As featured on BBC Radio 4’s ‘Woman’s Hour’ and on the BBC World Service’s ‘The Strand’.

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Fortress Europe

Dispatches from a Gated Continent

Matthew Carr

An analysis of Europe’s ‘hard’ borders, based on a series of personal journeys to some of the places where this hardening process is most apparent

August 2012  £20.00

For nearly thirty years the Berlin Wall symbolised a divided Europe. In the euphoric aftermath of the Cold War, the advent of a new ‘borderless’ world was hailed, one in which such barriers would become obsolete.

Today these utopian predictions have yet to be realised. European governments have enacted the most sustained and far-reaching border enforcement program in history in an attempt to repel migrants seeking work or asylum. Detention and deportation, physical and bureaucratic barriers, naval patrols and satellite technologies: all these form part of the militarised response to immigration adopted by European governments, the human cost of which is often overlooked.

These efforts have generated a tragic confrontation between some of the richest countries in the world and a stateless population from the poorest — a clash that occurs within Europe’s territorial frontiers and also far beyond them. Fortress Europe investigates that confrontation on Europe’s ‘hard borders.’ In a series of searing dispatches, Carr speaks to border officers and police, officials, migrants, asylum-seekers, and activists. The result is a unique and ground-breaking critique of Europe’s exclusionary borders, and an essential guide to the wider drama of migration that will dominate politics for years ahead.

Praise for Matthew Carr’s The Infernal Machine: An Alternative History of Terrorism:

‘The best written and most comprehensive history of terrorism we have.’
— Chalmers Johnson

‘Carr has written a brilliant book. The Infernal Machine brims with insight.’
— Andrew Bacevich

Matthew Carr is a freelance journalist whose work has appeared in The Observer, The Guardian, The New York Times and on BBC Radio. In 1990 he wrote a memoir about his relationship with his father, My Father’s House, which was published to excellent reviews. His interest in history also led him to write The Infernal Machine: An Alternative History of Terrorism (2011) and Blood and Faith: The Purging of Muslim Spain (2009), both of which are published by Hurst.

August 2012  • 256pp
Hardback  •  9781849042536  •  £20.00
Politics / European Studies
‘There have been very few books about America’s longest war, and even fewer good ones. ... To this short list can now be added another great book on the Afghan war, Carter Malkasian’s *War Comes to Garmser.*’ — John Nagl, Professor, US Naval War College

Carter Malkasian spent nearly two years in Garmser district as the political officer working for the US Department of State. A Pashto speaker, he lived in a Marine outpost but spent most of his time with Afghans, often riding, eating, and sleeping with them. He interviewed hundreds of Afghans about the war, their district, and its history, including forty or so Taliban.

November 2012 • 288pp
Hardback • 9781849042642 • £20.00

War in Afghanistan will never be understood without getting to grips with the small places — the provinces, districts, and villages — where most of the fighting occurred, away from the cities, in hundreds of hamlets, valleys, and farms amid a vast landscape. Those small places and their people were the frontlines, and it is only there that we can truly find answers to the questions that lay at the heart of the war: why people supported the Taliban, whether intervention brought peace, whether a better outcome was ever possible.

Garmser is a small place that has seen much violence; a single district within one of Afghanistan’s 34 provinces. Its 150,000 people inhabit a fertile strip along the Helmand River no more than 6 miles wide and 45 miles long. Carter Malkasian spent years in Garmser district as the political officer for the US Department of State. He tells the history of thirty years of war, from 1979 to 2012, explaining how the Taliban movement formed in Garmser; how, after being routed in 2001, they returned stronger than ever in 2006; and how Afghans, British, and Americans fought with them between 2006 and 2012. He describes the lives of Afghans who endured and tried to build some kind of order out of war. While Americans and British came and went, they carried on, year after year, inhabitants of a small place.
Nushin Arbazadah grew up in Kabul during the Soviet occupation, and as a teenager fled Afghanistan with her family. She later studied at Cambridge University and now writes a column in The Guardian.

September 2012   £15.95

Perceptive and witty reportage of another side of Afghanistan, one rarely covered in the Western media

Ironic and humorous, witty and self-deprecatory, *The Afghan Rumour Bazaar* reveals the quotidian absurdities of lives framed against the backdrop of a savage war. Offering daringly new perspectives on a country readers may erroneously assume they know, Nushin Arbazadah delves into the unacknowledged but real secret sub-cultures and hidden worlds of Afghans, from underground converts to Christianity to mysterious male cross-dressers to tales of bacha-posh girlboys. Among the individuals, fables and dilemmas she confronts are ‘Why are Imams Telling Us About Nail Polish?’, ‘Afghanistan’s Rich Jewish Heritage’, ‘Kabul Street Style’, ‘The Resurgence of Afghanistan’s Spiritual Bazaar’, and not forgetting Malalai of Maiwand, who turned her headscarf into a banner and led a successful rebellion against the British. Arbazadah reveals for the first time Afghans’ own vibrant internal deliberations — on sex and soap operas; conspiracy theories; drugs and diplomacy; terrorism and the Taliban; and how a long-dead soothsayer from Bulgaria accidentally shut down a newspaper. Many different Afghan sensibilities are presented in her book, yet together they offer an unvarnished, at times heartwarming, at times tragic, insight into one of the most complex and fascinating countries on earth.

Representing the coming of age of a new generation of unashamedly globalised, open-minded and irreverent Afghans, the reportage in this book belongs to one of the most original Afghan voices heard since the toppling of the Taliban.

Nushin Arbazadah grew up in Kabul during the Soviet occupation, and as a teenager fled Afghanistan with her family. She later studied at Cambridge University and now writes a column in The Guardian.

September 2012   224pp

Paperback   9781849042314   £15.95

Literary Non-Fiction / Afghanistan
Emile Simpson is a former British Army officer of the Royal Gurkha Rifles, which he joined after graduating in Classics from Oxford University. Between 2007 and 2011, he completed three tours of Afghanistan.

June 2012 • 256pp
Hardback • 9781849042550 • £20.00

War Studies

‘I am constantly bowled over by Emile Simpson’s insights. He produces lines that exude common sense and which, because they are pithy, deserve to be widely quoted – and will be. Put simply, this is the most intelligent book on war that I have read for a very long time.’ — Hew Strachan, Oxford University

In the wars in Libya, Iraq, Afghanistan and in recent conflicts more generally, liberal powers have blurred the line between military and political activity. Operationally, such blurring is highly effective: it works on the ground. Conversely, in strategic terms, it erases the distinction between war and peace. This, Simpson contends, is undesirable: how can policy control armed force, if armed force is a direct extension of policy?

As the information revolution reinforces the politicisation of combat, this is likely to be an irreversible trend. The question this book seeks to answer is not whether the West should engage in such practices, but how to manage, gain advantage from, and mitigate the associated risks. Liberal powers need to win conflicts on the ground, and yet preserve a healthy distinction between war and peace. Failure to preserve that distinction will result in those powers being caught in endless conflicts for which they are operationally ill-equipped.

War From The Ground Up offers a distinctive perspective in its consideration of the concept of contemporary warfare. While most accounts of conflict survey the battlefield from an academic perspective, or across it as a personal combat narrative, Simpson looks up from the front line to consider the concepts that put him there, and how they played out.
As the People's Republic's seemingly inexorable rise to economic and military power continues, never has the need for a better grasp of Chinese strategic thought by the West been more acute. In *Deciphering Sun Tzu*, Derek Yuen seeks to reclaim for the reader the hidden contours and lost Chinese and Taoist contexts of Sun Tzu's renowned treatise *The Art of War*, a literary classic and arguably one of the most influential books ever written. He also explains its historical, philosophical, strategic, and cross-cultural significance.

Yuen's innovative reading and analysis of Sun Tzu within and from a Chinese context is a new way of approaching the strategic master's main concepts, which he compares with those of Clausewitz, Liddell-Hart and other Western strategists.

*Deciphering Sun Tzu* offers illuminating analysis and contextualisation of *The Art of War* in a manner that has long been sought by Western readers and opens new means of getting to grips with Chinese strategic thought.

*Derek C. Yuen* has a PhD in Strategic Studies from the University of Reading. Based in Hong Kong, he has been working on the synthesis of Chinese and Western strategic thought and Taoist strategic thinking.
On 25 January 2011, tens of thousands of Egyptians came out on the streets to protest against emergency rule and police brutality. Eighteen days later, Mubarak, one of the longest sitting dictators in the region, had gone. How are we to make sense of these events? Was this a revolution, a revolutionary moment? How did the protests come about? How were they able to outmanoeuvre the police? Was this really a ‘leaderless revolution,’ as so many pundits claimed, or were the protests an outgrowth of the protest networks that had developed over the past decade? Why did so many people with no history of activism participate? What role did economic and systemic crises play in creating the conditions for these protests to occur? Was this really a Facebook revolution?

Why Occupy a Square? is a dynamic exploration of the shape and timing of these extraordinary events, the players behind them, and the tactics and protest frames they developed. Drawing on social movement theory, it traces the interaction between protest cycles, regime responses and broader structural changes over the past decade. Using theories of urban politics, space and power, it reflects on the exceptional state of non-sovereign politics that developed during the occupation of Tahrir Square.

