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LeftWord



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We are currently working to make (almost) the entirety of the LeftWord catalog available through 1804 Books, but for now, you can see available titles in the following pages. We will update this catalog as more titles are added.

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1804 Books is a not-for-profit press and bookstore based in New York City at The People's Forum. It takes its name from the year of the Haitian Revolution when the Haitian people overthrew colonialism and white supremacy, making the dream of liberation a reality. We publish books from and for all those who fight for a world free from oppression and exploitation. View our complete catalog at **go.1804books.com/press**.

About LeftWord Books

LeftWord Books is a New Delhi-based publishing house that seeks to reflect the views of the left in India and South Asia. They publish critical and analytical works that project the interests of working people and movements for social transformation, with attention to works on Marxist theory.

About the International Union of Left Publishers

Formed in 2020, the <u>International Union of Left Publishers</u> emerged as a platform of left publishers to promote left books through Red Books Day (21 February), to defend left authors, publishers, and bookshops, and to develop a copyleft method of sharing books across our countries and languages.

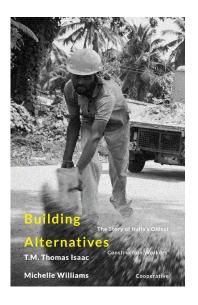
Currently available titles

Building Alternatives

The Story of India's Oldest Construction Workers' Cooperative

T.M. Thomas Isaac

Retail \$21 / Wholesale \$14.70



The Uralungal Labour Contract Cooperative Society (ULCCS) in northern Kerala is a remarkable institution, founded as part of the early 20th century anti-caste movement. The Cooperative's raison d'être – as enshrined in its bylaws – is to 'promote the economic interests of the labourers of the Society'. Despite ups and downs over its 90-year history, the ULCCS is a highly successful cooperative, both in terms of its profitability and in its enhancing the lives of its worker-owners. This, despite the neoliberal policies that have suffocated much economic activity that lies outside of monopoly capitalism's interests.

Building Alternatives provides an honest appraisal of a heroic venture of a cooperative enterprise, demonstrating that cooperatives are not only able to survive in a small niche, but are able to grow into substantial institutions within the social life of a region. The book does not gloss over the problems that come with this history, providing a rich empirical account that helps us learn from the challenges and successes. The story of ULCCS is not merely an inspiration to the world, but a guidebook to the resilience of cooperatives as alternatives within capitalism.

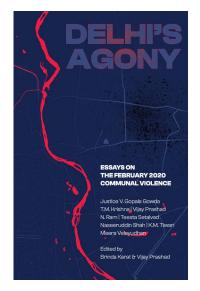
T.M. THOMAS ISAAC is Distinguished Honorary Fellow at the Gulati Institute of Finance and Taxation, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala. He served as Minister of Finance of Kerala for two terms, from 2006 to 2011, and from 2016 to 2021. Previously, during his tenure as a member of the Kerala State Planning Board, he was in charge of the People's Plan Campaign. He is the author of numerous books in Malayalam and English.

Delhi's Agony

Edited by Brinda Karat & Vijay Prashad

With contributions from Justice V. Gopala Gowda, T.M. Krishna, Vijay Prashad, N. Ram, Teesta Setalvad, Naseeruddin Shah, K.M. Tiwari, Meera Velayudhan

Retail \$10 / Wholesale \$7



There was terrible violence in North East Delhi in the last days of February 2020. Fifty-four people were killed, many were wounded, and a large number of people lost their livelihoods. No one denies the fact of the violence. What is disputed is who is responsible for the violence and how the violence must be described.

In nine sharp and insightful essays, leading writers, activists, artists, journalists, and a jurist analyse the course of events, fix culpability, diagnose the condition of our republic, and reflect on larger questions of history and culture which have brought us where we are.

This volume also contains a detailed fact-finding report on the violence, which shows that these events were triggered by the political agenda of the RSS/BJP; in particular the BJP's losses in the Delhi elections, its determination to put an end to the anti-CAA protests, and to teach all dissenters, and minorities in particular, a lesson. The aim was also to demonize the anti-CAA protests and criminalize all protests. To call the political violence of February 2020 anything other than a pogrom is to misunderstand what happened.

Delhi's Agony significantly increases our knowledge and understanding of the forces of Hindutva that are inimical to the interests of India.

BRINDA KARAT is a Polit Bureau member of the Communist Party of India (Marxist). She wrote the Introduction to the LeftWord edition of *Rosa Luxemburg's Reform or Revolution* (2015).

VIJAY PRASHAD is an Indian historian and journalist. Prashad is the author of forty books, including *Washington Bullets, Red Star Over the Third World, The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World and The Poorer Nations: A Possible History of the Global South.* He is the Chief Correspondent for Globetrotter and editor at LeftWord Books. He has appeared in two films – Shadow World (2016) and Two Meetings (2017).

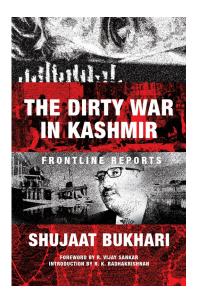
The Dirty War in Kashmir

Frontline Reports

Shuujat Bukhari

Foreword by R. Vijay Sankar Introduction by R.K. Radhakrishnan

Retail \$13 / Wholesale \$9.10



Shujaat Bukhari was one of the most vital, balanced and well-informed voices in Kashmir. Perhaps for this reason, the 50-year-old journalist was shot dead by motorcycle-borne gunmen in Srinagar on the evening of June 14, 2018, as he was leaving the office of Rising Kashmir. A voice has been silenced. But before he was killed, Shujaat Bukhari documented for Frontline magazine the damage done to Kashmir. This book collects Shujaat Bukhari's reports from May 2017 to his assassination. He reflects here on the policies of the Indian state (including the impunity given to the army), the hate-filled politics of the Hindu Right (exemplified in the rape and murder of an eight-year-old girl in Kathua), the alienation of the Kashmiri people, the protests of young people (and their use of social media) and the rise of a new kind of militant (such as Burhan Wani). These are detailed assessments, essential reading for anyone who wants to know about the old and new forces inside Kashmir. The pieces offer insights into the ways and means to bring about lasting peace in the valley – a cause for which Shujaat lived and died.

