Israel and Palestine

AVI SHLAIM

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“I only spoke because it was impossible to continue any longer in silence.” José Saramago
A unique journey into the personal and political world of the Nobel laureate and author of *Blindness*

**The Notebook**

**JOSÉ SARAMAGO**

Provocative and lyrical, *The Notebook* is a record of a year in the life of José Saramago. On the eve of the 2008 US presidential election, the author started jotting down his reflections on the world in which he lives. He evokes life in his beloved city of Lisbon, conversations with friends, and meditations on his favorite authors, often rendered with pointillist detail: precise observations on stories and moments of arresting significance that together comprise an acute view of our times. Characteristically critical and uncompromising, Saramago dissects the financial crisis, deplores Israel’s bombardment of Gaza, traces the ongoing inquiry into the execution of the Brazilian Jean Charles de Menezes on the London Underground, and charts the transition from the era of George W. Bush to that of Barack Obama. Available for the first time in English, *The Notebook* offers a rare glimpse into the mind of one of the most original writers of our time.

**JOSÉ SARAMAGO** is a Nobel laureate Portuguese novelist, playwright and journalist. His numerous books, including the bestselling *All the Names, Blindness*, and *The Cave*, have been translated into more than forty languages and have established him as one of the world’s most influential writers. He lives on Lanzarote in the Canary Islands, Spain.

“The most gifted novelist alive in the world today.” Harold Bloom

“Saramago is one of Europe’s most original and remarkable writers ... His writing is imbued with a spirit of comic inquiry, meditative pessimism and a quietly transforming energy that turns the indefinite into the unforgettable.” Richard Eder, *Los Angeles Times*

“Saramago is a writer, like Faulkner, so confident of his resources and ultimate destination that he can bring any improbability to life.” John Updike, *The New Yorker*

“In the craft of the sentence, José Saramago is one of the great originals. His prose is a voice that envelops all voices: it is like the universe’s immanent murmur ... No one writes quite like Saramago, so solicitous and yet so magnificently free.” Steven Poole, *Guardian*

“I’m hard pressed to think of another writer who makes me stop as Saramago does, to go back and discover the meaning of history or allegory in all its wild newness.” Julian Evans, *Financial Times*
“A lot of people look at Adam Gray’s story and say people who commit suicide are cowards or they don’t have, in the army lingo, ‘intestinal fortitude,’ ‘the hoorah’ or whatever. It’s exactly the opposite. Adam was the most gung-ho soldier I ever met in my entire life—the first guy to kick down a door. [But] I think he hated who he was when he was there. And I think he couldn’t deal with what he had done. And I still have trouble with that. It haunts me every day, and it’s something I’ll never get away from.”

Jonathan Millantz, far left, served with Adam Gray in Battalion 1-68 in Iraq. On April 3, 2009, Adam took his own life.
The legacy of torture in the “War on Terror,” told through the story of one tank battalion

None of Us Were Like This Before
How American Soldiers Turned to Torture

JOSHUA E. S. PHILLIPS

Sergeant Adam Gray made it home from a year’s tour in Iraq only to die in his barracks. For more than three years, reporter Joshua Phillips—with the support of Adam’s mother and the cooperation of his Army buddies—investigated Adam’s death. What Phillips uncovered was a story of American veterans psychologically scarred by the abuse they had meted out to Iraqi prisoners. How did US forces turn to torture? Phillips’s narrative recounts the journey of a tank battalion—trained for conventional combat—as its focus switches to guerrilla war and prisoner detention. It tells of how a group of ordinary soldiers, ill trained for the responsibilities foisted upon them, descended into the degradations of abuse. The location is far from CIA prisons and Guantánamo, but the story captures the widespread use and nature of torture in the US armed forces. Based on firsthand reporting from Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as interviews with soldiers, their families and friends, military officials, and the victims of torture, None of Us Were Like This Before reveals how soldiers, senior officials, and the US public came to believe that torture was both effective and necessary. The book illustrates that the damaging legacy of torture is not only borne by the detainees, but also by American soldiers and the country to which they’ve returned.

JOSHUA E. S. PHILLIPS is based in New York City and has reported from Asia and the Middle East. His work has appeared in the Washington Post, Newsweek, Salon, the San Francisco Chronicle, and the Atlanta Journal–Constitution, among other publications. His radio features have been broadcast on NPR and the BBC. In 2009, Phillips received the Newspaper Guild’s Heywood Broun Award of Substantial Distinction for his American Radio Works documentary What Killed Sergeant Gray.
TARIQ ALI

THE ISLAM QUINTET

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A Sultan in Palermo charts the lives and loves of a medieval cartographer torn between his desire to please the sultan and his allegiance to his friends.

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Night of the Golden Butterfly
Islam Quintet Volume 5

TARIQ ALI

Night of the Golden Butterfly concludes the Islam Quintet—Tariq Ali’s much lauded series of historical novels, translated into more than a dozen languages, that has been twenty years in the writing. Completing an epic panorama that began in fifteenth-century Moorish Spain, the latest novel moves between the cities of the twenty-first century, from Lahore to London, from Paris to Beijing. The narrator is rung one morning and reminded that he owes a debt of honour. The creditor is Mohammed Aflatun—known as Plato—an irascible but gifted painter living in a Pakistan where “human dignity has become a wreckage.” Plato, who once specialized in stepping back from the limelight, now wants his life story written. As the tale unravels we meet Plato’s London friend Alice Stepford, now a leading music critic in New York; Mrs. “Naughty” Latif, the Islamabad housewife whose fondness for generals leads her flight to the salons of intellectually fashionable Paris, where she is hailed as the Diderot of the Islamic world; and there’s Jindie, the Golden Butterfly of the title, the narrator’s first love. Interwoven with this chronicle of contemporary life is the turbulent history of Jindie’s family. Her great forebear, Dù Wénxiù, led a Muslim rebellion in Yunnan in the nineteenth century and ruled the region from his capital Dali for almost a decade, as Sultan Suleiman. Night of the Golden Butterfly reveals Ali in full flight, at once imaginative and intelligent, satirical and stimulating.