Praise for Jeroen Gunning’s Hamas in Politics:


‘Hamas in Politics provides a reliable and discerning guide to one of the most important actors in contemporary Middle Eastern politics.’ — James Piscatori, University of Durham

Jeroen Gunning is Reader in Middle East Politics at the University of Durham, and author of Hamas in Politics: Democracy, Religion, Violence (Hurst).

Ilan Zvi Baron is Lecturer in the School of Government and International Affairs, University of Durham.

November 2012 • 256pp
Paperback • 9781849042659 • £20.00

Middle East Studies / Politics
Warrior Geeks

How 21st Century Technology is Changing the Way we Fight and Think About War

Christopher Coker

As their roles become more demanding, specialised and far removed from their own inborn predispositions, will the military require ever more years of ‘programming’?

November 2012 £25.00

Warrior Geeks examines how technology is transforming the way we think about and fight war, taking three major changes that are driving this process: cybernetic technologies that are folding soldiers into a cybernetic system that will allow the military to read their thoughts and emotions and mould them accordingly; the coexistence of men and robots in the battle-spaces of tomorrow; and the extent to which we may be able to re-engineer warriors through pharmacological manipulation.

By referring back to the Greeks who defined the contours of war for us, Coker shows how we are in danger of losing touch with our humanity – the name we give not only to a species but the virtues we deem it to embody.

The journey from Greeks to Geeks may be a painful one. War can only be rendered more humane if we stay in touch with the ancestors, yet unfortunately we are planning to subcontract our ethical choices to machines. In revaluing technology, are we devaluing our humanity, or the post-human condition, changing our subjectivity and thus the existential dimension of war by changing our relationship with technology both functionally and performatively?

‘To describe a Coker book as an intellectual tour de force is perhaps the most anodyne observation a reviewer can make; of course it would be, and of course this one is, too. This latest offering is a rich synthesis of ideas and intellectual trajectories drawn from the annals of literature, philosophy, history, and science, and transmitted in a language that speaks as much to pop culture sensibilities as it does to the more esoteric and often impenetrable nooks and crannies of academe.’
— Michael Innes, Current Intelligence

Christopher Coker is Professor of International Relations, London School of Economics. He is the author of Barbarous Philosophers: Reflections on the Nature of War from Heraclitus to Heisenberg, also published by Hurst.

November 2012 • 384pp
Hardback • 9781849042543 • £25.00
War Studies
‘Diplomatic Sites is a collection of thought-provoking, challenging and often unconventional considerations on diplomacy. The author forces the reader to think through issues and scenarios that often step far beyond the more comfortable ambits of international relations, and in doing so the book has the merit of promoting critical inquiry into the logic and practices of contemporary diplomacy.’ — Michele Acuto, Oxford University

Iver B. Neumann is professor and Director of Research at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI). Between 1980 and 2005, he worked in the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in four different capacities, for a total of six years. His latest books are At Home with the Diplomats and (with Ole Jacob Sending), Governing the Global Polity.

September 2012 • 176pp

Hardback • 9781849042406 • £20.00

International Relations

Although diplomacy increasingly takes place in non-traditional settings that are increasingly non-Western, our debates about diplomacy still focus on traditional points of contact such as the conference table, the ministerial office and the press conference. This book is framed as a discussion on whether increasing globalisation and the rise of powers such as China, India and Brazil will precipitate a crisis in diplomacy; it also tackles the problem of diplomatic Eurocentrism head on.

The author, who has broad working experience of diplomacy, reflects on sites that range from the dining table — a quotidian and elementary meeting place where all kinds of business is settled amid a variety of culturally specific but little-known practices — via the civil-war interstices where diplomats from third parties try to facilitate and mediate conflict, to grand diplomatic extravaganzas, the object of which is to overwhelm the other party. In a media age, popular understanding of diplomacy is a force to be reckoned with, hence the book discusses how diplomacy is represented in an almost wholly overlooked space, namely that of popular culture. The author concludes that, far from being in crisis, diplomatic activity is increasingly in evidence in a variety of sites. Rather than being a dying art, in today’s globalised world it positively thrives.
The Sámi Peoples of the North
A Social and Cultural History

Neil Kent

The first comprehensive history of the Sámi people of the Nordic countries and northwestern Russia.

January 2013   £20.00

There is no single volume which encompasses an integrated social and cultural history of the Sámi people from the Nordic countries and northwestern Russia. Neil Kent’s book fills this lacuna. In the first instance, he considers how the Sámi homeland is defined: its geography, climate, and early contact with other peoples. He then moves on to its early chronicles and the onset of colonisation, which changed Sámi life profoundly over the last millennium. Thereafter, the nature of Sámi ethnicity is examined, in the context of the peoples among whom the Sámi increasingly lived, as well as the growing intrusions of the states who claimed sovereignty over them. The Soviet gulag, the Lapland War and increasing urbanisation all impacted upon Sámi life. Religion, too, played an important role from pre-historic times, with their pantheon of gods and sacred sites, to their Christianisation. In the late twentieth century there has been an increasing symbiosis of ancient Sámi spiritual practice with Christianity. Recently the intrusions of the logging and nuclear industries, as well as tourism have come to redefine Sámi society and culture. Even the meaning of who exactly a Sámi is is scrutinised, at a time when some intermarry and yet return to Sápmi, where their children maintain their Sámi identity.

Praise for Neil Kent’s The Soul of the North:

‘A most ambitious undertaking, made by someone both experienced and learned in the life and art of the Nordic countries.’ — Independent on Sunday

Neil Kent is based at Cambridge University and the St Petersburg State Academy of Art, Architecture and Culture, specialising in European history and culture. His many previous books include The Soul of the North: A Social, Architectural and Cultural History of the Nordic Countries, 1770-1940 and Helsinki: A Cultural and Literary History.

January 2013   288pp
Hardback • 9781849042574 • £20.00
History / European Studies
'This is a highly readable, engaging work that plugs a major gap in the literature on the Spanish Civil War, approaching the topic from an original angle — that of the foreign volunteers who fought on the side of Franco and the Nationalists. It systematically covers all the volunteers from each foreign country and, in the process, elaborates on the wider historical context, both in the countries in question and in Spain itself. It thereby sets the Nationalist cause in Spain in a wider context of conservative, Catholic and fascist currents in Europe and the world, explaining the importance of the conflict in the thinking and perception of members of such currents.' — Dr Marko Hoare, Kingston University

**Christopher Othen** studied Linguistics and Literature at university, and Law at postgraduate level. Othen has worked as a journalist, legal representative for asylum seekers and English language teacher.

October 2012 • 240pp
Paperback • 9781849042475 • £15.99

Foreign volunteers fought on behalf of General Franco and the Nationalists in the Spanish Civil War for a right-wing cause whose aim was to smash democracy. These assorted adventurers, fascists, and Catholic crusaders were on the winning side, but their role has remained strangely hidden until now.

Men from Portugal and Morocco signed on for money and adventure. General Eoin O’Duffy organised 700 Irishmen in a modern Crusade; 500 Catholic Frenchmen fought in the ‘Jeanne D’Arc’ unit; and thirty British volunteers, including aristocrats and working-class fascists, also took up arms. Romanian Iron Guard extremists died at Majadahonda and an Indian volunteer fought in the fascist militia. There were Russians, Americans, Finns, Belgians, Greeks, Cubans, and many more.

Goose-stepping alongside the volunteers were fascist conscripts from Germany and Italy, in training for the next world war.

Foreigners, whether unknown individuals like British pilot Cecil Bebb or infamous figures like the German dictator Adolf Hitler, were essential to Franco’s victory. Without Bebb — who flew General Francisco Franco from the Canary Islands to Spanish Morocco in 1936, a journey which was to precipitate the onset of the Spanish Civil War — the war would never have started; without Hitler, Franco would never have won.
First published in 1998, *Inventing Ruritania: The Imperialism of the Imagination* achieved a rare combination of critical success, broad readership and enduring academic influence. It is now recognised as a key contribution to the study of Balkan and European identity. Offered by Hurst in a long-awaited and updated paperback edition, *Inventing Ruritania* is just as topical in the context of Europe’s current turmoil as it was when it first appeared.

Vesna Goldsworthy explores the origins of the ideas that underpin Western perceptions of the Balkans, the ‘Wild East’ of Europe. European and Oriental at the same time, the Balkans are tantalisingly ambiguous: simultaneously attracting and repelling outsiders, an exciting alternative to the familiar ennui of the West, both completely different from ‘us’ and exactly as ‘we’ used to be. Writers and filmmakers in Western Europe and America have found in the peninsula a rich mine of images for literature and the movies. In her prodigiously researched but very readable volume, Goldsworthy shows how this lucrative exploitation of Balkan history and geography by the entertainment industry has affected attitudes toward the region. She considers the religious, national, and sexual taboos and fears projected onto Balkan lands, and discusses the political exploitation and media uses of the Balkan archetypes.