SHUUJAT BUKHARI (1968-2018) was a journalist based in Srinagar (Jammu and Kashmir). He was the Srinagar correspondent for *Frontline* and was the editor of *Rising Kashmir*. Between 1997 and 2012, he was a correspondent for The Hindu. Shujaat started the Urdu daily Buland Kashmir and the Urdu weekly Kashmir Parcham as well as the Kashmiri language paper Sangarmal. He was president of the Abadi Markaz Kamraz, a literary forum to promote the Kashmiri language. An honest and well-informed journalist, Shujaat survived three assassination attempts before he was brutally gunned down outside his office on June 14, 2018. He is survived by his wife Tahmeena and their two children.

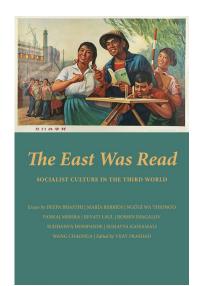
The East Was Read

Socialist Culture in the Third World

Edited by Vijay Prashad

With essays from Sudhanva Deshpande, Deepa Bhasthi, Maria Berrios, Ngūgĩ wa Thiong'o, Pankaj Mishra, Revati Laul, Rossen Djagalov, Sumayya Kassamali, Wang Chaohua

Retail \$15 / Wholesale \$10.50



Across the Third World, people grew up reading inexpensive, beautifully-produced books from the Soviet Union – children's books, classics of world literature, books on science and mathematics, and works of Marxist theory. The first half of The East Was Read is an homage to the lost world Soviet books. Wang Chaohua and Pankaj Mishra recall with fondness the meaning of these books for their very different lives in China and in India respectively. Deepa Bhasthi goes on an emotional journey into the library of her grandfather, a communist intellectual. Rossen Djagalov writes a short history of Progress Publishers. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o talks about how he wrote *Petals of Blood* in Yalta on the sidelines of the Afro-Asian Writers' Association in 1973. Sumayya Kassamali writes about Faiz in Beirut, giving us a sense of the cultural worlds that drew in both the Soviet Union and the Third World Project.

The second half of the book pivots from the page to the stage. Maria Berrios brings an artist's eye to the cultural world of socialist Cuba. Sudhanva Deshpande identifies a momentum in socialist cinema, from the early Soviet period to the early Cuban period. Revati Laul reminds us that watching a Soviet ballet or reading a Soviet book can have an impact in other times and other histories.

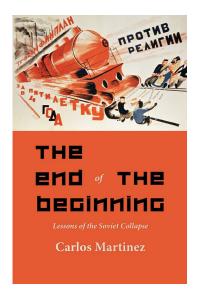
The East Was Read is a treasure trove of sparkling essays on the impacts of socialist culture in various parts of the Third World. This is a must-have book for bibliophiles, cinephiles, for lovers of reading, watching, listening.

The End of the Beginning

Lessons of the Soviet Collapse

Carlos Martinez

Retail \$15 / Wholesale \$10.50



The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) – a workers' and peasants' state – lasted a mere seventy years. It has been gone for a quarter of a century. Existing socialist states face many of the same external pressures that the Soviet Union faced; future socialist states will too. In addition to interference from the imperialist world, the socialist experiments thus far have faced a number of internal problems: how to maintain economic growth in the face of constantly changing needs and expectations; how to maintain revolutionary momentum through the second, third and fourth generations of the revolution; how to balance a revolutionary internationalist foreign policy with the need to maintain peaceful coexistence with the capitalist world; how to avoid economic and diplomatic isolation and to take advantage of the latest global developments in science and technology.

Intrying to locate solutions to such problems, the details of the Soviet collapse constitute some of the most important historical data we have available. The more our movement can learn about the Soviet experience, the better prepared we will be to prevent historic reverses and defeats in future, and the better equipped we will be to develop a compelling, convincing vision of socialism that is relevant in the here and now. Carlos Martinez goes back to the legacy of the USSR, traces the lessons to be learned from this crucial socialist experiment and provides a challenging narrative of its collapse.

CARLOS MARTINEZ is an activist, writer and musician based in London. He runs the political history blog *Invent the Future*. His major interests are the history of 'actually existing socialism' and strategies for challenging imperialism and building socialism in the 21st century.

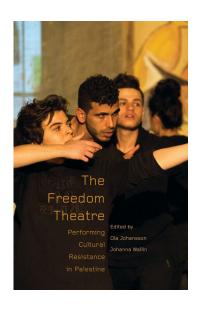
The Freedom Theatre

Performing Cultural Resistance in Palestine

Edited by Ola Johansson, Johanna Wallin

Retail \$25 / Wholesale \$17.50

The Freedom Theatre is one of the most remarkable institutions in occupied Palestine, and indeed the world. Nestled in Jenin refugee camp in the West Bank, the theatre has faced attacks, threats, imprisonment of many functionaries, and the assassination of its co-founder. And yet the theatre has not only endured, it has grown, from a provisional hall with rented plastic chairs to



one of Palestine's most prominent cultural centres. Today, it educates actors, technicians, cultural workers, photographers, filmmakers and teachers, tours in the West Bank and internationally with its characteristically strong and moving art, and has created a network of partners across the globe.

This book depicts the theatre's history, work, and vision through some of its key people. It gives room to thorough analyses of the context in which it operates and of the concept of Cultural Resistance, which is central to its work. Palestinian and international artists, academics and activists associated with the theatre, contribute personal and professional perspectives on the phenomenon that is The Freedom Theatre.

This is as much a documentation of the work of The Freedom Theatre in its first ten years as it is a testament to its growing significance as a source of inspiration in Palestine and around the world.

JOHANNA WALLIN is a writer, coordinator and communicator who joined The Freedom Theatre in 2008 as a resource developer. For the past six years she has managed The Freedom Theatre's international communication, including website, social media, press releases, annual reports, publicity materials and publications. Wallin is also involved in strategic management and organisational development as a member of The Freedom Theatre's executive committee. She has a degree of Bachelor of Arts in cultural anthropology from Uppsala University, Sweden. She has extensive experience within civil society organisations, among them the Swedish Development Forum and the Palestine Solidarity Association. She has published numerous articles and a book, *I will never again walk alone – Palestine in the shadow of occupation* (published in Swedish in 2009, Ruin Förlag), and is frequently engaged as a speaker at public seminars and events.