TARIQ ALI is a writer and filmmaker. He has written more than a dozen books on world history and politics, as well as scripts for the stage and screen. He is an editor of New Left Review and lives in London.

Praise for The Islam Quintet

“A richly woven tapestry that even before its completion merits comparison with Naguib Mahfouz’s Cairo trilogy.” Kirkus Reviews

“In choosing twelfth-century Sicily, when the island was at the height of its powers, where the harmony between Christians and Muslims guaranteed prosperity and brilliancy, Ali spins metaphors, re-establishes certain truths, shines a light on issues shrouded in ignorance.” Le Figaro

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The Eitingons
A Twentieth-Century Story
MARY-KAY WILMERS

Leonid Eitingon was a KGB assassin who dedicated his life to the Soviet regime. He was in China in the early 1920s, in Turkey in the late 1920s, in Spain during the Civil War, and, crucially, in Mexico, helping to organize the assassination of Trotsky. “As long as I live,” Stalin said, “not a hair of his head shall be touched.” It did not work out like that.

Max Eitingon was a psychoanalyst, a colleague, friend and protégé of Freud’s. He was rich, secretive and—through his friendship with a famous Russian singer—implicated in the abduction of a white Russian general in Paris in 1937.

Motty Eitingon was a New York fur dealer whose connections with the Soviet Union made him the largest trader in the world. Imprisoned by the Bolsheviks, questioned by the FBI. Was Motty everybody’s friend or everybody’s enemy?

Mary-Kay Wilmers, best known as the editor of the London Review of Books, began looking into aspects of her remarkable family twenty years ago. The result is a book of astonishing scope and thrilling originality that throws light into some of the darkest corners of the last century. At the center of the story stands the author herself—ironic, precise, searching, and stylish—wondering not only about where she is from, but about what she’s entitled to know.

MARY-KAY WILMERS is the editor of the London Review of Books, the largest-selling literary publication in Europe. She has written for the Listener, TLS and New Yorker.

April
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This essential new series features classic texts by key figures who took center stage during a period of insurrection. Each book is introduced by a major contemporary radical writer who shows how these incendiary words still have the power to inspire, to provoke and maybe to ignite new revolutions …

Tony Benn presents
GERRARD WINSTANLEY

THE LAW OF FREEDOM

“Those that buy and sell land, and are landlords, have got it either by oppression, or murder, or theft.” Gerrard Winstanley

At the end of the English Civil War, Gerrard Winstanley and his comrades, known as Diggers, went to St. George’s Hill, to farm the common land and to distribute the food for free amongst themselves. Winstanley’s extraordinary writings from this period have remained a huge influence for many on the Left and are cited as some of the earliest examples of communist thought. Legendary voice of the Left Tony Benn examines Winstanley’s work and argues that, as we face an ever greater enclosure of the commons, he can still inspire us to turn our world upside down.

Wu Ming presents
THOMAS MüNTZER

SERMON TO THE PRINCES

“Omnia sunt communia—all things are common.” Thomas Müntzer

The Reformation was originally an attack on a corrupt church, sparked by Martin Luther, but for some it did not go far enough. Thomas Müntzer, originally Luther’s protégé, became increasingly convinced that the Reformation needed to be a revolution. In 1524 he became one of the leaders in the Peasants’ War, where the revolution against the church expanded into a revolutionary attempt to realize the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth. Wu Ming, the collective of Italian authors who wrote the bestselling novel Q about the Radical Reformation under the name Luther Blissett, ask why Müntzer has inspired radicals for almost 500 years.

WU MING is the pseudonym for four Italian writers who are the authors of the novels 54, Manituana and Q.
Green Gone Wrong
The Broken Promise of the Eco-Friendly Economy

HEATHER ROGERS

Faced with the unprecedented threat of climate change, the contemporary world has turned to a solution that is all too prosaic—consumerism. The answer, we are told, is to “go green,” to buy organic food or even a new “clean” car. In a follow-up to her bestselling and acclaimed book Gone Tomorrow: The Hidden Life of Garbage, Heather Rogers travels from Paraguay to Indonesia, via the Hudson Valley, Detroit and London, to explore the rapid expansion of environmental production and consumption. We are, Rogers argues, coming to rely on consumerism as the solution to the very problems it has helped to cause.

Green Gone Wrong is an appeal to the reader to respond rationally to the current environmental crisis. It asks: What choices and structural forces led us to this perilous place? This book is founded on the belief that we have the capacity to find solutions that are not mere palliatives, but ways of engaging with how we live and what kind of world we want to live in.

HEATHER ROGERS is a journalist and filmmaker. Her documentary film Gone Tomorrow (2002) screened at festivals around the globe. Her writing has appeared in The Nation, Utne Reader, Z Magazine, the Brooklyn Rail, Punk Planet, and Art and Design. She lives in Brooklyn, New York.

Praise for Gone Tomorrow
“Proper journalism in book form.” Guardian

“Reads like a thriller.” Library Journal

“A clear-thinking and peppery writer, Rogers presents a galvanizing exposé of how we became the planet’s trash monsters ... [Gone Tomorrow] details everything that is wrong with today’s wasteful packaging, bogus recycling, and flawed landfills and incinerators ... Rogers exhibits black-belt precision.” Booklist
“The most dangerous philosopher in the West.”
Adam Kirsch, New Republic
Žižek analyzes the end of the world at the hands of the “four riders of the apocalypse”

Living in the End Times

SLAVOJ ŽIŽEK

There should no longer be any doubt: global capitalism is fast approaching its terminal crisis. Slavoj Žižek has identified the four horsemen of this coming apocalypse: the worldwide ecological crisis; imbalances within the economic system; the biogenetic revolution; and exploding social divisions and ruptures. But, he asks, if the end of capitalism seems to many like the end of the world, how is it possible for Western society to face up to the end times? In a major new analysis of our global situation, Slavok Žižek argues that our collective responses to economic Armageddon correspond to the stages of grief: ideological denial, explosions of anger and attempts at bargaining, followed by depression and withdrawal.