‘Goldsworthy has done enough research to found an academic department ... *Inventing Ruritania* is a sober, thoughtful and perceptive examination of an entertainment industry.’ — *Washington Post*

‘[Goldsworthy] has certainly chosen a glorious topic. . . . There is a rich literary vein to be mined here, and Goldsworthy has a nice critical eye.’ — Tony Judt, *New Republic*

‘A wonderful study, which incisively analyzes Western stereotypes about the region.’ — Carlin Romano, *Chronicle of Higher Education*

**Vesna Goldsworthy** is Professor in English Literature and Creative Writing at Kingston University and the author of several widely translated and award-winning volumes. Following *Inventing Ruritania*, she published a best-selling memoir, *Chernobyl Strawberries* in 2005, which was serialized in *The Times* and read by Goldsworthy herself as Book of the Week on BBC Radio 4, and a Crashaw Prize winning poetry collection, *The Angel of Salonika*, one of *The Times’* Best Poetry Books of 2011.

December 2012   £15.99
When we think of Ethiopia we tend to think in clichés: Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, the Falasha Jews, the epic reign of Emperor Haile Selassie, the Communist Revolution, famine and civil war. Among the countries of Africa it has a high profile yet is poorly known. However all clichés contain within them a kernel of truth, and occlude much more. Today’s Ethiopia (and its painfully liberated sister state of Eritrea) are largely obscured by these mythic views and a secondary literature that is partial or propagandist. Moreover there have been few attempts to offer readers a comprehensive overview of the country’s recent history, politics and culture that goes beyond the usual guidebook fare. Understanding Contemporary Ethiopia seeks to do just that, presenting a measured, detailed and systematic analysis of the main features of this unique country, now building on the foundations of a magical and tumultuous past as it struggles to emerge in the modern world on its own terms.

Praise for Gérard Prunier’s From Genocide to Continental War, also published by Hurst:

‘One of the most remarkable qualities of this remarkable book is Prunier’s ability to combine cool analysis and scholarly dispassion without losing sight of its horror... This is a profound book, and, to use an old-fashioned word, a noble one.’ — David Rieff

Gérard Prunier is a renowned historian of contemporary Africa and author of the acclaimed The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide and Darfur: The Ambiguous Genocide, both published by Hurst.

Éloi Ficquet is an anthropologist and historian, professor at the EHESS, and Director of the French Center for Ethiopian Studies in Addis Ababa. He is the author of A French-Amharic Dictionary and of many articles on Ethiopian history and culture.

Understanding Contemporary Ethiopia

Edited by Gérard Prunier and Éloi Ficquet

A measured, detailed and systematic analysis of the key features of Ethiopian society and politics

January 2013  £16.99

African Studies
Al-Shabaab in Somalia

The History and Ideology of a Militant Islamist Group, 2005-2012

Stig Jarle Hansen

A remarkable book based on intensive field research as well as on the ground interviews with Shabaab leaders

August 2012   £25.00

Since early 2007 a new breed of combatants has appeared on the streets of Mogadishu and other towns in Somalia: the ‘Shabaab’, or youth, the only self-proclaimed branch of al-Qaeda to have gained acceptance (and praise) from Ayman al-Zawahiri and ‘AQ centre’ in Afghanistan. Itself an offshoot of the Islamic Courts Union, which split in 2006, Shabaab has imposed Sharia law and is also heavily influenced by local clan structures within Somalia itself. It remains an infamous and widely discussed, yet little-researched and understood, Islamist group. Hansen’s remarkable book attempts to go beyond the media headlines and simplistic analyses based on alarmist or localist narratives and, by employing intensive field research conducted within Somalia, as well as on the ground interviews with Shabaab leaders themselves, explores the history of a remarkable organisation, one that has survived predictions of its collapse on several occasions. Hansen portrays al-Shabaab as a hybrid Islamist organisation that combines a strong streak of Somali nationalism with the rhetorical obligations of international jihadism, thereby attracting a not insignificant number of foreign fighters to its ranks. Both these strands of Shabaab have been inadvertently boosted by Ethiopian, American and African Union attempts to defeat it militarily, all of which have come to nought.

‘So far, no book-length treatment of Al Shabaab exists in the academic literature, and due to the political and military importance of the group in Somalia and the wider Horn of Africa, policymakers and development workers, as well as area specialists, are in urgent need of such a detailed account.’ — Markus Hoehne, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology

Stig Jarle Hansen is an Associate Professor in International Relations at the University of Life Science in Norway. He specialises in the geopolitics of the Middle East and the Horn of Africa, as well as the links between religion, politics and war economies.

August 2012 • 208pp
Hardback • 9781849042505 • £25.00

Somali Studies / African Studies
Nelson Mandela’s release from prison in February 1990 was one of the most memorable moments of recent decades. It came a few days after the unbanning of the African National Congress following thirty years during which the ANC had fought against the apartheid state. The ANC, founded a century ago and outlawed in 1960, transferred its headquarters abroad and opened what it termed an External Mission. Voted into office in 1994, the ANC today regards its armed struggle as the central plank of its legitimacy.

*External Mission* is the first study of the ANC’s exile period based on a full range of sources in southern Africa and Europe, including not only the archives of the ANC itself but also of the Stasi, the East German ministry that trained the ANC’s own security personnel. It reveals that the decision to create a guerrilla army known as Umkhonto we Sizwe, which later became the ANC’s armed wing, was made not by the ANC but by its allies in the South African Communist Party, after negotiations with Chinese leader Mao Zedong.

Many of the strategic decisions made and many of the political issues that arose during the course of the armed struggle had a lasting effect on South Africa, shaping its society even to the present day.
Creating Africas

Struggles over Nature, Conservation and Land

Knut G. Nustad

A trenchant reassessment of colonial and postcolonial conservation policies in Africa and their impact on the local inhabitants.

November 2012   £25.00

In Africa, conflicts between protected areas for fauna and flora and their surrounding human populations continue despite years spent trying to find an accommodation between the needs of both parties. Creating Africas investigates the roots of the current conservation boom, demonstrates that it is part of a struggle over definitions of realities, and examines the global effects of this struggle. The book discusses the first UNESCO World Heritage Site in South Africa, the Isimangaliso (St Lucia) Wetland Park. Here, conservation interests are pitted against those of industrial forestry, commercial farming, and the local communities struggling to have their land returned to them. They all seek to define and create their own realities but do so with very different resources at their disposal. These realities are treated not as different representations but rather as multiple, often competing, realities that involve a wide range of actors, both human and non-human. The book argues that to avoid being accused of neo-colonial land grabbing, the conservation lobby will need to find a way of imagining nature and protection that includes people.

Knut G. Nustad is Associate Professor in the Department of International Environment and Development Studies at the Norwegian University of Life Sciences. He is the author of numerous book chapters and journal articles.

November 2012   224pp
Paperback • 9781849042581 • £25.00

African Studies / Environment
Songs and Secrets

South Africa from Liberation to Governance

BARRY GILDER

From the freezing streets of Moscow to the baking guerrilla training camps of Angola, Gilder’s memoir of his years as an underground intelligence operative makes for compelling reading.

November 2012  £20.00

A decade into its hard-won democracy, South Africa and its ruling party, the ANC, have been through turbulent times. Confrontation between Thabo Mbeki, and his then deputy, Jacob Zuma; the dismissal of Zuma as Deputy; Zuma’s defeat of Mbeki in ANC presidential elections and the recall of Mbeki as South African president are events that left many ANC cadres politically and emotionally aghast. Were these events the result of personal enmity? Was it the beginning of the break-up of the broad church that the ANC had become to unite all forces in the struggle against apartheid? Or did the roots lie in the global dynamic that allowed South Africa its freedom as the Cold War cooled?

Written in an anecdotal and cinematic style, Songs and Secrets explores these questions through the viewfinder of a former high-ranking member of the ANC’s secret intelligence wing. It follows the author into the ANC’s military camps in Angola; to Moscow for spycraft training; to the underground in Botswana and into leadership positions in the administration of the new government. Gilder’s frank memoir explores the personal, political, psychological and historical realities that gave birth to the new South Africa, in particular the oft-ignored conditions in which the ANC government tried to turn apartheid around.
A History of Libya

John Wright

A revised and updated edition of John Wright’s classic history of Libya

April 2012  £12.99

From the engravings of ancient hunter-artists, to the spectacular overthrow of Moammar Gadafi’s brutal regime in 2011, allowing the emergence of a ‘new’ Libya, John Wright’s book covers a vast span of history. Launching his account from the time of the Garamantes in the first millennium BC, he describes the impact of a procession of invaders – from the Phoenicians and Greeks 3,000 years ago, to the Europeans and Turks in the nineteenth century. The trans-Saharan slave trade to the Eastern Mediterranean via Tripoli, Benghazi and other ports is discussed in detail, highlighting Libya’s role as a base for European penetration of Africa. Wright pays particular attention to an otherwise overlooked and misunderstood period – the controversial Italian Era, from 1911 to 1943 – describing in detail the long, harsh conquest, while also giving due credit to the achievements of the colonial regime. Discussion of events in the twentieth century – the end of Italian rule, the transition to independence under the Sanussi monarchy, the discovery of oil, and Gadafi’s 1969 coup – lays the groundwork for understanding the main events of the twenty-first: Wright takes us through the successful popular uprising and NATO intervention that brought about the end of Gadafi’s forty-two years in power. The emergence of a possibly very different Libya marks the conclusion of this engrossing chronology.