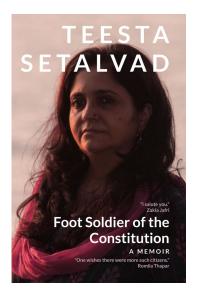
OLA JOHANSSON is Associate Professor in Contemporary Performance Practice at the Centre for Research into Creation in the Performing Arts (ResCen), Middlesex University (UK). He has specialized in progressive and applied performance and has published two books: *Community Theatre and AIDS* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) and *Performance and Philosophy: Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Performing Arts* (VDM Verlag, 2008). Ola wrote the concept and manuscript for the production *Politico* (2014), was the artistic director for the production *Beyond Vice* (2013) and has exhibited artworks and produced a TV documentary.

Foot Soldier of the Constitution

A memoir

Teesta Setalvad

Retail \$14 / Wholesale \$9.80



Who is Teesta Setalvad?

For the Hindu Right, she is a dangerous impediment to India's onward march to 'glory'. This is the story of the real Teesta – inheritor of the best and most progressive traditions of India's struggle for freedom, a ceaseless and courageous fighter for justice.

In these moving memoirs, she speaks of the influence of her grandfather and father; her early career as a journalist; her coming to political maturity during the horrific violence in Mumbai after the demolition of the Babri Masjid in the winter of 1992-93; her own trajectory as an activist with fellow traveler, Javed; and, of course, her role during and after the post-Godhra violence in Gujarat. This is a stirring, inspiring tale of determination, courage, fortitude and an unshakeable commitment to constitutional principles.

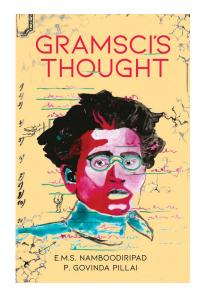
TEESTA SETALVAD is a human rights activist and journalist. She is secretary of Citizens for Justice and Peace, an organization that has fought to get justice for the victims of the anti-Muslim pogrom in Gujarat in 2002. Along with fellow journalist and husband Javed Anand, she is co-founder and co-editor of Communalism Combat and the website Sabrang. LeftWord published her memoirs Footsoldier of the Constitution, in 2017.

Gramsci's Thought

E.M.S. Namboodiripad & P. Govinda Pillai

Retail \$15 / Wholesale \$10.50

In the early 1990s, E.M.S. Namboodiripad (1909–1998) came across the *Prison Notebooks* of Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937). Gramsci, one of the most significant communist theorists of his time, had spent his time in prison writing essays



and notes to clarify the situation of the communist revolution in Italy, and the victory of the fascist forces. These writings, written in secret over a decade (1929–1937) largely in the prison of Turi near Bari, were smuggled out by Gramsci's family, preserved by his comrades, and then published first a little over a decade after Gramsci's death.

It was P. Govinda Pillai (1926–2012) – known to his comrades as PG – who had first given EMS a volume of Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks*. EMS read part of it and jokingly chided PG for not giving him Gramsci's work to read a decade or more earlier as he found himself astounded by the great quality of the theoretical assessments in it.

By now in his early 80s, EMS told PG to write a book about Gramsci in Malayalam. PG said that he would only do so if EMS wrote it with him, so the two of them got to work. An early fruit of the reading EMS had done was published in The Marxist in 1995. The next year, EMS and PG released a full book on Gramsci's thought in Malayalam.

This book – translated by PG's son M.G. Radhakrishnan – is the English version of that effort.

E.M.S. NAMBOODIRIPAD (1909–1998) was among India's pioneering Communist leaders and a Marxist theoretician of enormous stature. He became Chief Minister of Kerala on two occasions, in 1957 at the head of the historic first Communist government, and again in 1967 as head of a seven-party coalition. He was the author of several books and hundreds of articles and essays.

P. GOVINDA PILLAI (1926–2012) was a member of the State Committee of the CPI(M) and a Member of the Legislative Assembly of Kerala thrice. He was for many years the chief editor of Deshabhimani, the CPI(M)'s Malayalam-language newspaper.

Halla Bol

The Death and Life of Safdar Hashmi

Sudhanva Deshpande

Retail \$16 / Wholesale \$11.20

This is not a story of death. It is a story of life. The luminous life of Safdar Hashmi, extraordinary in all its ordinariness.

On New Year's Day in 1989, Jana Natya Manch – Janam – the theatre group Safdar was a part of, and which he led, was attacked while

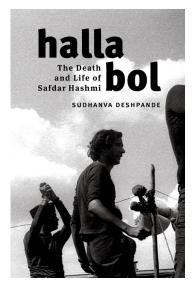
performing a street play on the outskirts of Delhi. He was only thirty-four when he died from injuries sustained during this senseless attack.

Beginning with a record of the attack that killed him, this vivid memoir illuminates the life of Safdar Hashmi – artist, comrade, poet, writer, actor, activist, and a man everyone loved. But this is not a book about one man or one tragic incident. Halla Bol shows us, close up, how one man's death and life are intertwined with the stories of many people.

For a generation that grew up without knowing Safdar Hashmi, *Halla Bol* renders his passion, humour and humanism into an intimate portrait. It also gives an understanding of resistance, and the strength to put it into practice. It shows the profound link between ideology and real-life struggle. The ideas that Safdar and his colleagues grappled with during a period of tumult and change in India are harbingers of the society we are today.

Halla Bol, the play Janam was performing in Jhandapur at the time of the attack, is included in English translation as an appendix to the book.

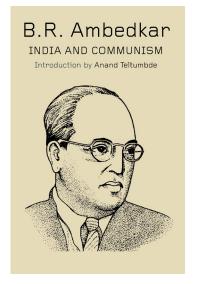
SUDHANVA DESHPANDE is a theatre director and actor. He joined Jana Natya Manch in 1987, and has acted in over 4,000 performances of over 80 plays. His articles and essays have appeared in *The Drama Review, The Hindu, Frontline, Seminar, Economic and Political Weekly, Udbhavna, Samaj Prabodhan Patrika,* among others. He has codirected two films on the theatre legend Habib Tanvir and his company Naya Theatre. He is the editor of Theatre of the Streets: The Jana Natya Manch Experience (Janam 2007), and co-editor of *Our Stage: Pleasures and Perils of Theatre Practice in India* (Tulika 2008). He has held teaching positions at the National Institute of Design, Ahmedabad, and AJK Mass Communication Research Centre, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi. Since 1998, he has been Managing Editor, LeftWord Books. He cycles around town.



India and Communism

B.R. Ambedkar Introduction by Anand Teltumbde Retail \$12 / Wholesale \$8.40

Those who think that Babasaheb Ambedkar was against Communism or Marxism are grossly prejudiced. Ambedkar's relationship with Marxism was enigmatic. He defined himself as a socialist, not a Marxist. But he was impressed by the élan of the Marxist tradition.