After passing through this zero-point, we can begin to perceive the crisis as a chance for a new beginning. Or, as Mao Zedong put it, “There is great disorder under heaven, the situation is excellent.” Slavoj Žižek shows the cultural and political forms of these stages of ideological avoidance and political protest, from New Age obscurantism to violent religious fundamentalism. Concluding with a compelling argument for the return of a Marxian critique of political economy, Žižek also divines the wellsprings of a potentially communist culture—from literary utopias like Kafka’s community of mice to the collective of freak outcasts in the TV series Heroes.

SLAVOJ ŽIŽEK is a Slovenian philosopher and cultural critic. He is a professor at the European Graduate School, International Director of the Birkbeck Institute for the Humanities, Birkbeck College, University of London, and a senior researcher at the Institute of Sociology, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia.

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For more titles by Slavoj Žižek see pages 40–41 and 47
The Punishment of Gaza

GIDEON LEVY

Israel's 2009 invasion of Gaza was a vicious act of aggression that left well over one thousand Palestinians dead and devastated the infrastructure of an already impoverished enclave. In this searching examination of Israel's policies, award-winning journalist Gideon Levy shows how the ground was prepared for the assault and documents its continuing effects. From 2005—the year of Gaza's "liberation"—through to 2009, he tracks Israel's abandonment of the pretense of diplomacy in favor of a policy of provocation and raw military power, with the ultimate aim of denying Palestinians any chance of forming their own independent state. Punished by Israel and the Quartet of international powers for the democratic election of Hamas, Gaza has been transformed into the world's largest open-air prison.

From Gazan families struggling to cope with the random violence of Israel's blockade and its "targeted" assassinations, to the machinations of legal experts and the continued connivance of the international community, every aspect of this ongoing tragedy is eloquently recorded and forensically analyzed. Levy's powerful journalism shows how the brutality at the heart of Israel's occupation of Palestine has found its most complete expression to date in the collective punishment of the residents of Gaza.

Described by *Le Monde* as a "thorn in Israel's flank", GIDEON LEVY is a prominent Israeli journalist. For over twenty years he has covered the Israel–Palestine conflict, in particular the occupation of Gaza and the West Bank, for the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* in his column “Twilight Zone.”
Rising inequality of income and power, along with the recent convulsions in the finance sector, have made the search for alternatives to unbridled capitalism more urgent than ever. Yet there has been a global retreat by the Left: on the assumption that liberal capitalism is the only game in town, political theorists tend to dismiss as utopian any attempt to rethink our social and economic relations. As Fredric Jameson first argued, it is now easier for us to imagine the end of the world than an alternative to capitalism.

Erik Olin Wright’s Envisioning Real Utopias is a comprehensive assault on the quietism of contemporary social theory. Building on a lifetime’s work analyzing the class system in the developed world, as well as exploring the problem of the transition to a socialist alternative, Wright has now completed a systematic reconstruction of the core values and feasible goals for Left theorists and political actors. Envisioning Real Utopias aims to put the social back into socialism, laying the foundations for a set of concrete, emancipatory alternatives to the capitalist system. Characteristically rigorous and engaging, this will become a landmark of social thought for the twenty-first century.

Erik Olin Wright is Vilas Distinguished Professor of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin. He is the editor of the Real Utopias series, which includes his Deepening Democracy (cowritten with Archon Fung), and is the author of many other books, including Class Counts, Interrogating Inequality, The Debate on Classes and Classes.
The key essays and texts on politics and history

Marx’s Political Writings

KARL MARX

Edited and introduced by David Fernbach

Karl Marx was not only the great theorist of capitalism, he was also a superb journalist, politician and historian. In these brand-new editions of Marx’s Political Writings we are able to see the depth and range of his mature work from 1848 through to the end of his life, from The Communist Manifesto to The Class Struggles in France and The Critique of the Gotha Programme. Each book has a new introduction from a major contemporary thinker, to shed new light on these vital texts.

KARL MARX studied law and philosophy at the universities of Bonn and Berlin, completing his doctorate in 1841. Expelled from Prussia in 1844, he took up residence first in Paris and then in London where, in 1867, he published his magnum opus Capital. A co-founder of the International Workingmen’s Association in 1864, Marx died in London in 1883.

The Revolutions of 1848

Political Writings Volume One

KARL MARX

Edited and introduced by DAVID FERNBACH
Preface by SHEILA ROWBOTHAM

Marx and Engels had sketched out the principles of scientific communism by 1846. Yet it was from his intense involvement in the abortive German Revolution of 1848 that Marx developed a depth of practical understanding he would draw on in Capital and throughout his later career. This volume includes his great call to arms—The Communist Manifesto—but also shows how tactical alliances with the bourgeoisie failed, after which Marx became firmly committed to independent workers’ organizations and the ideal of “permanent revolution.” The articles offer trenchant analyses of events in France, Poland, Prague, Berlin and Vienna, while speeches set out changing communist tactics. In a new introduction the major socialist feminist writer Sheila Rowbotham examines this period of Marx’s life and how it shaped his political perspective.
Surveys From Exile
Political Writings Volume Two

KARL MARX

Edited and introduced by DAVID FERNBACH
Preface by TARIQ ALI

In the 1850s and early 1860s Marx played an active part in politics, and his prolific journalism from London offered a constant commentary on all the main developments of the day. During this time Marx began to interpret the British political scene and express his considered views on Germany, Poland and Russia, the Crimean War and American Civil War, imperialism in India and China, and a host of other key issues. The Class Struggles in France develops the theories outlined in The Communist Manifesto into a rich and revealing analysis of contemporary events, while The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte contains equally stimulating reflections on Napoleon III’s coup d’etat of 1851. In a new introduction activist and writer Tariq Ali examines the texts that have become essential works in Marx’s canon.

May
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The First International and After
Political Writings Volume Three

KARL MARX

Edited and introduced by DAVID FERNBACH
Preface by DAVID HARVEY

The crucial texts of Marx’s later years—notably The Civil War in France and Critique of the Gotha Programme—count among his most important work. These articles include a searching analysis of the tragic but inspiring failure of the Paris Commune, as well as essays on German unification, the Irish question, the Polish national movement and the possibility of revolution in Russia. The founding documents of the First international and polemical pieces attacking the disciples of Proudhon and Bakunin and the advocates of reformism, by contrast, reveal a tactical mastery that has influenced revolutionary movements ever since. In a new introduction the renowned Marxist David Harvey sheds light on the evolution of Marx’s notions of democracy and politics.