‘Wonderfully succinct but highly insightful recall of the country’s past and present that does not in any way sacrifice clarity for detail.’ — Dirk Vandewalle, Dartmouth College, author of A History of Modern Libya

‘Required reading by all those who wish to understand that desert enigma.’ — Saul Kelly, King’s College London

John Wright was chief political commentator and analyst of the BBC Arabic Service, specialising in Libya, the Sahara and the international oil industry. Besides many articles, papers and talks, he has completed a PhD thesis and written or edited six books on Libya, Saharan travel and exploration and the Saharan slave trade.

April 2012  288pp
Paperback  9781849042277  £12.99
Middle East / North Africa / History
Israel’s Clandestine Diplomacies

Edited by Clive Jones and Tore T. Petersen

Provides fascinating insights into how Mossad leaders such as Yaacov Nimrodi, Meir Amit and Reuven Shiloah conducted secret diplomatic missions to Turkey, Syria, Jordan, Iran and elsewhere from before the founding of Israel to the present

December 2012   £35.00

For over sixty years the state of Israel has proved adept at practising clandestine diplomacy — about which little is known, as one might expect. These hitherto undisclosed episodes in Israel’s diplomatic history are revealed for the first time by the contributors to this volume, who explore how relations based upon patronage and personal friendships, as well as ties born from kinship and realpolitik both informed the creation of the state and later defined Israel’s relations with a host of actors, both state and non-state.

The authors focus on the extent to which Israel’s clandestine diplomacies have indeed been regarded as purely functional and subordinate to a realist quest for security amid the perceived hostility of a predominantly Muslim-Arab world, or have in fact proved to be manifestations of a wider acceptance — political, social and cultural — of a Jewish sovereign state as an intrinsic part of the Middle East. They also discuss whether clandestine diplomacy has been more effective in securing Israeli objectives than reliance upon more formal diplomatic ties constrained by international legal obligations and how this often complex and at times contradictory matrix of clandestine relationships continues to influence perceptions of Israel’s foreign policy.

Clive Jones is Professor of Middle East Studies and International Politics at the University of Leeds and a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

Tore T. Petersen is Professor of International and Diplomatic History at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim.

December 2012 • 320pp
Hardback • 9781849042338 • £35.00

Middle East / International Relations
Lebanon is the prisoner of its geography and its history, a prize for invaders since ancient times, a small multi-denominational state still recovering from a bloody civil war in its search for political autonomy and stability. This book examines the country’s recent past since 2005, when a mass movement agitated against Syrian dominance in the wake of the assassination of Rafik Hariri, the then President of the country. Also detailed are the role of Hezbollah and other political groups.

The authors examine the changes that these events brought to Lebanon, be they lasting or ephemeral, and the challenges they represent for a state which, despite the resilience of its power-sharing system of government, remains hotly contested and unconsolidated.

Sectarian tensions have escalated, predominantly between the Sunni and Shia communities, causing outbursts of street-based violence and paralysis in government. This two-bloc system has left Lebanon ungovernable, not simply due to deep-seated political differences, but because of the external linkages which ties the two blocs to their foreign patrons, namely the USA and Iran. As the Arab Spring develops, it also increases Hezbollah’s significance to Iran as the embattled Assad regime struggles to quash the Syrian insurgency.
The Gulf Monarchies and Climate Change

Abu Dhabi and Qatar in an Era of Natural Unsustainability

Mari Luomi

Luomi reveals how the Gulf’s most dynamic rentier monarchies, Abu Dhabi and Qatar, have begun responding to new, multidimensional natural resource-related pressures, particularly climate change.

November 2012  £25.00

At the heart of Mari Luomi’s salutary book is whether oil- and gas-dependent authoritarian monarchies can keep their natural resource use and the environment in balance. She argues that the Gulf monarchies have already reached their limits of ‘natural sustainability’, given that several of them are dependent on natural gas imports. Water resources are dwindling, and food import dependence is high and rising. Qatar’s per capita emission of CO2 is ten times the global average.

As a result of their booming economies, the Gulf monarchies’ surging electricity and water demand have exerted unexpected pressures on domestic energy supply. Simultaneously, the consolidation of climate change on the international agenda has created a new uncertainty for local rulers whose survival depends on sales of oil and gas. Meanwhile domestic resource consumption, together with climate change, are putting unprecedented stress on the region’s fragile desert environment. The Gulf is under stress, but so too are its states’ power, wealth and ecosystems.

Luomi reveals how Abu Dhabi and Qatar have responded to these new natural resource-related pressures, particularly climate change, and how their responses are inextricably linked with elite legitimacy strategies and the ‘natural unsustainability’ of their political economies.
Although most Arab countries remain authoritarian, many have undergone a restructuring of state-society relations in which lower- and middle-class interest groups have lost ground while big business has benefited in terms of its integration into policy-making and the opening of economic sectors that used to be state-dominated. Arab businesses have also started taking on aspects of public service provision in health, media and education that used to be the domain of the state; they have also become increasingly active in philanthropy.

The ‘Arab Spring,’ which is likely to lead to a more pluralistic political order, makes it all the more important to understand business interests in the Middle East, a segment of society that on the one hand has often been close to the ancien regime, but on the other will play a pivotal role in a future social contract.

Among the topics addressed by the authors are the role of business in recent regime change; the political outlook of businessmen; the consequences of economic liberalisation on the composition of business elites in the Middle East; the role of the private sector in orienting government policies; lobbying of government by business interests and the mechanisms by which governments seek to keep businesses dependent on them.
The Inevitable Caliphate?

A History of the Struggle for Global Islamic Union, 1924 to the Present

REZA PANKHURST

Discusses the Caliphate in the ideas and discourse of the Muslim Brotherhood, Hizb ut-Tahrir and al-Qaeda

October 2012  £18.99

‘Reza Pankhurst provides a unique and probing examination of modern thinking on the caliphate. … This detailed analysis of the ways in which the Muslim Brotherhood, Hizb ut-Tahrir, and al-Qaeda as well as smaller groups reformulate and use the concept today is both judicious and informed. It provides the most reliable guide available to an idea and political symbol that holds attraction for many Sunni Muslims while inciting anxiety, even fear, among others, including many non-Muslims and Shi’a.’ — Professor James Piscator, Durham University

Reza Pankhurst is a political scientist and historian, specialising in the Middle East and Islamist groups. He has a doctorate from the London School of Economics, where he previously completed his masters degree in the history of international relations.

October 2012  256pp
Paperback  • 9781849042512  •  £18.99

Islamic Studies

While in the West 'the Caliphate' evokes overwhelmingly negative images, throughout Islamic history it has been regarded as the ideal Islamic polity. In the wake of the 'Arab Spring' and the removal of long-standing dictators in the Middle East, in which the dominant discourse appears to be one of the compatibility of Islam and democracy, reviving the Caliphate has continued to exercise the minds of its opponents and advocates.

Reza Pankhurst’s book contributes to our understanding of Islam in politics, the path of Islamic revival across the last century and how the popularity of the Caliphate in Muslim discourse waned and later re-emerged. Beginning with the abolition of the Caliphate, the ideas and discourse of the Muslim Brotherhood, Hizb ut-Tahrir, al-Qaeda and other smaller groups are then examined. A comparative analysis highlights the core commonalities as well as differences between the various movements and individuals, and suggests that as movements struggle to re-establish a polity which expresses the unity of the ummah (or global Islamic community), the Caliphate has alternatively been ignored, had its significance minimised or denied, reclaimed and promoted as a theory and symbol in different ways, yet still serves as a political ideal for many.
Advice for the Sultan

Prophetic Voices and Secular Politics in Medieval Islam

Neguin Yavari

‘This will be an important and even path-breaking book on Muslim political thought, one that is conceptually sophisticated and rigorous in its scholarship.’ — Dr Faisal Devji, University of Oxford

December 2012 £35.00

In Advice for the Sultan Neguin Yavari excavates multiple, conflicting strands of Islamic political thought from the medieval past to the present, reassessing these ideas and their impact over the longue durée. Her aim is to revise our understanding of the relationship between modern history and the current master narratives of both Western and Islamic histories of political thought. She does this by re-examining Islamic advice literature, bringing it to life in novel ways. Yavari argues that if read laterally and closely, it promotes secular values such as reason and moderation as the most effective safeguard against political instability and divine rebuke.

Related questions raised in this book include, can Islamic political thought be folded into the discipline of intellectual history? How do we write the history of political thought when its end-product is not seen as the march of a manifest destiny, or progressive secularisation, or the promotion of liberal values, such as is the case with the Islamic world today? Is it possible to read texts for context if the values adumbrated in them do not take hold in society, or to study those that produce political communities that differ radically from those that emerged in eighteenth- and the nineteenth-century Europe?

Neguin Yavari is Assistant Professor of History and Humanities, Eugene Lang College, The New School, New York.