However, it is also true that he had serious reservations about accepting certain theoretical postulations of Marxism. Vested interests amongst the Dalits, however, pitch Ambedkar firmly as the enemy of Marxism. The fundamental category of class, through which Ambedkar viewed human society, has therefore been a complete taboo. Communists, on their part, have responded in kind, attacking him and his ideas.

In the early 1950s, Ambedkar started work on a book he wanted to call *India and Communism*. The book was never finished. The present volume assembles what survives of this book, along with a section of another unfinished book, *Can I be a Hindu?*

Anand Teltumbde, in his hard-hitting Introduction, charts the course of Ambedkar's thinking on communism and Marxism, the historical reasons for the rift between him and the communists, and the basis on which a larger unity of Ambedkarites and communists can be forged. This unity, he argues, is an essential prerequisite for the emancipation of India's poor and oppressed.

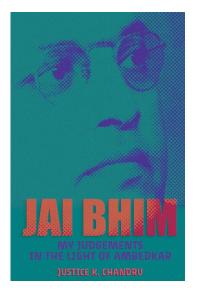
This book is an eye-opener and essential reading for people on both sides of the divide.

Born into an 'untouchable' family, **BHIMRAO RAMJI AMBEDKAR** (1891-1956) was one of India's most radical thinkers. A brilliant student, he earned doctorates in economics from both Columbia University, New York, and the London School of Economics. In 1936, the year he wrote Annihilation of Caste, Ambedkar founded the Independent Labour Party. The ILP contested the 1937 Bombay election to the Central Legislative Assembly for the 13 reserved and 4 general seats, and secured 11 and 3 seats respectively. He was India's first Minister for Law and Justice, and oversaw the drafting of the Indian Constitution. Ambedkar eventually embraced Buddhism, a few months before his death in 1956.

Jai Bhim My Judgements in the Light of Ambedkar

Justice K. Chandru

Retail \$13 / Wholesale \$9.10



Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar was endowed with a sense of being outraged. For someone steeped in the learning and practice of law, the capacity to feel outraged does something very distinct, it becomes a scalding weapon in the otherwise cold arsenal of reason, logic, codes, procedures, precedents, and dicta. Ambedkar placed his legal training as cold ore is in the furnace of a smeltery, to produce the fiery ingots of a renascent vision, which then became the Constitution of India.

How can one keep the provisions of that text and the laws that have crowded around it from turning cold again?

The pages of this slender volume speak of how in India, the land of Ambedkar, the Buddha, Gandhi, Mahavira, Periyar E.V. Ramasamy, and Thiruvalluvar, so much happens in human relationships that must cause outrage but does not. But the pages do so with a distinct message of hope.

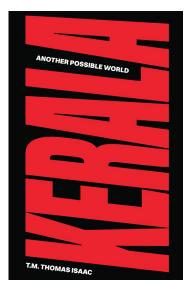
Outrage and hope? Is that not something of a contradiction? Not so, if we study the achievements of Dr Ambedkar and of his thought-partner, Justice Chandru. The law in India is not a code as much as it is a philosophy of redressal, remedy, and reparation. And, at its best, redemption.

JUSTICE K. CHANDRU is an advocate and former judge of Madras High Court. He disposed of 96,000 cases during his tenure as a Judge. A 1993 case that Chandru argued as a lawyer is the subject of the hit Tamil film *Jai Bhim* (2021, dir. T.J. Gnanavel), in which his character is played by the actor Suriya. He writes in Tamil and English, and his previous book was the bestselling *Listen to My Case!: When Women Approach the Courts of Tamil Nadu* (LeftWord, 2021).

KeralaAnother Possible World

T.M. Thomas Isaac

Retail \$17 / Wholesale \$11.90



'There is no alternative (TINA)' has been the slogan of the neoliberals ever since the collapse of the Soviet Union. The counter-slogan has been, 'Another world is possible'. Here is the story of the ongoing struggles to build 'another world' in Kerala, India.

The neoliberal imperative is to 'maximize growth at any cost'. Kerala has embarked upon an alternative – to optimize growth within redistribution, environmental sustainability, gender and social justice, and concerns of progressive culture.

Confronting the challenges of globalization, and within the ever-tightening restrictions imposed by the Union government, Kerala has pursued alternative policies of protecting the public sector, health, and education with highly positive outcomes. These outcomes, in turn, have strengthened the social security and care systems and drastically reduced hunger and poverty. Democratic decentralization has provided the framework for implementing such a program with the participation of the people.

This book, written in an accessible, non-technical, and jargon-free style by an outstanding academic with decades of experience as an administrator and policy maker, shows us how another world is in fact possible.

T.M. THOMAS ISAAC is Distinguished Honorary Fellow at the Gulati Institute of Finance and Taxation, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala. He served as Minister of Finance of Kerala for two terms, from 2006 to 2011, and from 2016 to 2021. Previously, during his tenure as a member of the Kerala State Planning Board, he was in charge of the People's Plan Campaign. He is the author of numerous books in Malayalam and English.

Lenin Selected Writings

Vladimir Lenin Edited by Vijay Prashad

Retail \$25 / Wholesale \$17.50

LENIN

SELECTED

WRITINGS

[IN A SINGLE VOLUME]

EDITED BY

VIJAY PRASHAD

The essential writings of Lenin, in a single volume, for the radical revolutionaries of today and tomorrow.

'Struggling uncompromisingly with the reformists and all kinds of distortionists of Marxism, Lenin brought scientific socialism to a new stage. He enriched Marxism, the great ideological weapon of the proletariat, and greatly contributed to the formulation of the theory of proletarian dictatorship. He developed the Marxist principle on the worker-peasant alliance, the national and colonial question, proletarian internationalism, the building and strengthening of a new type of proletarian party, which is the only organization capable of leading the multiform struggle of the working class and enslaved peoples. Lenin established a new theory of socialist revolution and demonstrated the possibilities of the triumph of socialism in a single country.'

Ho Chi Minh

V.I. LENIN (1870-1924) was the preeminent leader of the Russian Revolution, and a Marxist theoretician. His important books include, among many others, What is to be Done, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism and The State and Revolution.

Liberate the Colonies!