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Michael Ignatieff
The Lesser Evil?

DERRICK O’KEEFE

Michael Ignatieff has been one of the more influential establishment intellectuals of the English-speaking world, and is likely to become Prime Minister of Canada. His official story is that of an ambitious, accomplished progressive politician and writer, whose work and thought fit within an enlightened political tradition valuing human rights and diversity. Here, Derrick O’Keefe argues otherwise. In this critical assessment of Ignatieff’s life and politics he reveals that Ignatieff’s human rights discourse has served to mask his opportunistic support for elite policies—he has even provided a philosophical justification for torture. Tracing the course of his career over the last thirty years, from his involvement in the battles between Thatcher and the coal miners in the 1980s, to the Balkan War, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Israel’s invasion of Gaza, O’Keefe suggests that Ignatieff and his political tradition have in fact stood in opposition to the extension of democracy and the pursuit of greater equality. *Michael Ignatieff: The Lesser Evil?* is a timely assessment of a man who has become a phenomenon, one that reveals a great deal about official politics in the West.

DERRICK O’KEEFE is a Canadian writer and social justice activist. He is the editor of *rabble.ca*, a popular website featuring progressive news and analysis. He has written widely on Canadian and international politics, and is the cowriter, with Afghan politician Malalai Joya, of *A Woman Among Warlords.*
Major new exploration of the women who revolutionized American and British life, by renowned feminist historian

Dreamers of a New Day
Women Who Invented the Twentieth Century

SHEILA ROWBOTHAM

From the 1880s to the 1920s, a profound social awakening among women extended the possibilities of change far beyond the struggle for the vote. Amid the growth of globalized trade, mass production, immigration and urban slums, American and British women broke with custom and prejudice. Taking off corsets, forming free unions, living communally, buying ethically, joining trade unions, doing social work in settlements, these “dreamers of a new day” conceived new ways of arranging daily life from childcare to industrial relations. In the process they challenged ideas about sexuality, mothering, housework, the economy and citizenship. Forming broad coalitions and movements with strong transatlantic links, both radicals and reformers were overturning assumptions about “everyday life” long before it came to be theorized in the 1960s. Drawing on a wealth of research, Sheila Rowbotham has written a groundbreaking new history that shows how women created much of the fabric of modern life. These innovative dreamers raised questions that remain at the forefront of our twenty-first-century lives.

SHEILA ROWBOTHAM is Professor of Gender and Labour History at the University of Manchester, and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts. Her many books include, most recently, the James Tait Black–shortlisted Edward Carpenter: A Life of Liberty and Love. She has written for, among other newspapers, the Guardian, The Times, the Independent, the New Statesman, and the New York Times.

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“One of the best political biographies for many years. It is not just a book about the past; it’s bursting with ideas that remain relevant to the future of humanity.” Peter Tatchell, Observer Books of the Year

“A powerful and entertaining biography. It reads beautifully.” Jeanette Winterson, The Times

“Magnificent ... definitive.” Tristram Hunt, Observer
The Necessity of Art

ERNST FISCHER

With an introduction by JOHN BERGER
Translated by Anna Bostock

“Art is necessary in order that man should be able to recognize and change the world. But art is also necessary by virtue of the magic inherent in it.”

Ernst Fischer

Reissued with an introduction by John Berger, The Necessity of Art is a beautifully written meditation on art’s importance in viewing the world in which we live. In this wide-ranging and erudite exploration of literary and fine art, Fischer looks at the relationship between art and social reality, arguing that truthful art must both reflect reality in all its flaws and imperfections, and help show how change and improvement might be brought about. With his emphasis on the individual’s need to engage with society, his rejection of rampant consumerism and hypertechnology, and his emphasis on hope, this radical, affirmative and humane vision of the artistic endeavor remains as timely today as when it was first published sixty years ago.

Born in Austria, ERNST FISCHER (1899–1972) studied philosophy before working as a newspaper editor, radio commentator, and writer; in the years after World War Two he became a leading cultural commentator. His books include Art Against Ideology.

“People have always needed art: but why have they needed it? And what shaped the forms whereby they satisfied their need? Fischer’s answers to these questions should be voraciously studied and debated.”

Kenneth Tynan

June
Art
256 pages • 5.5 x 8.25 inches
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CQ 36
Emerging British public intellectual with an eloquent exploration of the public’s exclusion from political participation

**Public Enemies**
How the Elite Stole Democracy and How We Can Take it Back

**DAN HIND**

Our politicians have ever-decreasing legitimacy, our financiers—their huge corporate risks underwritten by the taxpayer—are literally and morally bankrupt. All this is done in our name, the public, yet we seem to have no genuine say in decision-making and no power to effect change. Why not? Hind traces how, historically, political and intellectual elites constructed a deeply ambiguous idea of the public, one designed to serve their own ends and preserve the status quo. After the Second World War, as democratization by previously marginalized groups—women, ethnic minorities, the young—presented new challenges to the establishment, governments made fresh attempts to exclude them from genuine political participation, invoking the arcane expertise of economists and the mystic qualities of nationalism, fueled by a compliant mass media. For decades, the public has been told to leave democracy to the experts. Now, Hind outlines a way forward for a new participatory politics, one based on a wholesale reform of the media. After the failure of the private, now is the time for the return of the public.

**DAN HIND** was a publisher for ten years. In 2009 he left the industry to develop a program of media reform centered around public commissioning. His journalism has appeared in the *Guardian, New Scientist, Lobster* and the *Times Literary Supplement*. His first book, *The Threat to Reason*, was published by Verso in 2007.

**ALSO AVAILABLE**

*The Threat to Reason*
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Praise for *The Threat to Reason*

“Fine, lucid and sharp ... well written and worth reading before the next wave of western tanks crosses a border, somewhere in the Middle East.” Rod Liddle, *The Sunday Times*

“In this elegant polemical essay, Dan Hind rightly quibbles with the supposedly Manichean tussle between the guarantors of the Enlightenment in the West and everyone else.”