December 2012 • 256pp

Hardback • 9781849042604 • £35.00

Islamic Studies / History
A System of Life

Mawdudi and the Ideologisation of Islam

Jan-Peter Hartung

A pioneering examination of the earliest attempt at a systematic outline of Islamist ideology propounded by the renowned Indo-Muslim intellectual Sayyid Abu ‘l-A’la Mawdudi

January 2013 £55.00

While much current research on political Islam revolves around militant Islamism, the genesis of this ideology remains little understood.

A System of Life is a pioneering examination of the earliest attempt at a systematic outline of Islamist ideology, namely that proposed in the 1930s and early 1940s by the renowned Indo-Muslim intellectual Sayyid Abu’l-A’la Mawdudi. Hartung reconstructs his thought in the light of the competing ideologies at play at the time, taking seriously his claim to recast Islam as an all-comprehensive, self-contained and inner-worldly system ‘of life.’ This analysis is embedded in an understanding of the history of ideas that has assumed an increasingly global dimension in the colonial encounter: by showing how Mawdudi has attempted to align elements of Western philosophical thought with selected traditional Islamic ideas and concepts, he is depicted as a major protagonist of this development, while ‘Islamism’ is established as an Islamic contribution to a universalistic notion of modernity.

Besides offering a detailed portrayal of Mawdudi’s system of thought, Hartung also discusses the reception and modification of his ideas in the Middle East, predominantly among intellectuals of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, and among their imitators in postcolonial South Asia.
In Western popular imagination, the Caliphate often conjures up an array of negative images, while rallies organised in support of resurrecting the Caliphate are treated with a mixture of apprehension and disdain, as if they were the first steps towards usurping democracy. Yet these images and perceptions have little to do with reality.

While some Muslims may be nostalgic for the Caliphate, only very few today seek to make that dream come true. Yet the Caliphate can be evoked as a powerful rallying call and a symbol that draws on an imagined past and longing for reproducing or emulating it as an ideal Islamic polity. The Caliphate today is a contested concept among many actors in the Muslim world, Europe and beyond, the reinvention and imagining of which may appear puzzling to most of us.

*Demystifying the Caliphate* sheds light on both the historical debates following the demise of the last Ottoman Caliphate and controversies surrounding recent calls to resurrect it, transcending alarmist agendas to answer fundamental questions about why the memory of the Caliphate lingers on among diverse Muslims. From London to the Caucasus, to Jakarta, Istanbul, and Baghdad, the contributors explore the concept of the Caliphate and the re-imagining of the Muslim *ummah* as a diverse multi-ethnic community.

‘This volume is a fascinating treatment of the subject of Islamic Caliphate on which much ink has been spent, particularly in the highly charged and politicised environment of recent times in studies of global Islam.’ — Dr Zaheer Kazmi, St Antony’s College, Oxford University

**Madawi Al-Rasheed** is Professor of Anthropology of Religion at King’s College London. Her publications include *Kingdom without Borders* (Hurst 2008).

**Carool Kersten** is Lecturer in the Study of Islam and the Muslim World at King’s College London. He is the author of *Cosmopolitans and Heretics* (Hurst 2011).

**Marat Shterin** is Lecturer in Sociology of Religion at King’s College London. He has published widely on religion, society and law in Russia.

September 2012 • 356pp
Paperback • 9781849042284 • £25.00

Islamic Studies
There is a widespread consensus today that the constitutional flexibility to alter boundaries has bolstered the stability of India’s democracy, and reduced the potential for conflicts around language. Debates continue about the potential to create more states in response to the demands of marginalised ethnic communities, disgruntled farmers, opportunistic politicians, regional industrialists and others who seek – in different ways – to reshape political and economic arenas. Remapping India looks at the most recent episode of state creation in 2000, when the states of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand came into being in some of the poorest, yet resource-rich, regions of Hindi-speaking north and central India. Their creation represented a new turn in the history of territorial organisation in India. This book explains the politics that lay behind this episode of post-linguistic state reorganisation, and what it means for the future design of India’s federal system.

Louise Tillin is a lecturer in politics at the King’s India Institute, King’s College London. She was previously the Joyce Lambert research fellow in politics at Newnham College, University of Cambridge. Before joining academia, she worked for BBC News.
Delwar Hussain is a writer and anthropologist focusing on the contemporary Indian Subcontinent. He was educated in London and Cambridge and has written on Bangladesh for The Guardian since 2009. Hussain is currently researching his next book, a social and cultural history of Dhaka.

The recent growth of Third World economies is ostensibly based on extracting raw materials, especially mining, a controversial issue that has taken centre stage in recent years in discussions on globalisation, neoliberalism and the growth of the next superpowers. This book explores what everyday life is like for the thousands of Bangladeshis who labour in the coal mines that straddle the Bangladesh/India borderlands.
Aiding Afghanistan

A History of Soviet Assistance to a Developing Country

Paul Robinson and Jay Dixon

A compelling reconsideration of how massive injections of Soviet aid failed to win round the Afghan people or stabilise the country

August 2012   £45.00

For close to sixty years Afghanistan was one of the largest recipients of foreign development aid and yet it remains one of the poorest countries on the planet. The Soviet Union provided Afghanistan with large-scale economic and technical assistance for nearly twenty-five years before invading in 1979 and then increased the volume of assistance even further during the 1980s in an effort to prop up the government and undermine the anti-Soviet insurgency. None of this aid made any lasting difference to Afghan poverty. As in so many other countries, foreign aid did not promote economic growth.

Using unexplored Russian sources, this book describes and analyses the economic and technical assistance programs run by the Soviet Union from the mid-1950s through to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, and places them in the context of both Soviet-era development theories and more recent ideas about the role of institutions in fostering economic growth. In some respects Soviet development theorists were actually ahead of their contemporary Western counterparts in realising the centrality of institution-building, but they proved unable to translate their theories into practical solutions. The reasons why their assistance programs failed so completely in Afghanistan remain compellingly relevant today.

‘This volume covers a gap in existing historiography of Afghan contemporary history, namely the economic dimension of Soviet assistance, both before and after the start of the war in 1978.’

— Antonio Giustozzi, author, Koran, Kalashnikov and Laptop

Paul Robinson is a professor in the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Ottawa. He has written numerous books and articles on a wide variety of subjects including Russian and Soviet history, most notably The White Russian Army in Exile, 1920-1941.

Jay Dixon has a PhD in Economics from UCLA. He currently works for Industry Canada, researching the determinants of Canada’s economic growth, and lectures on macroeconomic policy in the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Ottawa.

August 2012   240pp

Hardback   9781849042390   £45.00

Aid / Afghanistan
Decades of Pakistani resentment over India’s stance on Kashmir, and its subsequent attempt to force a military solution on the issue, led to the 1965 war between the two neighbours. It ended in a stalemate on the battlefield, and after a mere twenty-one days, the war was brought to a dramatic end with the signing of a peace treaty at Tashkent. The opposing sides both claimed victory, however, and also catalogues of heroic deeds that have since taken on the character of mythology. Although neither prevailed outright, the one undoubted loser in the conflict was the incumbent President of Pakistan, General Ayub Khan, who staked his political and military reputation on Pakistan emerging victorious. With the superpowers unwilling to assist in negotiations, and Pakistan reluctant to damage its alliance with America, the agreement that followed only reinforced India’s position not to surrender anything during diplomacy that Pakistan had failed to gain militarily. This book examines in detail the politics, diplomacy and military manoeuvres of the war, using British and American declassified documents and memoirs, as well as some unpublished interviews. It provides a comprehensive overview of the conflict and makes sense of the morass of diplomacy and the confusion of war.

Farooq Bajwa completed a PhD in International Relations at the London School of Economics in 1990. He lectured on history and politics at a variety of universities and institutions before training to become a barrister and a solicitor. He is the author of Pakistan and the West: The First Decade, and Pakistan: An Historic and Contemporary Look. The latter is a major textbook in Pakistan for students of the country’s history.

December 2012 • 256pp
Hardback • 9781849042307 • £25.00
South Asian Studies / History
While humanitarianism is unquestionably a fast-growing subject of practitioner and scholarly engagement, much discussion about it is predicated on a dangerous dichotomy between ‘aid givers’ and ‘relief takers’ that largely misrepresents the negotiated nature of the humanitarian enterprise. To highlight the tension between these relationships, this book focuses on the ‘humanitarian spaces’ and the dynamics of ‘humanitarian diplomacy’ (both ‘local’ and ‘global’) that sustain them. It gathers key voices to provide a critical analysis of international theory, geopolitics and dilemmas underpinning the negotiation of relief.

Offering up-to-date examples from cases such as Kosovo and the Tsunami, or ongoing crises like Haiti, Libya, Darfur and Somalia, the contributors analyse the complexity of humanitarian diplomacy and the multiplicity of geographies and actors involved in it. By investigating the transformations that both diplomacy and humanitarianism are undergoing, the authors prompt us towards a critical and eclectic understanding of the dialectics of humanitarian space. Negotiating Relief aims to present humanitarianism not only as a relief delivery mechanism but also as a phenomenon in dialogue with both localised crises and global politics.
The story of the Bosnian Muslims in World War II is an epic frequently alluded to in discussions of the 1990s Balkan conflicts, but almost as frequently misunderstood or falsified. This first comprehensive study of the topic in any language sets the record straight. Based on extensive research in the archives of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Croatia, it traces the history of Bosnia and its Muslims from the Nazi German and Fascist Italian occupation of Yugoslavia in 1941, through the years of the Yugoslav civil war, and up to the seizure of power by the Communists and their establishment of a new Yugoslav state.