Communism and Colonial Freedom 1917-1924

Edited by John Riddell, Vijay Prashad, & Nazeef Mollah

Retail \$22 / Wholesale \$15.40

In the first years after the 1917 Russian revolution, a bold new cry was heard around the world, 'Liberate the Colonies!' It was voiced in Moscow by Marxists combating tsarist oppression of Asian peoples. It came from



the world of Communism, which launched a great International for a global freedom struggle. It came from the colonies, where activists such as M.N. Roy, Ho Chi Minh, Tan Malaka and others worked to break the chains of empire.

Over the decades, anti-colonial freedom movements transformed the face of the world. This book portrays how this movement took shape.

Pioneer revolutionists from oppressed countries, in their own words, pinpoint the movement's weaknesses, debate its problems, and develop a global strategy and programme. Among other things, the book highlights how:

- in 1920, at a conference in Baku, women won the right to comradeship with men on an equal basis:
- revolutionary leaders from Asia convinced the Moscow government to combat chauvinist abuses of Soviet power; and
- V.I. Lenin and M.N. Roy the old strategist of Russia and the young rebel of India

 debated and reached a common framework for unity in the freedom struggle.

This precious historical record is vitally important to all those who seek a socialist future.

JOHN RIDDELL is general editor of the Comintern Publishing Project (1983–2017), and editor of several volumes of Comintern documents.

NAZEEF MOLLAH is Editor, LeftWord Books.

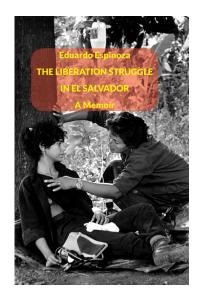
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The Liberation Struggle in El Salvador

A Memoir

Eduardo Espinoza

Retail \$15 / Wholesale \$10.50



"This book, written with so much love, so much realism, so much honesty and so much literary beauty by my friend and comrade in the struggle, Dr Eduardo Espinoza, our beloved Felipe Dubón, is a living testimony to the great ideals that propelled the guerrilla struggle of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) in the 1980s. It is also a splendid homage to the thousands of heroes and heroines, combatants in the FMLN's military health system, who saved lives, who treated the wounded, who were psychologists even though they never studied psychology and who were an enormous bastion of morale for all our forces and for the communities that supported us in the people's war against the oligarchy and imperialism."

– Lorena Peña Mendoza, Frente Farabundo Marti Para la, Liberación Nacional and former member of El Salvador's Leaislative Assembly

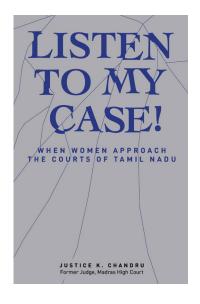
EDUARDO ESPINOZA is a medical doctor with a Master's in Public Health, Professor of Health Systems and Health Policy in the Master's in Public Health programme at the University of El Salvador and a health sector reform researcher. He was active in the revolutionary forces from 1975 to 1992 during the civil war in El Salvador, in charge of medical services in battle zones and of training health activists for the rebels and the civilian population in these areas, which had been abandoned by government medical services. He was detained and tortured twice: in 1978 (two months) and in 1985 (eight months). With the signing of the Peace Accords in 1992, he returned to the University of El Salvador to do research and teach public health. From 1995 to 1999, he was Dean of the Medical School at the University of El Salvador. He is a faculty member of the International People's Health University, a project of the People's Health Movement. In 2009, the government of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) party drafted him to join the cabinet as Deputy Minister for Health Policy, where he continues, now with the second FMLN administration, elected in 2014.

Listen to My Case!

When Women Approach the Courts of Tamil Nadu

Justice K. Chandru

Retail \$15 / Wholesale \$10.50



Justice K. Chandru, former judge of the Madras High Court, heard many cases in his illustrious career and passed landmark judgments on them – over 54,000 in fact. Among these are rulings on common burial grounds irrespective of caste, community-based reservation in noon meal centres, women becoming priests in temples, dispensing with police permission to stage plays, and more.

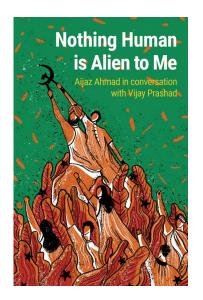
In twenty short accounts of such cases, Justice Chandru recounts how bold and courageous women, by approaching the law for redressal of wrongs done to them, have not only contributed to the fight for social justice, but have broadened and enriched the very meaning of justice.

JUSTICE K. CHANDRU is an advocate and former judge of Madras High Court. He disposed of 96,000 cases during his tenure as a Judge. A 1993 case that Chandru argued as a lawyer is the subject of the hit Tamil film *Jai Bhim* (2021, dir. T.J. Gnanavel), in which his character is played by the actor Suriya. He writes in Tamil and English, and his previous book was the bestselling *Listen to My Case!: When Women Approach the Courts of Tamil Nadu* (LeftWord, 2021).

Nothing Human is Alien to Me

Aijaz Ahmad in conversation with Vijay Prashad

Retail \$18 / Wholesale \$12.60



Two features characterize the entire body of Aijaz Ahmad's work, which offers us a way to read the history of the present. First, his evident wide reading about the history and sociology of the world, which allows him to provide the necessary global context for his study and for our new times that remain tied to the contradictions of a longer history. Second, his grip on Marxism, a living Marxism, a Marxism that has absorbed both the streams of Western Marxism and of national liberation Marxism.

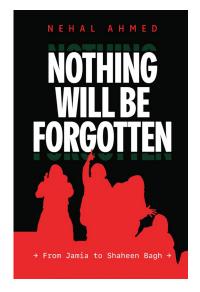
Vijay Prashad writes that it is impossible for him to think without thinking alongside the work of Aijaz Ahmad. In this fascinating and wide-ranging conversation, he draws out Ahmad, separating and interweaving strands of his thought, and in the process inviting us, the readers, to take a look at the method that drives his analysis. In the process, we learn to think through the present, better.

AIJAZ AHMAD (1941-2022) was one of India's best-known Marxist scholars. His best-known books include *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures* (1992), Lineages of the Present: Ideological and Political Genealogies of Contemporary South Asia (1996), and, from LeftWord Books, Nothing Human is Alien to Me: Aijaz Ahmad in conversation with Vijay Prashad (2020), Iraq, Afghanistan and the Imperialism of Our Time (2004).