James Harkin, *Independent*

“A thoughtful polemic.” *Financial Times*
Master philosopher and cultural theorist tackles the founder of modern dialectics

The Hegel Variations
On the Phenomenology of Spirit

FREDRIC JAMESON

In this major new study, the philosopher and cultural theorist Fredric Jameson offers a new reading of Hegel’s foundational text the Phenomenology of Spirit.

In contrast to those who see the Phenomenology as a closed system ending with Absolute Spirit, Jameson’s reading presents an open work in which Hegel has not yet reconstituted himself in terms of a systematic philosophy (Hegelianism) and in which the moments of the dialectic and its levels have not yet been formalized. Hegel’s text executes a dazzling variety of changes on conceptual relationships, in terms with are never allowed to freeze over and become reified in purely philosophical named concepts. The ending, on the aftermath of the French Revolution, is interpreted by Jameson, contra Fukuyama’s “end of history,” as a provisional stalemate between the political and the social, which is here extrapolated to our own time.

FREDRIC JAMESON is the Distinguished Professor of Comparative Literature at Duke University. He is the author of many books, including Postmodernism, Or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism, A Singular Modernity, The Modernist Papers, Archaeologies of the Future, Ideologies of Theory and Valences of the Dialectic.

“Fredric Jameson is America's leading Marxist critic. A prodigiously energetic thinker whose writings sweep majestically from Sophocles to science fiction.” Terry Eagleton

“Probably the most important cultural critic writing in English today ...
It can be truly said that nothing cultural is alien to him.” Colin MacCabe

Praise for Postmodernism, Or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism
“One of the most persuasive cognitive maps of the evolution of culture in the West in the period from the mid-twentieth century to the present day.” J. M. Coetzee

“For anybody hoping to understand not just the cultural but the political and social implications of postmodernism Jameson’s book is a fundamental, nonpareil text.” Gilbert Adair, Sunday Times

For more titles by Fredric Jameson see page 38
NEW IN PAPERBACK

The Thin Blue Line
How Humanitarianism Went to War
CONOR FOLEY

An acclaimed exploration of humanitarianism’s emergence as a multibillion-dollar industry that has played a leading role in defining international crises, and shaping the foreign policy of Western governments and the United Nations. Drawing on his own experience as an aid worker in over a dozen conflict and post-conflict zones, Conor Foley shows how the growing influence of international law has been used to override the sovereignty of the poorest countries in the world.

A humanitarian aid worker, CONOR FOLEY has been employed by a variety of human rights and humanitarian organizations, including Liberty, Amnesty International and the UNHCR.

“Fascinating and important ... rigorous and nuanced.” Stephen Poole, Guardian

“Poised to influence debate ... Foley’s treatment of the court’s legal issues is informed and direct.” New York Times Book Review

NEW IN PAPERBACK

After the Party
Corruption, the ANC and South Africa’s Uncertain Future
ANDREW FEINSTEIN

After the Party is an explosive account of the power struggles currently dominating South African politics, and a crucial analysis of the ANC’s record in power. With an insider’s account of the events surrounding the contentious trial of ANC President Jacob Zuma, it is the most important book on South Africa since the end of apartheid.

ANDREW FEINSTEIN is a former ANC member of parliament. He has written extensively for the Guardian and the New York Times, among other publications, and is a regular commentator on the BBC, Sky News, Al Jazeera and CNN.

“For those contemplating a first journey into the murky world of South African politics, there can be few better guides than Andrew Feinstein.” Independent

“A searing close-up portrait of the corrupting force of power” Los Angeles Times
1775—The conflict between the British Empire and the American colonies erupts in all-out war. Rebels and loyalists to the British Crown compete for an alliance with the Six Nations of the Iroquois, the most powerful Indian confederation, boasting a constitution hundreds of years old. In the Mohawk River Valley, Native Americans and colonists have coexisted for generations. But as the thunder of war approaches and the nascent United States struggles violently to be born, old bonds are broken, friends and families are split by betrayal and this mixed community is riven by hatred and resentment. To save his threatened world, the Mohawk war chief Joseph Brant makes a painful decision. Setting off with a group of warriors, he leaves the only land he has ever known in a journey that will take him from New York to the salons of Georgian London at the heart of the British Empire, knowing that the road back will be paved with war.

**NEW IN PAPERBACK**

**Manituana**  
**WU MING**

Translated by SHAUN WHITESIDE

WU MING are a collective of Italian fiction writers, founded in Bologna in January 2000. Their books include the bestselling novel *Q*, published under their previous pseudonym, Luther Blissett, and the Cold War thriller *54*. Their website is www.wumingfoundation.com and *Manituana*'s fully interactive website is www.manituana.com.
Bestselling new analysis of Jewish history by leading Israeli historian

NEW IN PAPERBACK

The Invention of the Jewish People

SHLOMO SAND

Translated by Yael Lotan

Demolishing the myths and taboos that have surrounded Jewish and Israeli history, *The Invention of the Jewish People* offers a new account of both that demands to be read and reckoned with. Was there really a forced exile in the first century at the hands of the Romans? Should we regard the Jewish people, throughout two millennia, as both a distinct ethnic group and a putative nation—returned at last to its Biblical homeland?

Shlomo Sand argues that most Jews actually descend from converts, whose native lands were scattered far across the Middle East and Eastern Europe. The formation of a Jewish people and then a Jewish nation out of these disparate groups could only take place under the sway of a new historiography, developing in response to the rise of Western nationalism. An iconoclastic work of history, *The Invention of the Jewish People* proposes a bold analysis of nationalism that accounts for the old myths, and provides the intellectual foundations for a new vision of Israel’s future.

SHLOMO SAND studied history at the University of Tel Aviv and at the École des hautes études en sciences sociales, in Paris. He currently teaches contemporary history at the University of Tel Aviv. His other books include *L’Illusion du politique: Georges Sorel et le débat intellectuel 1900*, *Georges Sorel en son temps*, *Le XXe siècle à l’écran* and *Les Mots et la terre: les intellectuels en Israël*.