The book explores the reasons for Muslim opposition to the new order established by the Nazis and Fascists in Bosnia in 1941 and the different forms this opposition took. It describes how the Yugoslav Communists were able to harness part of this Muslim opposition to support their own resistance movement and revolutionary bid for power. This Muslim element in the Communists’ revolution shaped its form and outcome, but ultimately had itself to be curbed as the victorious Communists consolidated their dictatorship. In doing so, they set the scene for future struggles over Yugoslavia’s Muslim question.

Praise for Marko Hoare’s 
How Bosnia Armed:

‘Well-researched, thoughtful, and provocative … it should be required reading for anyone interested in the Bosnian conflict.’ — The Journal of Military History

‘A well-argued and well-documented history of the key instrument of Bosnian policy … should be required reading for all those studying the Yugoslav war.’ — The Slavonic and East European Review

Marko Attila Hoare is a Reader in history at Kingston University. He has been researching the history of the former Yugoslavia since the early 1990s. He is the author of The History of Bosnia, Genocide and Resistance in Hitler’s Bosnia and How Bosnia Armed: The Birth and Rise of the Bosnian Army.
Kevin Featherstone is Eleftherios Venizelos Professor of Contemporary Greek Studies and Director of the Hellenic Observatory, London School of Economics. He has written extensively on the politics of the European Union and of modern Greece.

The meaning of Europe varies significantly from one national setting to another and this variation is at the heart of the current problems faced by the EU. ‘Europe’, ‘Europeanness’ and ‘European’ have been important themes in the history of modern Greece, from the establishment of the new state in 1832 to the sovereign debt crisis of 2010. ‘Europe’ has served as key reference points in questions of identity, progress, capability, legitimation and strategic interest. Indeed, few nations have experienced ‘Europe’ with such intensity, reacted with so much angst, and witnessed effects of such consequence.

Now, in the context of two financial bailouts and the imposition of tough austerity measures, it is the ‘euro-zone’ that is shaking the Greek economy, state and society to its roots. This turmoil needs to be understood in the context of a sequence of questions and doubts that encompass arts and politics, social integration and economic development.

This volume addresses the complexity of Greece’s relationship with ‘Europe’ – examining its manifestations in culture, politics, society, foreign policy and the economy. It deepens our knowledge not only of how modern Greece has reached this point, but also of what Europe is, what it represents, how it may impact domestically, and why it may be viewed differently.
Stephen Starr is a freelance Irish journalist who has been reporting from Damascus since 2007. He covered the Syrian uprising for some of the world’s leading newspapers and his work has been published in The Washington Post, Financial Times, The Times and Sunday Times, The Los Angeles Times and The Irish Times. He is also the founder and editor-in-chief of Near East Quarterly.

In January 2011 President Bashar al-Assad told the Wall Street Journal that Syria was ‘stable’ and immune from revolt. In the months that followed, and as regimes fell in Egypt and Tunisia, thousands of Syrians took to the streets calling for freedom, with many dying at the hands of the regime. In Revolt in Syria: Eye-Witness to the Uprising, Stephen Starr delves deep into the lives of Syrians whose destiny has been shaped by the state for almost fifty years. In conversations with people from all strata of Syrian society, Starr draws together and makes sense of perspectives illustrating why Syria, with its numerous sects and religions, was so prone to violence and civil strife. Through his unique access to a country largely cut off from the international media during the unrest, Starr delivers compelling first hand testimony from those who suffered and benefited most at the hands of the regime. Revolt in Syria details why many Syrians wanted Assad’s government to stay as the threat of civil war loomed large, the long-standing gap between the state apparatus and its people and why the country’s youth stood up decisively for freedom. Starr also sets out the positions adhered to by the country’s minorities and explains why many Syrians believe that enforced regime change might precipitate a region-wide conflict.

‘Stephen Starr explores the “murky half-light between revolt and potential civil war” that has dominated Syria for several months now. ... a compelling, expertly informed narrative that tackles the complexity of Syria’s predicament head-on. His book is sure to attract a large readership. ... To say that the book is timely is an understatement.’ Professor John Calvert, author, Sayyid Qutb and the Origins of Radical Islamism (Hurst)
Putin’s New Order in the Middle East

Talal Nizameddin

Explains the deft diplomatic footwork instigated since Putin came to power in 1999 and Moscow’s stubborn backing of the Syrian and Iranian regimes

January 2013 £45.00

Vladimir Putin has almost by stealth transformed himself into an historic Russian figure. His undeniable political dominance was reflected in his return to presidential control after the March 2012 elections, having placed an obedient President Dmitry Medvedev in a stop-gap presidency. Since 1999 Putin’s growing power transposed itself in foreign affairs and nowhere did Russia’s reemergence on the world stage have more impact than in the Middle East.

Russia’s new role and identity had its roots in the late Yeltsin era but Putin has subtly deflated the balloon of US power by cleverly manipulating developments in the Middle East including Iraq, Lebanon, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the Syrian revolution and other regional issues. Yet twenty years earlier Russia was a very different place, and as it took its first fragile steps in a world full of dangers, the Middle East was not a top priority. This book charts the remarkable conversion in Russian Middle East policy that developed after the turning point in 2005-2006, which mirrored Putin’s turn to unbridled authoritarianism. It remains to be seen whether Putin’s increasingly pugnacious Middle East policies can be reconciled with Russia’s long term interests economically and strategically.

Talal Nizameddin has been studying and researching Russia and the Middle East for twenty years. His first book, Russia and the Middle East: Towards a New Foreign Policy, spanned the Yeltsin era and was published in 1999. He has worked and taught in the US, Europe and the Middle East to enrich his research interests in Russian foreign policy. He was formerly Lecturer in International Relations at Haigazian University, Beirut.

January 2013 • 288pp
Hardback • 9781849042598 • £45.00
Middle East / Russia
Local Politics in Afghanistan

Edited by Conrad Schetter

‘All politics is local politics’ is an adage which is perhaps more relevant in Afghanistan than many other countries and accounts for the failure of its over-centralised state

November 2012  £35.00

Afghanistan’s people have contended with an almost continuous series of foreign interventions in their local affairs in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Not only have external powers such as British India, the Soviet Union, Pakistan and NATO meddled egregiously in local affairs, but so have Afghan governments, including monarchical, Communist, Islamist and ostensibly democratic ones. While the robust resilience of the Afghan population in the face of external influence is widely recognised, how the local populations have concretely dealt with these interventions and how local politics is structured in Afghanistan still remain somewhat open questions.

This volume sheds light on this phenomenon as well as illuminating the complexities of local politics in Afghanistan, analysing also how the local social order is disturbed or reinforced by outside intervention. It also advances our understanding of Afghan society by presenting local politics in a way that frees it from the false binary of romanticisation and demonisation. A central theme is understanding how rational objectives play out in local politics and are guided by social factors such as trust, solidarity, reciprocity and patronage. The book also explores the role jirgas and shuras have played in negotiating between the local and external interventionists.

‘Local Politics in Afghanistan should do for the micro-study of Afghanistan what Decoding the New Taliban did for Taliban studies. Schetter’s edited volume is an engaging set of essays on the dynamics of the local level of activity and how this intersects with other agendas — whether imposed from outside by foreigners/internationals or from the Afghan government itself.’ — Alex Strick van Linschoten, co-editor of My Life With the Taliban and Poetry of the Taliban.

Conrad Schetter is Research Fellow at the Center for Development Research (ZEF) of the University of Bonn. He is also coordinator of the “Crossroads Asia. Conflict, Migration, Development” research network. His publications focus on local structures of power and violence, the politics of intervention, as well as collective identities. His main regional focus is Afghanistan, Pakistan and Central Asia.

November 2012  • 362pp
Hardback  • 9781849042635  • £35.00

Afghanistan
Halford Mackinder and the International Relations of Central Asia

Edited by Nick Megoran and Sevara Sharapova

Mackinder argued that control of a ‘pivot’ or ‘heartland’ of Eurasia, including Central Asia, would prove key to the balance of global power. This idea has had profound effects on foreign policy debates, which are discussed in this timely volume.

December 2012 £45.00

The republics of Central Asia re-emerged as independent actors in the global interstate system in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union, their varied histories and geographies offering many different possible opportunities and course of action. In order to explain their often confusing and complicated foreign policy alignments, many analysts have turned again to the theories of Sir Halford Mackinder (1861-1947), the British geographer who is widely regarded as the founding father of geopolitics. This book brings together historical geographers and political scientists to explore this remarkable renaissance of Mackinder’s thinking. It charts his own engagement with the region, in both his writings and his visit to Central Asia as a British envoy in the aftermath of World War I. It outlines and evaluates how his ideas have been used by Central Asian, Russian, and American scholars to explain the region’s international relations, and it traces how his writings actually reached Central Asia and the manner in which they have been dynamically reworked by scholars ‘in transit’. The book is thus an important contribution not only to theorising the international relations of Central Asia, but also to our understanding of the historical geography of how ideas are exchanged and reworked in the process.

