s Faculty of Education and Society. BIRGUL KUTAN is a Lecturer and Researcher at the Centre for International Education, University of Sussex. ADNAN CELIK holds a PhD in Social Anthropology from EHESS, France and is a postdoctoral researcher at the Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities (KWI), Germany. PATRICK KANE holds a PhD from the University of Sussex, and is based in Cali, Colombia. He has published research on and engaged in international solidarity work with social movements, human rights and popular struggles in Colombia. SARANEL BENJAMIN is a development practitioner, and is currently the Co-Executive Director of Mama Cash. She has published work on social movements, housing issues and feminist struggles.
Audit Culture: How Indicators and Rankings are Reshaping the World

Cris Shore and Susan Wright

All aspects of our work and private lives are increasingly measured and managed. But how has this ‘audit culture’ arisen and what kind of a world is it producing?

Cris Shore and Susan Wright provide a timely account of the rise of the new industries of accounting, enumeration and ranking from an anthropological perspective, drawing on political economy, ethnographic observation and genealogical excavation. Audit Culture is the first book to systematically document and analyse these phenomena and their implications for democracy.

The book explores how audit culture operates across a wide range of fields, including health, higher education, NGOs, finance, the automobile industry and the military. The authors build a powerful critique of contemporary public sector management in an age of neoliberal market-making, privatisation and outsourcing. They conclude by offering a raft of suggested actions to reverse its damaging effects on communities, reclaim professional autonomy, and restore the democratic accountability that audit culture is systematically undermining.

CRIS SHORE is Professor of Social Anthropology at Goldsmiths University of London and Research Fellow at the Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Study. One of his recent publications is The Shapeshifting Crown, and he and Susan Wright are co-editors of the Anthropology of Policy book series for Stanford University Press.

SUSAN WRIGHT is Professor of Educational Anthropology at Aarhus University, Denmark. Her latest publication is Enacting the University. She is the co-editor of Death of the Public University? with Cris Shore.
The territory of Jammu and Kashmir is one of the most politically contested and heavily militarised spaces on the planet. It has long been presented as an 'internal dispute', mainly by India, in attempts to sustain power through the project of settler colonialism. In this context, Kashmiri voices are rarely heard and so the conflict remains little understood, with a resolution nowhere in sight.

In *Nuclear Flashpoint*, Farhan Chak reveals how the history, culture, identity and the will of the people of Kashmir has been deliberately obscured to suit ideological agendas. He explores six unique time frames in Kashmiri history - from ancient Kashmir, through the British Raj, to present day. Asking 'who is a Kashmiri?', Chak reviews major misconceptions and exposes how vested interests articulate and interpret them.

Chak shines a light on the long cycle of revolt that continues in resistance movements today, and asks us to reconsider Kashmir’s ongoing quest for independence.

**FARHAN MUJAHID CHAK** is the Secretary-General of Kashmir Civitas, an international civil society NGO committed to ending the military occupation of the disputed territory of Jammu and Kashmir. He is Associate Professor of Political Science and International Affairs and author of *Islam and Pakistan’s Political Culture*. 
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richardrobinsondesign.co.uk

Cover design by Melanie Patrick

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