“Shlomo Sand has written a remarkable book. In cool, scholarly prose he has, quite simply, normalized Jewish history. Anyone interested in understanding the contemporary Middle East should read this book.” Tony Judt

“One of the most fascinating and challenging books published here in a long time.”

Tom Segev, *Ha’aretz*
NEW UPDATED EDITION

Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Lacan but Were Afraid to Ask Hitchcock

EDITED BY SLAVOJ ŽIŽEK

Hitchcock gets onto the analyst’s couch in this extraordinary volume of case studies. The contributors bring to bear an unrivalled enthusiasm and theoretical sweep on the entire Hitchcock oeuvre, from *Rear Window* to *Psycho*, which is shown to be an exemplary source of postmodern defamiliarization. Starting from the premise that “everything has meaning,” the authors analyze the films’ ostensible narrative content and formal procedures to discover a rich proliferation of ideological and psychic mechanisms at work. But Hitchcock is also a bait to lure the reader into a serious Marxist and Lacanian exploration of the construction of meaning. An extraordinary landmark in Hitchcock studies, this edition features a brand new essay by Slavoj Žižek.

SLAVOJ ŽIŽEK is a professor at the European Graduate School, International Director of the Birkbeck Institute for the Humanities, Birkbeck College, London, and a senior researcher at the Institute of Sociology, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia.

NEW IN PAPERBACK

The Meaning of Sarkozy

ALAIN BADIOU

“Magnificently stirring ... a characteristically lucid polemic from a philosopher who is far from willing to abandon humanity to the vicissitudes of so-called global capitalism.” Mark Fisher, *Frieze*

“In the tradition of revolutionary pamphleteering.” Michael Cronin, *Irish Times*

“Compelling ... He deconstructs, with languid, sarcastic ferocity, the notion that ‘France chose Sarkozy’ ... a very French piece of political venom.” Rafael Behr, *Observer*

“Incisive, incredibly readable and funny critique.” Christopher Bickerton, *Le Monde Diplomatique*

“Heir to Jean-Paul Sartre and Louis Althusser ... a thundering, rallying tirade.” Lucy Wadham, *New Statesman*

ALAIN BADIOU teaches philosophy at the École normale supérieure and the Collège international de philosophie in Paris. In addition to several novels, plays and political essays, he has published a number of major philosophical works. He lives in Paris, France.
The Communist Hypothesis

ALAIN BADIOU

“We know that communism is the right hypothesis. All those who abandon this hypothesis immediately resign themselves to the market economy, to parliamentary democracy—the form of state suited to capitalism—and to the inevitable and ‘natural’ character of the most monstrous inequalities.” Alain Badiou

Alain Badiou’s formulation of the “communist hypothesis” has traveled around the world since it was first aired in early 2008, in his book The Meaning of Sarkozy. The hypothesis is partly a demand to reconceptualize communism after the twin deaths of the Soviet Union and neoliberalism, but also a fresh demand for universal emancipation. As “third way” reforms prove as empty in practice as in theory, Badiou’s manifesto is a galvanizing call to arms that needs to be reckoned with by anyone concerned with the future of our planet.

ALAIN BADIOU teaches philosophy at the École normale supérieure and the Collège international de philosophie in Paris. In addition to several novels, plays and political essays, he has published a number of major philosophical works, including Theory of the Subject, Being and Event, Manifesto for Philosophy, and Gilles Deleuze. His four recent books Meaning of Sarkozy, Ethics, Metapolitics and Polemics are available from Verso.

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Pbk • $11.99/£15.95/$20CAN
Ernest Gellner
An Intellectual Biography

JOHN A. HALL

Ernest Gellner (1925–95) was one of the last great thinkers from Central Europe to be condemned by his Jewish background to experience the worst horrors of the twentieth century. He was a multilingual polymath, able to set the agenda in the study of nationalism and the sociology of Islam. His intellectual trajectory differed from that of similar thinkers both in producing a highly integrated philosophy of modernity and in combining a respect for nationalism with an appreciation of the power of modern science. In this definitive biography, particular attention is paid to his Prague roots, and to debates with Michael Oakeshott, Isaiah Berlin, Charles Taylor, Noam Chomsky, Edward Said, and many others.

JOHN A. HALL is the James McGill Professor of Comparative Historical Sociology at McGill University in Montreal. His previous books include Powers and Liberties, Liberalism, Coercion and Consent, International Orders, and (with Charles Lindholm) Is America Breaking Apart? He taught at the Central European University in the early 1990s, when Gellner had returned to Prague, and gained an appreciation at that time of his background in Central Europe.

The Coming of the Body

HERVÉ JUVIN

In this startling new work, Hervé Juvin argues that the demographic transformation of the West, with the spectacular extension of life expectancy over the twentieth century, has given birth to a new body—a machine for pleasure that is an end to itself, conquering need, suffering and time. But Juvin’s central message turns on a sinister paradox: what communism set out to do, and disastrously failed to achieve, capitalism is in the process of realizing—and democracy will offer no protection. The wildest of all the utopian dreams of past revolutions is now taking shape before our eyes: the discredited messianic notion that humanity can be recreated in a new form is finally being realized.

HERVÉ JUVIN is President and founder of Eurogroup Institute and is the author of a number of books on economics, finance and management. He was a columnist for Le Monde and now regularly contributes to L’Expansion and Enjeux/Les Echos. His last book was La Production du Monde.

“The Coming of the Body belongs to another genre: the philosophical essay, illustrated with an abundance of striking data, and delivered with an intellectual mordancy and crisp literary éclat that remain, even today, peculiarly French.”