‘An excellent piece of work that deserves a wide readership. It is very engaging and holds the reader’s interest throughout. The book represents an innovative approach to Mackinder’s theories and breaks new ground. It is a must read for anyone with an interest in Mackinder’s contribution to geopolitics and its contemporary readings.’ — Dr Christopher Wyatt, author, Afghanistan and the Defence of Empire

Nick Megoran is a political geographer at Newcastle University. He has published widely on both geopolitical theory and the politics and international relations of Central Asia.

Sevara Sharapova is a political scientist in Tashkent. She focuses on international relations in Central Asia and is the author of several books and articles on this topic.

December 2012 · 256pp

Hardback · 9781849042437 · £45.00

CENTRAL ASIA
Poetry of the Taliban
Edited and Introduced by Alex Strick van Linschoten and Felix Kuehn
With a preface by Faisal Devji

‘Afghanistan has a rich and ancient tradition of epic poetry celebrating resistance to foreign invasion and occupation. This extraordinary collection is remarkable as a literary project — uncovering a seam of war poetry few will know ever existed, and presenting to us for the first time the black turbanned Wilfred Owens of Wardak. But it is also an important political project: humanising and giving voice to the aspirations, aesthetics, emotions and dreams of the fighters of a much-caricatured and still little-understood resistance movement that is about to defeat yet another foreign occupation.’ — William Dalrymple, author of The Last Mughal and the forthcoming The Return of a King: Shah Shuja and the First Battle for Afghanistan, 1839-42.

An Enemy We Created
The Myth of the Taliban/Al Qaeda Merger in Afghanistan, 1970-2010
Alex Strick van Linschoten and Felix Kuehn

‘This book is one of the best informed, most sophisticated, and most insightful works yet to appear on the Afghan Taliban and their relationship to Al Qaeda. It makes a brilliant contribution to Afghan historiography, and should be compulsory reading for Western policymakers working on Afghanistan today.’ — Professor Anatol Lieven, King’s College London and author of Pakistan: A Hard Country.

‘Ignore anybody claiming to be an expert on the Taliban or Al Qaeda if they have not read An Enemy We Created by Strick van Linschoten and Kuehn.’ — Nir Rosen, author of Aftermath: Following the Bloodshed of America’s Wars in the Muslim World and Fellow at New York University’s Center on Law and Security.
China or Japan
Which Will Lead Asia?
Claude Meyer

‘In his provocative book Claude Meyer argues against the conventional wisdom that Japan’s future is past and that China will necessarily dominate the region. Drawing on his long years of experience with China and Japan as a businessman and scholar, Meyer explains why the next decades in East Asia are going to be dominated by competition between China and Japan for political and economic power. In contrast to so many observers who have written Japan off as a declining power, Meyer puts his focus on Japan’s strengths as well as its weaknesses and the likelihood that it will play a central role in shaping the Asia of the future.’ — Gerald Curtis, Columbia University

Claude Meyer is Senior Fellow at GEM-Sciences Po, and teaches international economics at Sciences Po (Paris).

Storming the World Stage
The Story of Lashkar-e-Taiba
Stephen Tankel

‘The most detailed and impressive account yet of the development and activities of Lashkar-e-Taiba.’ — Patrick French, The Sunday Times

Lashkar-e-Taiba, one of the most dangerous terrorist-groups in the world, gained prominence after its deadly assault on Mumbai in November 2008. More than a militant outfit, it controls a vast infrastructure that delivers vital social services to the people of Pakistan. Its history, and the security implications of its expansion for India, Pakistan, Europe and the US, are explored by Stephen Tankel in the first-ever English-language book on the Lashkar, drawing on field research, and interviews with Lashkar and the Pakistani ISI.

Stephen Tankel is an Assistant Professor at Washington University.
Decoding the New Taliban

Insights from the Afghan Field
EDITED BY ANTONIO GIUSTOZZI

‘Provides a nuanced micro-level view of the country ... One of the most significant contributions ... is the insight into the modus operandi of the insurgency.’ — Foreign Affairs

‘An outstanding and important collection – just the sort of locally specific, openly debatable, scholarly analysis ... that will be required more and more if the international community is ever to understand the insurgents and divine how to prevent a second Taliban revolution... as up-to-date as scholarship can be.’ — Steve Coll in The New Yorker

Antonio Giustozzi is widely regarded as the leading scholarly expert on the Taliban, the product of twenty years research in and on Afghanistan.

NEW IN PAPERBACK

Empires of Mud

Wars and Warlords in Afghanistan
ANTONIO GIUSTOZZI

‘In Empires of Mud, Giustozzi assesses the dynamics of warlordism... [It offers] a chilling prognosis for those who believe that the solution to stabilizing Afghanistan will come only from the top down — by building strong central government institutions. Although creating a strong centralized state, assuming it ever happens, may help ensure long-term stability, it is not sufficient in Afghanistan. The current top-down state-building and counterinsurgency efforts must take place alongside bottom-up programs, such as reaching out to legitimate local leaders to enlist them in providing security and services at the village and district levels. Otherwise, the Afghan government will lose the war.’ — Foreign Affairs
Walking Palestine

25 Journeys into the West Bank

Stefan Szepesi
with a foreword by Raja Shehadeh

‘Stefan’s book shows what a beautiful place Palestine is and how rewarding it is, for Palestinians and visitors alike, to explore its natural and cultural heritage on foot. This is a splendid book.’ — The Right Honourable Tony Blair, British Prime Minister (1997—2007)

May 2012  £12.99

With the images of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict so dominant in our minds, walking for leisure is the one activity probably least associated with the West Bank region. But Stefan Szepesi’s book wanders well off the beaten track of Palestine as only a synonym for occupation and strife, exploring its inspiring natural and cultural landscape, its intriguing past and present, and the hospitality of its people. The book takes first-time walkers and experienced hikers, as well as armchair explorers, through Palestine’s steep desert gorges, along its tiny herders’ trails and over its quiet dirt roads running past silver green olive groves. With side stories and anecdotes on heritage, history, culture and daily life in the West Bank, the book ventures into the traits and character of Palestine today. Beyond the 250 km of walking trails described and mapped in detail throughout the book, Walking Palestine offers a wealth of practical walking tips, including references to local guides, the West Bank’s best leisure spots and countryside restaurants, and the most charming places to spend the night.

May 2012  188pp  Current Affairs/Travel
Paperback  9781908493613  £12.99
Andrew Beattie has written for Rough Guides and the journal Contemporary Review, and has contributed to programmes on BBC Radio 4. His previous titles for Signal Books include books on the Alps, the Danube and Cairo.

Since its foundation in the ninth century Prague has punched well above its weight to become a fulcrum of European culture. The city’s most illustrious figures in the fields of music, literature and film are well known: Mozart staged the premiere of his opera Don Giovanni here; in the early twentieth century Franz Kafka was at the forefront of the city’s intellectual life, while later writers such as Milan Kundera and film directors such as Miloš Forman chronicled Prague’s fortunes under communism. Yet the city has a cultural heritage that runs far deeper than Kafka museums and Mozart-by-candlelight concerts. It encompasses the avant-garde punk group Plastic People of the Universe, the ‘new wave’ film directors of the 1960s who made their striking movies in the city’s famed Barrandov studios, and artists such as Alfons Mucha and František Kupka whose revolutionary canvases fomented Art Nouveau and abstract art at the dawn of the twentieth century.

The great German chancellor Otto von Bismarck once commented that ‘whoever controls Prague, controls mid-Europe’ and a succession of imperialist powers have taken this advice to heart. Opposition has taken many forms, from the religious reformer Jan Hus in the fifteenth century to playwright and dissident Václav Havel, whose elevation to the Czechoslovak presidency in 1990 made him a symbol of the rebirth of democracy in Eastern Europe.

In this book Andrew Beattie also reflects on the modern city, where bold new buildings such as Frank Gehry’s ‘Dancing House’ rub shoulders with monuments from the Gothic and Baroque eras such as the Charles Bridge and St. Vitus’ Cathedral. He considers the suburbs too, home to world-renowned football and ice hockey teams, gleaming shopping centres and grim communist-era apartment blocks that are often home to Vietnamese, Romany and Muslim minority groups who live in a city with a growing international outlook. The Prague he reveals is an increasingly confident and diverse city of the new Europe.

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Andrew Beattie

Concise guide to a European cultural capital known for its music, literature, film, and politics

June 2012 £9.99

INNERCITIES CULTURAL GUIDES

Andrew Beattie has written for Rough Guides and the journal Contemporary Review, and has contributed to programmes on BBC Radio 4. His previous titles for Signal Books include books on the Alps, the Danube and Cairo.

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June 2012 • 224pp + 16pp Colour Photos
Travel • Paperback • 9781908493637 • £9.99
Long before it became an Italian offshore island, Sicily was the land in the centre of the Mediterranean where the great civilizations of Europe and Northern Africa met. In ancient times it was the scene of conflicts between Carthaginians, Greeks and Romans and there are still more, better preserved Greek temples in Sicily than in the whole of mainland Greece. An Arab invasion in 827 made Sicily home to an Islamic culture, and through Sicily the Arabs introduced to Europe a range of products from sugar to pasta. Other conquering forces included the Catalan-Aragonese, the Spanish, the French, the Austrians and even the British who invented Marsala wine.