Nothing Will Be Forgotten From Jamia to Shaheen Bagh

Nehal Ahmed

Retail \$13 / Wholesale \$9.10



'Nehal Ahmed's book is a student participant's passionate account of the protests against the Citizenship Amendment Act. The university resistance led by Jamia Millia Islamia and the great Shaheen Bagh sit-in, together created an inspiring moment in the fight against state-sponsored majoritarianism. It's through first-hand accounts that historic moments of resistance become the stuff of history. Nehal's brave and moving narrative is both a memorial to that struggle and a report on the state of this nation.'

– Mukul Kesavan, historian

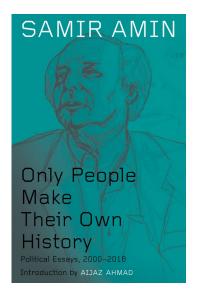
On 15 December 2019, the police unleashed massive violence against the students of one of India's premier universities, Jamia Millia Islamia, in New Delhi, for protesting against laws that discriminated against Indian Muslims. This attack led to one of independent India's most striking and creative peaceful protests, with its epicentre in Shaheen Bagh. This book is an eyewitness account of the students' protest, the ensuing state violence against them, and the citizens' movement against the discriminatory laws. It is moving and raw, a snapshot of a moment in history, a courageous act of bearing witness.

NEHAL AHMED is a doctoral student at the Academy of International Studies, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi. His research interests consist of Indian and world cinema, and migration studies. *Nothing Will Be Forgotten* is his first book.

Only People Make Their Own History

Political Essays, 2000-2018

Samir Amin Introduction by Aijaz Ahmad Retail \$25 / Wholesale \$17.50



Samir Amin's primary concern as an economist is the form that imperialism takes in the last hundred years – driven at first by capitalist monopolies and later by what he calls generalized monopolies of the imperialist Triad (United States, Europe and Japan). He shows how this new system not only amplifies capital accumulation, and thereby world poverty and pauperization, but also how it gives rise to fascism. Originally written for Monthly Review, the essays selected for this volume provide the most fundamental coordinates of Samir Amin's thoughts in the last decades of his life. His range is wide, moving from Chinese socialism to political Islam, from the weakened political power of the working class and peasantry in the world and the potential for a revived political movement towards socialism.

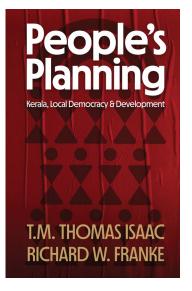
SAMIR AMIN was born in Cairo, the son of an Egyptian father and a French mother (both medical doctors). He spent his childhood and youth in Port Said; there he attended a French High School, leaving in 1947 with a Baccalauréat. From 1947 to 1957 he studied in Paris, gaining a diploma in political science (1952) before graduating in statistics (1956) and economics (1957). In his autobiography *Itinéraire Intellectuel* (1990) he wrote that in order to spend a substantial amount of time in "militant action" he could devote only a minimum of time to preparing for his university exams.

People's Planning

Kerala, Local Democracy & Development

T.M. Thomas Isaac & Richard W. Franke

Retail \$30 / Wholesale \$21



In 1996, the state of Kerala launched possibly the world's most extensive and successful experiment in decentralization. The campaign mobilized over 3 million of Kerala's 30 million people and resulted in bottom-up development planning in all of its 1,052 villages and urban neighbourhoods.

This book details the background of the campaign, traces its stages, assesses problems and successes, and evaluates concrete results and reforms. It tells a powerful story of mass mobilization and innovation, achieved by overcoming bureaucratic opposition and rooting out corruption and cynicism.

Considering the theoretical and applied significance of the campaign — both in the context of India's development since Independence and the international debates on decentralization, civil society, and empowerment — this study provides invaluable lessons for sustainable development worldwide.

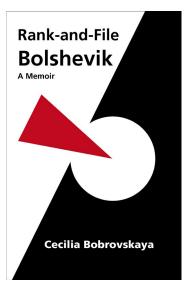
T.M. THOMAS ISAAC is Distinguished Honorary Fellow at the Gulati Institute of Finance and Taxation, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala. He served as Minister of Finance of Kerala for two terms, from 2006 to 2011, and from 2016 to 2021. Previously, during his tenure as a member of the Kerala State Planning Board, he was in charge of the People's Plan Campaign. He is the author of numerous books in Malayalam and English.

Rank-and-File Bolshevik

A Memoir

Cecilia Bobrovskaya

Retail \$18 / Wholesale \$12.60



In 1921, Vladimir Lenin wrote a letter to a comrade, asking him to ensure that Cecilia Bobrovskaya (1873-1960) be provided with housing. 'I have known Bobrovskaya since the epoch before 1905,' Lenin wrote, 'and know that she is capable of living in great hardship and be reticent about it excessively.' Bobrovskaya was a member of the Society of Old Bolsheviks, a revolutionary from her youth. She was one of the thousands of committed radicals who helped build the organisations of the working-class across Russia in the decades before the Russian Revolution of 1917.

In this book, Bobrovskaya tells her story of material deprivation and spiritual elevation. A dedicated Bolshevik, she worked hard to build her party and to raise the confidence of Russia's working-class and peasantry. She worked quietly and tirelessly, helping build the momentum towards both the 1905 and the 1917 Revolutions.

This book reproduces two texts by Bobrovskaya: her own memoirs and her short biography of Lenin. Bobrovskaya describes what it took to make the Revolution – not one push in 1917 but tens of thousands of pushes produced by people like herself, one of the many rank-and-file Bolsheviks.

CECILIA SAMOYLOVNA BOBROVSKAYA (1873–1960) was an early Bolshevik activist, revolutionary, and memoirist. She played a notable role in various local organizations of the Bolshevik Party – consequently facing repeated persecution by the authorities of the Russian Empire. She worked for the Comintern between 1918 and 1940, and was a member of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the party's central theoretical and research institute, in later years.

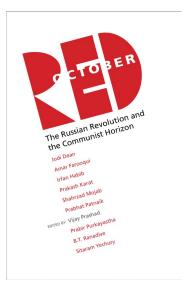
Red October

The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon

Edited by Vijay Prashad

With contributions from Jodi Dean, Amar Farooqui, Irfan Habib, Prakash Karat, Shahrzad Mojab, Prabhat Patnaik, B.T. Ranadive, & Sitaram Yechuri

Retail \$15 / Wholesale \$10.50



The first socialist state in history lasted only seventy years. This is a very small period of time in the scope of world history. Its achievements have been pilloried – its demise being the greatest argument against its achievements. But merely because it disappeared does not mean that it was without merit. It provides us with the assurance that a workers' and peasants' state can exist, that it can create policies to benefit the vast masses of the people rather than merely the rich, that it can heal and educate rather than merely starve and kill.