Perry Anderson, New Left Review
On Torture and the Death of Justice

GARETH PEIRCE

The Obama administration, under some pressure from its antiwar base, has begun to release carefully selected evidence concerning the widespread use of torture in the “War on Terror.” In a set of devastating essays, Gareth Peirce argues that there needs to be a similar accounting of the British government’s activities. Exploring the few cases that have come to light, such as those of Guantánamo detainees Shafiq Rasul and Binyam Mohamed, Peirce argues that they are evidence of a deeply entrenched culture of impunity toward the new suspect community in the UK—British Muslim nationals and residents. Peirce shows how the British New Labour government has colluded in a whole range of extrajudicial activities—rendition, internment without trial, torture—and has gone to extraordinary lengths to conceal its actions: its devices for maintaining secrecy are probably more deep-rooted than those of any other comparable democracy. If the British government continues along this path, it will destroy much of the moral and legal fabric it claims to be protecting.

The radical solicitor GARETH PEIRCE represents individuals who are or have been the subject of rendition and torture, held in prisons in the UK on the basis of secret evidence, and interned in secret prisons abroad under regimes that continue to practice torture. Her many clients have included the Birmingham Six, Judith Ward, the family of Jean Charles de Menezes, and Moazzam Begg. She lives in London.
Striking account of the European Left in the twentieth century by one of its main protagonists

The Comrade From Milan

ROSSANA ROSSANDA

Translated by Romy Clark

Rossana Rossanda is one of the most important and influential intellectuals on the European Left, and was one of its key figures in the second half of the twentieth century. Born in 1924, by 1943 she was immersed in the Italian Resistance movement. After the war she rose quickly through the ranks of the Communist Party, becoming editor of its weekly paper and a member of parliament. Inspired by the radicalization of the late 1960s, she became a party dissident. She moved further away from party lines after the invasion of Czechoslovakia, helping to found the legendary periodical Il Manifesto. After being expelled from the PCI in 1969, she became a major reference point for the New Left in Italy and in Europe more widely.

In this beautifully written memoir, which was greeted with literary acclaim in Italy, Rossanda recounts in a cool and trenchant manner the course she traveled through these stormy and decisive years, never stooping to sentimentality or bien-pensant rhetoric. From her uniquely privileged perspective, we gain a fascinating insight into the history of fascism, communism, postwar reconstruction and the stirrings of the revolts that were to shake Europe through the 60s and 70s.

ROSSANA ROSSANDA is a regular contributor to Il Manifesto and New Left Review. She is the author of numerous books, including Brigade rosse. Una storia italiana.

“Rossanda’s autobiography is the best book of the year.” La Stampa

“Honest and painful ... party, relationships, victories and, most of all, defeats compose a memorable fresco and a precious testimony.” La Repubblica

“A beautiful book, full of poetic pages, written in an elegant and evocative Italian reminiscent of Natalia Ginzburg.” Corriere della Sera

“For nearly four decades, Rossanda has been Manifesto’s most individual editorialist and commentator ... a unique signature in the Italian press.” New Left Review
NEW UPDATED EDITION

Uneven Development
Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space
Third Edition with a New Afterword

NEIL SMITH

In Uneven Development, a classic in its field, Neil Smith offers the first full theory of uneven geographical development, expanding on established ideas regarding space and nature and combining these with a critique of capitalist economics. In his groundbreaking analyses of the production of nature and the politics of scale, Smith anticipated many of the asymmetrical contours that now mark neoliberal globalization.

NEIL SMITH is Distinguished Professor of Anthropology and Geography at the City University of New York and serves as Director for the Center for Place, Culture, and Politics.

“Smith provides a brilliant formulation of how the production of a particular kind of nature and space under historical capitalism is essential to the unequal development of a landscape that integrates poverty with wealth.” Edward Said

NEW EDITION

All That Is Solid Melts Into Air
The Experience of Modernity

MARSHALL BERMAN

Marshall Berman’s All That Is Solid Melts Into Air is widely acclaimed as one of the greatest books on modernity. A kaleidoscopic journey into the experiences of modernization, the dizzying social changes that swept millions of people into the capitalist world, it dexterously interweaves an exploration of modernism in art, literature, and architecture.

MARSHALL BERMAN is Distinguished Professor of Political Science at City College of New York and the CUNY Graduate Center. He writes frequently for The Nation and The Village Voice, and serves on the editorial board of Dissent. His books include Adventures in Marxism, The Politics of Authenticity and, most recently, On the Town, all from Verso.

Praise for All That Is Solid Melts Into Air
“A bubbling cauldron of ideas.” New Statesman
“A visionary work.” Village Voice
“Berman lights up every text he examines.” Newsweek
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“John Berger has found a voice perfectly fitted to express an emotional sincerity quite rare in fiction at the moment” Ursula le Guin, Guardian

“This is a book of controlled rage sculpted with tools of tenderness and a searing political vision.” Arundhati Roy on From A to X

“One of the most tender and poignant books I have read for many years. Its power rests in its economy of means, its account of enduring love surviving oppression.” Harold Pinter

“The record of one restless, committed, brilliant consciousness; a late showcase of a mind and sensibility of astonishing range and depth.” Melissa Benn, Independent

Storyteller, novelist, essayist, screenwriter, dramatist and critic, John Berger is one of the most internationally influential writers of the last fifty years. His body of work has explored the relationships between the individual and society, culture and politics and experience and expression in a series of works unmatched in their diversity, ambition and reach. Now, Verso is making available as new editions two acclaimed early novels, beautifully repackaged, both of which in their different ways embody Berger’s concern for, in Geoff Dyer’s words, “the enduring mystery of great art and the lived experience of the oppressed.”

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In Hiding
The Life of Manuel Cortés

RONALD FRASER

Manuel Cortés was a Socialist Party member, an activist in the peasant reform movement and an organizer in the farm workers’ unionization struggles. He also became mayor of Malaga, where he was caught up in the ferment of revolutionary Spain in the late 1930s. A marked man, he evaded Franco’s execution squads to survive in hiding through a generation of persecution and terror until amnesty was decreed in 1969—a period of thirty years. With his wife and daughter, he made several attempts to escape to France or emigrate through the port of Barcelona, but circumstances always conspired to prevent his escape. In this absorbing narrative, based on numerous interviews with the mayor conducted by the author, a master of oral history, Cortés’s incredible ordeal is supplemented by his family’s life histories and experiences during the Civil War.