Sicily today is familiar and unfamiliar, unmodernized and unchanging. Visitors will find an Aragonese castle in an out-of-the-way town, will stumble across a Norman church by the side of a lesser travelled road, will see red Muslim-style domes over a Christian shrine, will find a Baroque church of breathtaking beauty in a village, will catch a glimpse from the motorway of a solitary Greek temple on the horizon and will happen on a the celebrations of the patron saint of a run-down district of a city, and will stop and wonder. There is more to Sicily than the Godfather and the mafia.

* Land of Myth and Religious Feast: the myth of Persephone at the lake of Pergusa; the Holy Week processions in Enna and Erice; the festivities for St. Rosalia in Palermo, St. Agatha in Catania, St. James in Caltagirone.

* History in Stone: the Valley of the Temples in Agrigento; Norman cathedrals in Palermo, Monreale and Cefalù; Saracen and Aragonese castles; Arab-Norman-Byzantine mosaics in the Palace of the Normans in Palermo.

* Islands and Cities: the Aeolian Islands with their volcanoes at Stromboli and Vulcano; the hauntingly beautiful cities of Taormina and Cefalù; Mount Etna; the eighteenth-century Baroque towns of Ragusa and Noto.
Umbria is a landscape of peaks and valleys. Historically and culturally it has also been a story of highs and lows: from the heights of Etruscan and Roman urban culture to the violent depths of the Dark Ages and medieval period; from the masterworks of artistic geniuses like Raphael, Giotto, and Burri to the limitations of an impoverished local tradition; from the exemplary moral teaching of myriad saints to the rapacious violence of Renaissance signori.

Jonathan Boardman shows how cultural themes can be identified throughout Umbria’s complex history, its uniquely rich artistic legacy and its lively modern trends. From its theatres to its factories, from its farmhouses to its town halls, from its churches to its restaurants, he charts what is distinct about the people who have made this their home. These include the ever-present waves of new settlers, be they invading Goths or today’s economic migrants and expatriate settlers. He also mines the rich literary vein laid down by such foreign visitors as Smollett, Goethe, Byron and Henry James while not neglecting the local Latin and Italian heralds of Umbria’s charm.

* Ancient Umbria: Heart of Etruscan urban culture, rural retreat for Rome’s affluent aristocrats, Byzantine corridor of warfare and invasion.

* Lofty Umbria: The home of St. Francis and St. Clare, the workplace of the ‘sacred’ painters, the civic aspirations of the medieval communes.

* Modern Umbria: Industry and innovation, politics and sport, Perugia chocolate, multi-mineral waters and Montefalco wines.

Landscapes of the Imagination

Jonathan Boardman is Archdeacon of Italy and Malta for the Church of England. He is the author of Rome, also published by Signal Books.
Oxford Past Times

The Changing Face of City and County

CHRIS KOENIG

Quirky and entertaining vignettes by a local resident about life in Oxford today

November 2012 £12.00

For more than ten years Chris Koenig’s Past Times column has been a regular favourite in the Oxford Times, bringing to life unexpected and sometimes unusual aspects of the city and county’s history. Ranging over Oxford and its academic institutions, Oxfordshire with its market towns and agricultural traditions and the area’s dynamic cultural and religious past, the column has informed and entertained the newspaper’s readers.

Collected together for the first time, this selection of Past Times articles reveals the rich historic legacy of Oxford and Oxfordshire. Beginning with the city’s monastic and university origins, it traces Oxford’s development into a modern metropolis and the changing lives of its inhabitants. Brief essays also explore many aspects of the county’s colourful past and look at some of the individuals who played their part in its history. Looking at towns such as Chipping Norton, Wallingford and Thame, Chris Koenig recalls episodes that defined their identity. From the myth of St. Frideswide to the modern-day high-tech economy, from the medieval countryside to today’s tourist magnet of the Cotswolds, he sheds light on countless corners of city and county, familiar and unfamiliar.

Town and Gown: colleges and their customs; academic eccentrics and unruly undergraduates; the city of research and discovery; the changing faces of two universities.

County of Contrasts: the agricultural and industrial landscape; times of plenty and hardship; Blenheim Palace and aristocratic history; the role of religion and belief.

Local and Global Characters: radicals and revolutionaries; explorers and inventors; Alice in Wonderland, Inspector Morse and literary Oxford; Cotswold artists and visionaries.

Chris Koenig is a writer and journalist and a regular contributor to the Oxford Times.

November 2012 • 288pp + 70 b/w illustrations • History
Paperback • 9781908493651 • £12.00
Joaquim Nabuco, for more than three decades a dominant figure in the literary, intellectual and political life of Brazil, was born in Recife in the country’s Northeast in 1849 and died in Washington, D.C. in 1910, after spending half his adult life in Europe and the United States. He was what we would now call a public intellectual. Nabuco is best known as the inspirational leader of the campaign for the abolition of slavery in Brazil, which was the last remaining slave state in the Americas. Eighteen months after slavery was finally ended in 1888, the Brazilian Empire was overthrown and Nabuco, a committed monarchist, believing—wrongly—that his public career was over (he was to serve the Republic as Brazilian minister in London and Brazil’s first ambassador to Washington), devoted himself in ‘internal exile’ to writing, including a series of newspaper articles on his education, his early intellectual development, his discovery of the world outside Brazil and his life as a young diplomat and politician. These articles, together with some later additions, were published as Minha Formacao (My Formative Years) in 1900.

In twenty-six chapters Nabuco examines: growing up on a sugar plantation worked by slaves; his decision to devote himself to the abolition of slavery; his training in the law; the influence of Walter Bagehot’s The English Constitution (1867) on his political thinking; his introduction to French literature and history (besides Portuguese he wrote his first poems and plays in French); his first visit to Europe in 1873-4; his two years (1876-8) as attaché in the Brazilian legations in Washington and London; his political career and becoming a self-styled ‘English liberal in the Brazilian Parliament’; the influence of English and North American abolitionists on his thinking about slavery and abolition; and the eventually successful parliamentary struggle to end slavery. A concluding chapter briefly considers his life after the abolition of slavery and the fall of the Empire.
The Sahara

A Cultural History

EAMONN GEARON

‘A succinct and successful summary of the past, present and future of this surprisingly busy desert.’ — Michael Palin

‘A painstaking study of a remarkable terrain and its equally extraordinary inhabitants.’ — Mick Herron, Geographical Magazine

‘With the ‘Arab Spring’ affecting much of North Africa, this book provides a very useful introduction to exactly how the region has reached its present situation.’ — Dr Trevor James, Historical Association

Eamonn Gearon is a writer and Arabist. For the past twenty years, he has lived in the Greater Middle East, focusing on policy issues, both as an analyst and a professor.

More Than Cowboys

Travels through the History of the American West

TIM SLESSOR

As featured on BBC Radio 4’s ‘Excess Baggage’, More than Cowboys is chock full of beguiling stories about huge personalities, including General Custer, Butch Cassidy and even the teenage Winston Churchill. Working for the BBC, Tim Slessor has filmed ‘out West’ for nearly fifty years. In this book he selects a series of beguiling stories that range from the mountain men and their fur trade to the pioneers of the overland trail, from Custer and the disaster at the Little Big Horn to the last stand of the Sioux at Wounded Knee, from the early cow-towns and the railroads to the cattle barons and the emigrant sod-busters. Full of surprises and insights, More Than Cowboys casts new and entertaining light on the history and personalities of the American West.

Tim Slessor is the author of First Overland, the story of the first entirely-by-land drive from the Channel to Singapore.
Bath

**JOHN PAYNE**

Bath, Queen of the West, is internationally famous as one of England's oldest and most beautiful cities. The picturesque setting in the Avon valley, surrounded by green hills knit town and country together. The hot mineral springs welling up from deep within the earth have given it unique advantages as a health and leisure resort. An insider’s account that goes well beyond traditional guidebooks, *Bath* reflects on the modern diversity of this historic city, where industry, sport and shopping take their place alongside tourism and heritage.

**John Payne** is the author of books on Catalonia and the English West Country. Born in Bath, he lives at Frome in Somerset.

---

In The Shadow Of Crows

**DAVID CHARLES MANNERS**

'I learnt so much from this book … it shows a great depth of understanding.' — Nikki Bedi, BBC Asian Network

'A journey into another world that tells a story which is at once accomplished, intriguing and moving.' — Gilda O’Neill, author of the *Sunday Times* bestseller, *My East End*

*In the Shadow of Crows* is an inspirational account of a young man raised in the suburban comforts of Surrey, a widow ravaged by leprosy in the Eastern Himalaya, and the impact on them both as their worlds collide.

**David Charles Manners** is the co-founder of Sarvashubhamkara, a charity that provides medical care, education and human contact for socially excluded individuals and communities on the Indian subcontinent. For the past fifteen years, David has spent his life between the Sussex Downs and the Bengal Himalaya.
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