Red October is an invitation to rediscover the importance of the Russian Revolution, to explore how it faltered and to nudge us to consider the ghosts of that revolution in our own movements today.

VIJAY PRASHAD is an Indian historian and journalist. Prashad is the author of forty books, including *Washington Bullets, Red Star Over the Third World, The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World and The Poorer Nations: A Possible History of the Global South.* He is the Chief Correspondent for Globetrotter and editor at LeftWord Books. He has appeared in two films – Shadow World (2016) and Two Meetings (2017).

THE RSS

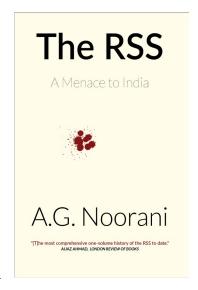
A Menace to India

A.G. Noorani

Retail \$9 / Wholesale \$3.60

India is battling for its very soul.

The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) is the most powerful organisation in India today; complete with a private army of its own, unquestionably obeying its leader who functions on fascist lines on the Fuehrer principle. Two of



its pracharaks (active preachers) have gone on to become prime ministers of India. In 1951 it set up a political front, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, which merged into the Janata Party in 1977 only to walk out of it in 1980. In issue was its superior loyalty to its parent and mentor, the RSS; not the Janata Party. Within months of its defection, the Jana Sangh reemerged; not with the name under which it had functioned for nearly three decades, but as the Bharatiya Janata Party, deceptively to claim a respectable lineage.

The RSS is at war with India's past. It belittles three of the greatest builders of the Indian State – Ashoka, the Buddhist; Akbar, the Muslim; and Nehru, a civilised Enlightened Hindu. It would wipe out centuries of achievement for which the world has acclaimed India and replace that with its own narrow, divisive ideology.

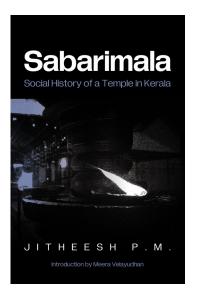
This book is a magisterial study of the RSS, from its formation in 1925 to the present day. With scrupulous and voluminous evidence, one of India's leading constitutional experts and political analysts, A.G. Noorani, builds a watertight case to show how the RSS is much more than a threat to communal amity. It poses a wider challenge. It is a threat to democratic governance and, even worse, a menace to India. It threatens the very soul of India. And yet, despite its reach and seemingly overwhelming political influence, the author shows that the RSS can be defeated. The soul of India can be rescued.

A.G. NOORANI is a lawyer, historian and author. He has practised as an advocate in the Supreme Court of India and in the Bombay High Court. He is one of the few remaining experts on the Constitution of India from his generation. His columns have appeared in various publications, including *Hindustan Times, The Hindu, Frontline, Economic and Political Weekly* and *Dainik Bhaskar*. He is the author of a number of books, including *The Kashmir Dispute, The Destruction of Hyderabad, The Babri Masjid Question* and, for LeftWord, *The RSS* and the *BJP: A Division of Labour* (2000), *Islam and Jihad* (2002) and *Savarkar and Hindutva: The Godse Connection* (2002).

Sabarimala

Social History of a Temple in Kerala

Jitheesh P.M.Introduction by Meera Velayudhan
Retail \$13 / Wholesale \$9.10



Several surprising facts about the Sabarimala temple have been drowned out by the noise over the need to protect its 'traditions'. Some relate to the tradition regarding the entry of women, and others put a question mark over the very validity of any and all of its traditions. The author uses news reports, court judgments, and a variety of other sources to show that the controversy around women's entry into the temple is of very recent origin.

The second part of the book, 'Before Sabarimala Became Sabarimala', discusses in detail the history of the temple, its deep connections to the local community and traces of Christian and Muslim influence, as well as how the Ayyappa legend was co-opted by Brahminical Hinduism, and later by right-wing Hindutva forces. As the book shows, not only does this create a communally charged atmosphere but, more importantly, it claims for Hinduism an essentially tribal cult.

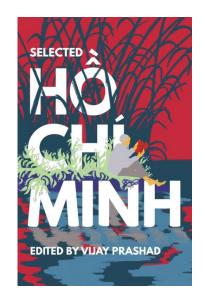
JITHEESH P.M. holds an M.Phil degree in history from Sree Sankaracharya University of Sanskrit, Kalady, Kerala. He contributes to various Indian and foreign publications such as *Frontline, The Hindu, The Caravan* and *Monthly Review*. His writings have been translated into more than half a dozen Indian and foreign languages.

Selected Hồ Chí Minh

Edited by Vijay Prashad

Retail \$32 / Wholesale \$22.40

Poet Ho Chi Minh,
who punches from Vietnam
to all humanity.
No cannon will erase
the furrow of your rice field.
The right to live in peace.



So sang Victor Jara, the legendary Chilean singer-poet, on behalf of millions around the world who were inspired by the heroism of the Vietnamese people, and by their leader, Ho Chi Minh.

Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh / We shall fight, we shall win!

For a revolutionary whose name is immortalised in songs and slogans worldwide, astonishingly little of Ho Chi Minh's writing is available to a global readership. This volume seeks to fill that gap in some measure.

It is often said of Ho Chi Minh that he was not a theorist and that he did not leave behind a corpus of theoretical texts. This is a narrow and false judgment. Ho Chi Minh did not have the time to set out a major theoretical treatise on the nature of the Vietnamese Revolution, but the texts he left behind – a fraction of them collected in this volume – help us to understand the theory that enabled him to lead the Indochinese Communist Party and then the Workers Party to victory against imperialist aggression and to start the process of constructing socialism in Vietnam.

HO CHI MINH (19 May 1890-2 September 1969) was the foremost leader of the Vietnamese anti-imperialist resistance and revolution. He served as Prime Minister of Democratic Republic of Vietnam from 1945 to 1955 and President from 1945 until his death.

The Soviet Woman

Alexandra Kollontai Introduction by Parvathi Menon

Retail \$18 / Wholesale \$12.60

Alexandra

Kollontai

The
Soviet

Woman
Selected
Essays
Introduction by
Parvathi Menon

The revolutionary legacy of Alexandra Kollontai (1872-1952) has slipped into relative obscurity. This is somewhat surprising, because she was a voluminous writer – on politics, Marxist theory, country-specific economic studies, and the women's question. She left letters, diaries, memoirs and pamphlets, theoretical tracts, articles, and creative literature. She authored two novels, *The Love of Worker Bees* and *Red Love*, which explored issues of love and socialist morality.