Praise for Napoleon’s Cursed War
“In the mountain of books about that war there cannot be another so brief and yet so complete, so unguarded and yet so subtle, so movingly human as this.”
Arthur Miller, New York Times

NEW EDITION

In Search of a Past

RONALD FRASER

Ronald Fraser is an internationally renowned chronicler of other people’s experience. In Search of a Past is his remarkable account of his own origins. Born in Hamburg in 1930, he settled in the Home Counties at three years of age with his wealthy American mother and Scots father to enter the life of the energetically idle rich. Their new existence centered on fox-hunting, shooting and entertaining. Gathering the memories of the servants who worked at the Manor House during his childhood, the author first recreates a vivid picture of a vanished interwar world. Sensitive recorded, their words portray the texture of “county” life as seen from below—woven into a background of their personal lives, their work and the social antagonisms they experienced.

RONALD FRASER is the leading oral historian of twentieth-century Spain. He is the author of several books, including Blood of Spain and Napoleon’s Cursed War.

“A remarkably honest and revealing study—like a fiction, it recreates a past world; yet this one is unmistakably real.” John Fowles

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NEW IN PAPERBACK

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JORDAN GOODMAN

In September 1910, the human rights activist and anti-imperialist Roger Casement arrived in the Amazon to investigate reports of widespread human rights abuses in the vast forests stretching along the Putumayo River. Fresh from documenting the scarcely imaginable atrocities perpetrated by King Leopold in the Congo, Casement uncovered an appalling catalogue of abuse: nearly 30,000 Indians had died to produce 4,000 tonnes of rubber. Jordan Goodman recounts a crime against humanity that history has almost forgotten, but whose exposure in 1912 sent shockwaves around the world. Drawing on a wealth of original research, The Devil and Mr Casement is a story of colonial exploitation and corporate greed with enormous contemporary resonance.

JORDAN GOODMAN’s books include The Rattlesnake: A Voyage of Discovery to the Coral Sea. He is an Honorary Research Associate at the Department of Science and Technology Studies, University College London.

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Frames of War
When Is Life Grievable?

JUDITH BUTLER

In this urgent response to violence, racism and increasingly dominant methods of coercion, Judith Butler explores the media’s portrayal of state violence, a process integral to how the West engages in war. She calls for a reconceptualization of the Left, one united in opposition and resistance to the illegitimate and arbitrary effects of state violence.

JUDITH BUTLER is Maxine Elliot Professor of Rhetoric and Comparative Literature at the University of California, Berkeley. She is the author of many books, including Giving an Account of Oneself, Precarious Life, and Gender Trouble.

“Judith Butler is the most creative and courageous social theorist writing today. Frames of War is an intellectual masterpiece that weds a new understanding of being, immersed in history, to a novel Left politics that focuses on State violence, war and resistance.” Cornel West

ALSO AVAILABLE

Precarious Life

In this wide-ranging and incisive collection, Peter Gowan traces the contours of the world order that emerged after the end of the Cold War and assesses its prospects in the light of the global economic downturn. Arguing that the present inter-state system was shaped from the outset by Washington’s drive to maintain its status as global hegemon, Gowan dissects several cherished myths of the liberal mainstream, offering a radical counter-history of the UN and a sharp critique of the West’s interventions in the Balkans. He provides a forceful response to advocates of a new cosmopolitanism, and engages with neo-realist theories of international relations—asking whether the US invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan have resulted in a crisis for their visions of American power, and discussing what the lineaments of a future order might be.

**PETER GOWAN** (1946–2009) taught international relations for many years at London Metropolitan University. He was the author of *The Global Gamble*, co-editor of *The Question of Europe*, cofounder of the journal *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe* and a longstanding member of the editorial board of *New Left Review*.

**Praise for Peter Gowan**

“One of the most formidable intellects among young radicals from the 1960s New Left.” Misha Glenny

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ROBIN BLACKBURN teaches at the Graduate Faculty of the New School University, New York, and in the Sociology Department of the University of Essex. He is the author of The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776–1848 and, most recently, Age Shock.

Praise for The Making of New World Slavery
“An magnificent work of contemporary scholarship.” Eric Foner, The Nation

“Sombre, dark and masterly.” Linda Colley, Independent on Sunday

“An exhaustive, powerfully written and compelling book.” Anthony Pagden, Times Literary Supplement
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LUCIEN FEBVRE AND HENRI-JEAN MARTIN

The emergence of the book was an event of world historical importance, and heralded the dawning of modernity. In this much praised history of that momentous process, Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin mesh together economic and technological history, sociology and anthropology, with the study of modes of consciousness to root the development of printing in the changing social relations and ideological struggles of Western Europe.

LUCIEN FEBVRE, who died in 1956, was cofounder of the influential journal Annales, and is widely recognized as one of the foremost historians of the twentieth century. HENRI-JEAN MARTIN is a distinguished historian of the development of early printing.

“It ranks easily among the most consequential works of recent French scholarship.” Times Literary Supplement

“It is one of the most exciting scholarly books ever written on printing ... This book is serious work—marvellously rich and stimulating.”
Hugh Trevor-Roper, Sunday Times

The Persistence of the Old Regime
Europe to the Great War
ARNO MAYER

In this classic work which analyzes the context in which thirty years of war and revolution wracked the European continent, the great historian Arno Mayer emphasizes the backwardness of the European economies and their political subjugation by aristocratic elites and their allies. Mayer turns upside down the vision of societies marked by modernization and forward-thrusting bourgeois and popular social classes, thereby transforming our understanding of the traumatic crises of the early twentieth century.

ARNO MAYER is Professor Emeritus of European History at Princeton University. His many books include The Furies: Violence and Terror in the French and Russian Revolutions, Plowshares into Swords: From Zionism to Israel and Why Did the Heavens Not Darken? The “Final Solution” in History.

“A seminal book—extremely challenging. The historical and political implications of the ‘Mayer thesis’ will be widely discussed in years to come—certainly not only by specialists.” Carlo Ginzburg
Fredric Jameson is Distinguished Professor of Comparative Literature at Duke University. The author of numerous books, he has over the last three decades developed a richly nuanced vision of Western culture’s relation to political economy. In 2008 he won the Holberg International Memorial Prize.

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