Kollontai was resolutely opposed to bourgeois feminism, the term used to demarcate a form of feminism that was anti-Marxist and that drove an agenda of free love. She was, however, perhaps the only one amongst a small group of women and men communists in her time who engaged intellectually with issues of sexual morality in the context of women's liberation. She envisioned the many possibilities for women's freedom that lay locked in a socialist future, and set out the mechanisms by which women's subordination – political and economic of course, but equally in terms of ideas and attitudes – could and must be undone under socialism. This volume brings together some of her most important writings on gender, sexuality and women's liberation.

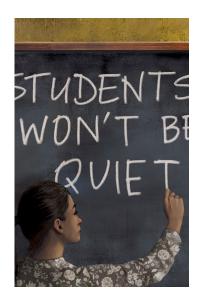
ALEXANDRA MIKHAILOVNA KOLLONTAI (1872-1952) was a Russian revolutionary, writer, and diplomat. After the October Revolution, she was appointed People's Commissar for Social Welfare. Her diplomatic career began in 1923, when she was appointed Soviet Ambassador to Norway, becoming only the second woman in the world to hold such a high diplomatic post in modern times. She also served as Ambassador to Mexico and Sweden. She was also a member of the Soviet delegation to the League of Nations.

Students Won't Be Quiet

Edited by Satarupa Chakraborty & Pindinga Ambedkar

Retail \$28 / Wholesale \$19.60

A democracy dies when critical voices are absent. We, in India, are in danger of a silent democracy. Either we let the rulers suffocate our voices or we get the courage to stand up, raise questions, and fight back. Students Won't Be Quiet is a book that documents the stories of how students across the country have fought to define our idea of India.



Students Won't Be Quiet records some historic student movements, which began with issues at the local level but became national issues. Each of the struggles documented in this book is fought on two levels, simultaneously separate yet integrated – they raise the immediate demands of the students, and they fight to keep Indian democracy alive. At the heart of these struggles is the fight to defend the inheritance of the freedom movement and of the early decades of nation-building: democracy, pluralism, secularism, and socialism.

The book has a pan-India character, with essays on Banaras Hindu University, Delhi University, Film and Television Institute of India (Pune), Hyderabad Central University, Indian Institute of Science (Bengaluru), Indian Institute of Technology Madras, Jadavpur University (Kolkata), Jawaharlal Nehru University (New Delhi), Pondicherry University, Tata Institute of Social Sciences (Mumbai), as well as on students' struggles in Assam, Kerala and Himachal Pradesh.

PINDINGA AMBEDKAR works at Tricontinental Research. He completed his MA in Development Studies from TISS, Mumbai (2006-2008). He was the vice president of the TISS students' union during 2007-2008. He also did his MPhil in Sociology from CSSS, JNU(2009-2011). His research interests are Sociology of Education and Labour Issues. He is associated with Dalit Shoshan Mukti Manch, Delhi State.

SATARUPA CHAKRABORTY is a researcher at Tricontinental Research. She is also a PhD candidate in the Center for Philosophy at JNU. Satarupa is currently a member of the state committee of All India Democratic Women's Association (AIDWA) Delhi. She was the general secretary of the Jawaharlal Nehru University Students' Union during 2016-2017. She completed her Masters from University of Hyderabad in 2012, and earned an MPhil degree in Philosophy from JNU in 2015.

This Fire Never Dies

One Year with the PKK

Fréderike Geerdink

Retail \$25 / Wholesale \$17.50

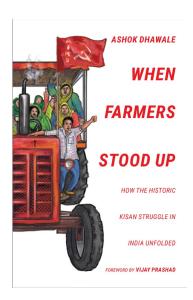


Fréderike Geerdink's This Fire Never Dies is a gripping account of her year spent with the Kurdish political and guerrilla group, the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party). She bravely goes into the PKK camps, meeting the fighters and talking to their leaders about their ambitions and their political view. Few journalists have taken the time not only to document the PKK's views but to also try and understand the commitment and the fragility of the PKK fighters, and the views and habits of the ordinary villagers whose land remains a war zone between the Turkish state and the Kurdish fighters.

FRÉDERIKE GEERDINK is a Dutch journalist who started reporting from Istanbul, Turkey, in 2006. From 2012 to 2015, she was the only foreign journalist based in Diyarbakir, Turkey. She was arrested twice, in January and September 2015, before being deported from Turkey. Her previous book, *The Boys are Dead: The Roboski Massacre and the Kurdish Question in Turkey* (2015) was nominated for the Brusse Prize. The nomination stated, 'Fréderike Geerdink is one of those courageous Dutch journalists who do their work in dangerous conflict zones. Her book became a both political and beautiful personal account of the struggle for self determination in Turkish Kurdistan.' For more on the author, see www.frederikegeerdink.com.

When Farmers Stood Up How the Historic Kisan Struggle in India Unfolded

Ashok DhawaleForeword by Vijay Prashad
Retail \$20 / Wholesale \$14



In the summer of 2020, the Narendra Modi government pushed through three anti-farmer, pro-corporate bills in parliament. This came after decades of cuts in subsidies and price supports to the farmers, leading to deaths by suicide of 400,000 debt-ridden farmers, a fourth of them since Modi became prime minister in 2014.

On 26 November 2020, farmers began a heroic protest that lasted through the pandemic, police repression, government callousness and attacks, and harsh weather. It was the largest peaceful mass mobilization of contemporary times on the planet. A week before the first anniversary of the protest, Modi surrendered.

The farmers' revolt was guided by the Samyukta Kisan Morcha (SKM), a coalition of over 500 farmers' organisations. Ashok Dhawale has been a leader of the kisan movement for three decades. As the current wave of struggles grew, he emerged as an important leader of SKM. He has not only helped shape the struggle, but he has also documented it meticulously, both its advances and its limitations, with unique insights that only close proximity can provide.

This book is the culmination of his documentation. Ashok Dhawale writes with honesty and humanity, and his account is as moving as it is inspiring.

ASHOK DHAWALE is President of the All India Kisan Sabha. A medical doctor by training, he began activism as a student. He was drawn into the Kisan movement by the legendary Godavari Parulekar. He is a member of the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist).