



# HURST PUBLISHERS SPRING - SUMMER 2017



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DAVID GOODHART

# The Road to Somewhere

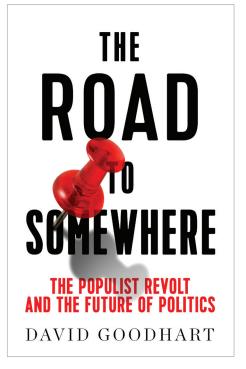
The Populist Revolt and the Future of Politics

A robust and timely investigation into the political and moral values that are sharply dividing Brexit Britain—and how a new settlement can be found.

Greater economic and cultural openness in the West has not worked for all its citizens. From those who've benefitted least, a populist politics of culture and identity has risen to challenge the traditional politics of left and right. This helps to account for the Brexit vote in Britain and its supporters elsewhere, the success of the Scottish National Party, the crisis in the British Labour Party, and the popularity of Donald Trump in the US.

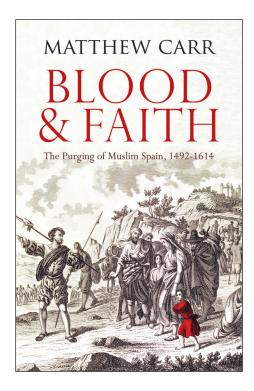
The challenge of identity politics has been several decades in the making. But, as this important new book shows, while the old divisions of class and economic interest have not disappeared, they have been overlaid by a new rift—between the mobile 'achievement' identity of people from Anywhere, and the marginalised, roots-based identity of people from Somewhere.

David Goodhart's book presents a framework for understanding contemporary politics and a plea for a less headstrong liberalism. He sees the 'Somewhere' backlash not as wholly illiberal, but as a democratic response to the dominance of 'Anywhere' interests, in everything from higher education to mass immigration and the EU. The Road to Somewhere is a short, compelling proposal for a new political settlement between these two groups.



David Goodhart is one of the most distinctive voices in British political comment and analysis. He is the founding editor of *Prospect* magazine, has been director of the centre-left think tank Demos, and most recently has headed the Demography, Immigration and Integration Unit for Policy Exchange. His last book *The British Dream: Successes and Failures of Post-War Immigration* (2013) was runner-up for the Orwell Prize in 2014 and was a finalist for 'Political Book of the Year' in the Paddy Power Political Book Awards.

Hardback 9781849047999 £20.00 / 240pp March 2017 216mm x 138mm



Matthew Carr is a freelance journalist whose work has appeared in The Observer, The Guardian, The New York Times and on BBC Radio. He is the author of The Infernal Machine: An Alternative History of Terrorism; Fortress Europe: Inside the War Against Immigration; and The Devils of Cardona.

'Well-balanced and comprehensive ... Blood and Faith is a splendid work of synthesis. ... it is impossible to read this book without sensing its resonance in our own time.'—New York Times

Paperback 9781849048019 £12.99 / 440pp February 2017 198mm x 130mm MATTHEW CARR

New edition

# **Blood and Faith**

The Purging of Muslim Spain, 1492-1614

A riveting and richly detailed chronicle of what was, by 1614, the largest act of ethnic cleansing in European history.

In April 1609, King Philip III of Spain signed an edict denouncing the Muslim inhabitants of Spain as heretics, traitors, and apostates. Later that year, the entire Muslim population of Spain was given three days to leave Spanish territory or else be killed. In a brutal and traumatic exodus, entire families were obliged to abandon homes and villages where they had lived for generations, leaving their property in the hands of their Christian neighbours. In Aragon and Catalonia, Muslims were escorted by government commissioners who forced them to pay whenever they drank or rested. For five years the expulsion ground on, until an estimated 300,000 Muslims had been removed from Spanish territory, 5 per cent of the total population. By 1614 Spain had successfully implemented what was then the largest act of ethnic cleansing in European history, and Muslim Spain had effectively ceased to exist.

Blood and Faith is a riveting chronicle of this virtually unknown episode, set against the vivid historical backdrop of the history of Muslim Spain. It offers a remarkable window onto a little-known period in modern Europe—a rich and complex tale of competing faiths and beliefs, of cultural oppression and resistance against overwhelming odds.

RAPHAEL MINDER

# The Struggle for Catalonia

Rebel Politics in Spain

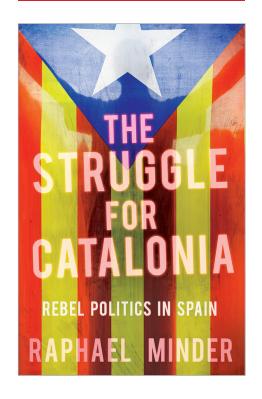
Analyses with rare impartiality what sets the Catalans apart from Spain, and how the separatist debate is playing out.

Every year on 11 September, Catalonia celebrates its *Diada*, its National Day. But the *Diada* of 2012 was like none other, as an enormous crowd calling for Catalan independence took over the heart of Barcelona.

Despite the carnival-like atmosphere that day, the people were very serious about their demands. On the back of this show of force, Catalonia's governing politicians turned secessionist claims into a new headache for a government in Madrid that had only just survived a near-meltdown of Spain's financial system.

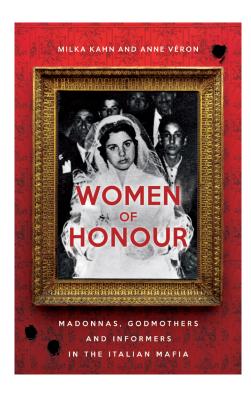
Four years later, the separatist challenge has neither come to fruition, nor faded away. This book looks at how and why Catalan separatism reached the top of Spain's political agenda, as well as its connection to the broader European malaise generated by flawed political responses to financial and other crises.

Through extensive travel and reporting, as well as dozens of interviews with leading Catalan personalities, Raphael Minder explains how Catalans feel about their economy, history and culture, and how secessionist forces have tried to reshape Catalan identity.



Raphael Minder is a Swiss journalist who spent ten years as a staff correspondent for the Financial Times in Paris, Brussels, Sydney and finally Hong Kong, as regional correspondent for Asia. Since 2010, he has been New York Times correspondent for Spain and Portugal, covering a financial crisis that has turned political, including the territorial conflict over Catalonia.

Paperback 9781849048033 £15.99 / 256pp June 2017 198mm x 130mm



Milka Kahn is a Franco-Italian jurist specialised in European law. She became familiar with the subject of mafia women through her volunteer work with the antimafia organisation Libera Palermo.

**Anne Véron** is a Franco-Italian director and creator of several authoritative documentaries on the Italian mafias.

Paperback 9781849048064 £12.99 / 192pp April 2017 198mm x 130mm MILKA KAHN AND ANNE VÉRON

## Women of Honour

Madonnas, Godmothers and Informers in the Italian Mafia

Translated by James Ferguson

A frank and unsettling account of the conflicted role of women in Italy's mafias — first-hand stories of submission, complicity and revolt.

The role of women in the Italian mafias has long been overlooked. Reduced to victim status and relegated to domestic life in a male-dominated society, women serve as the mafia's respectable facade: virtuous and docile. It is hard to picture these immaculate figures married to and raising brutal killers.

But, as Milka Kahn and Anne Véron reveal in this absorbing book, women have always been at the heart of Italy's criminal organisations, as the guarantors of mafia culture. While the men are behind bars or on the run, it is left to their wives and mothers to uphold and pass on the 'family values'. Once widowed, some push their sons to *vendetta*; others become mafia chiefs in their own right. Yet many also decide to risk their lives and break with 'the Family', collaborating with the authorities and renouncing mafia society in search of a normal life.

So who are these women? Are they Madonnas, pure and virtuous, or dangerous 'Godmothers'? Women of Honour paints a complex and fascinating portrait through extremely rare interviews with the women themselves, who have overcome a culture of silence to share their extraordinary lives.

**BORIS BOGACHEV** 

# For the Motherland! For Stalin!

A Red Army Officer's Memoir of the Eastern Front

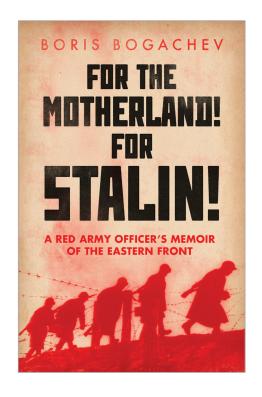
Introduction by Professor Geoffrey Roberts

Bogachev's vivid account of the five years he spent fighting the Nazis is unsparing yet unsentimental.

Boris Bogachev's highly readable account of life as a young platoon commander in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-5 is both a riveting tale of hardship and courage and a deeply informative military history.

The son of a Soviet military commissar, Bogachev volunteered to fight as soon as he turned seventeen. Life in the Red Army was harsh, with food shortages, inadequate equipment and fear-not only of the well-armed enemy ahead, but also of the trigger-happy political officers at his back. Bogachev fought in many campaigns during the war, including the 15-month Rzhev 'meat-grinder', which resulted in terrible Soviet losses. On three occasions he was threatened with execution. On three occasions he was wounded. Determined and resourceful, he obtained papers authorising him to be treated in hospital, instead smuggling himself aboard a train across Russia to visit his family in Kazakhstan before returning to the front.

Bogachev, who retired from the Soviet army in 1984 a much-decorated colonel, offers his experience of the hell that was the Eastern Front with freshness and candour. He vividly conveys the wide gap between ideology and reality in Stalin's Russia, the warm camaraderie among those who fought the Nazis and his horror at the inhumanity of war.



Boris Bogachev (1924-2015) was born in Penza, Russia. He was a teenager living in Odessa when Germany invaded the USSR in 1941. He joined the Red Army as a junior lieutenant, and was wounded three times. Later he trained as a military lawyer and was involved in the rehabilitation of Stalin's victims. He served as a judge on military tribunals before retiring in 1985.

Maria Bogacheva, Boris's daughter, translated the book from the original Russian. She was a lecturer in English at Odessa University from 1994 to 2005. She now lives in the UK.

> Hardback 9781849047975 £25.00 / 320pp April 2017 216mm x 138mm



Gregg Carlstrom is a correspondent for The Times and The Economist, based in Tel Aviv. He contributes to a number of other publications, including The Atlantic, Foreign Policy, New York magazine and others. He was previously based in Cairo, and before that as a Doha-based reporter for Al Jazeera English, covering the region from Tunisia to Iraq. He was born in New York and graduated from Northwestern University.

Hardback 9781849048040 £20.00 / 256pp May 2017 216mm x 138mm GREGG CARLSTROM

# How Long Will Israel Survive?

The Threat From Within

The greatest threat to Israel may come from within, not without, as Carlstrom explains in his deft account of a nation's identity crisis.

Israel is surrounded by an array of ever-changing threats. But what if its most serious challenge comes from within? There was once a national consensus in Israeli society: politics was split between left and right, but its people were broadly secular and liberal. Over the past decade, the country has fractured into tribes—disparate groups with little shared understanding of what it means to be a Zionist, let alone an Israeli. A once-unified population fights internecine battles—over religion and state, war and peace, race and identity—contesting the very notion of a 'Jewish and democratic' state.

While this shift has profound implications for Israel's relationship with the broadly liberal Jewish diaspora, the greatest consequences will be felt at home. Israel's tribes increasingly lead separate lives; even the army, once a great melting-pot, is now a political and cultural battleground. Tamir Pardo, former head of Mossad, has warned of the risk of civil war.

Gregg Carlstrom maps this conflict, from cosmopolitan Tel Aviv to the hilltops of the West Bank, and asks a pressing question: will the Middle East's strongest power survive its own internal contradictions?

ARTHUR COTTERELL

## The Near East

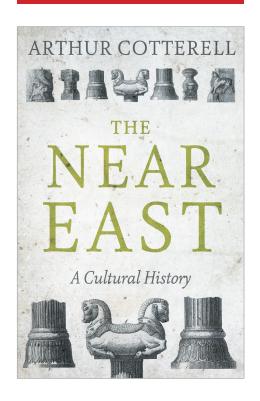
A Cultural History

A sweeping, erudite, and accessible cultural history of the lands of the Near East, from the Sumerians to the end of World War II.

This ambitious and wide-ranging popular history is the first narrative account of the entire Near East (Turkey, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States), from the genesis of civilisation in the fourth millennium BCE until 1947. It provides an historical outline of the civilisations and cultures that dominated the region, one that has had an immense impact on the development of humankind, ever since the ancient Sumerians invented urban living and writing around 3200 BCE.

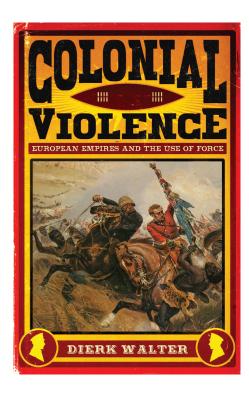
Later, the Babylonians and the Assyrians built upon the Sumerian legacy. They were the world's earliest great powers, whose actions in the cradle of monotheism influenced Judaism and, eventually, Christianity and Islam. The Near East discusses the long eras of Arab, Persian and Ottoman rule, and the destabilising intervention of Western colonial powers.

Cotterell's book is a timely reminder of how historical events have shaped the outlooks of various peoples, just as political turbulence in the Near East is challenging both neighbouring countries and the wider world.



Arthur Cotterell is a prolific historian and author. His previous books include the Penguin Encyclopedia of Ancient Civilizations, the Penguin Encyclopedia of Classical Civilizations and Chariot: The Astounding Rise and Fall of the World's First War Machine.

Hardback 9781849047968 £20.00 / 384pp May 2017 216mm x 138mm 85 b/w images



Dierk Walter is a lecturer in Modern
History at the Universities of Bern and
Hamburg. His research focuses on the
history of European expansion and Western
military history since the eighteenth
century. He has previously published a study
on nineteenth-century Prussian military
reform, and co-edited a number of volumes
on military history and the Cold War.

Hardback 9781849048071 £20.00 / 352pp May 2017 216mm x 138mm DIERK WALTER

# **Colonial Violence**

# European Empires and the Use of Force

Translated by Peter Lewis

A comprehensive account of how Europeans have used violence to conquer, coerce and police in pursuit of imperialism and colonial settlement.

Western interventions today have much in common with the countless violent conflicts that have occurred on Europe's periphery since the conquest of the Americas. Like their predecessors, modern imperial wars are shaped by geography and terrain and by pronounced asymmetries of military organisation, resources, modes of warfare and cultures of violence. Today's imperial wars are essentially civil wars, in which Western powers are only one player among many. As ever, the Western military machine is incapable of resolving political strife through force, or of engaging opponents with no reason to offer conventional combat, who instead rely on guerrilla warfare and terrorism. And, as they always have, local populations pay the price for these shortcomings.

Colonial Violence offers, for the first time, a coherent explanation of the logic of violent hostilities within the context of European expansion. Walter's analysis reveals parallels between different empires and continuities spanning historical epochs. He concludes that recent Western military interventions, from Afghanistan to Mali, are not new wars, but stand in the 500-year-old tradition of transcultural violent conflict.

SHASHI THAROOR

# **Inglorious Empire**

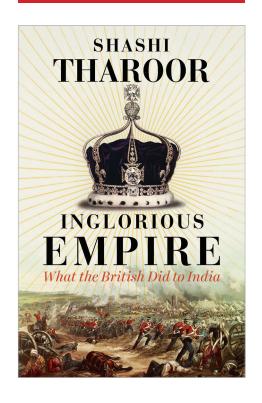
What the British Did to India

Written with great panache, Tharoor's bold and incisive new history of how Britain sucked the subcontinent dry is sure to provoke debate.

Inglorious Empire tells the real story of the British in India, from the arrival of the East India Company in 1757 to the end of the Raj, and reveals how Britain's rise was built upon its depredations in India.

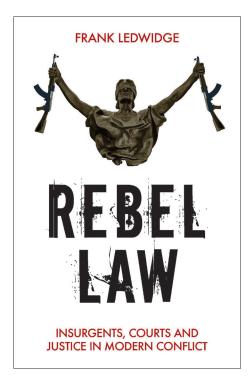
India was Britain's biggest cash cow, and Indians literally paid for their own oppression. Britain's Industrial Revolution was founded on India's deindustrialisation, and the destruction of its textile industry. In the eighteenth century, India's share of the world economy was as large as Europe's. By 1947 it had decreased six-fold. Under the British, millions died from starvation—4 million in 1943 alone, after Winston Churchill diverted Bengal's food stocks to the war effort. Beyond conquest and deception, the Empire blew rebels from cannon, massacred unarmed protesters and entrenched institutionalised racism.

British imperialism justified itself as enlightened despotism for the benefit of the governed. Tharoor takes on and demolishes the arguments for the Empire, demonstrating how every supposed imperial 'gift', from the railways to the rule of law, was designed in Britain's interests alone. This incisive reassessment of colonialism exposes to devastating effect the inglorious reality of Britain's stained Indian legacy.



Shashi Tharoor served for twenty-nine years at the UN, culminating as Under-Secretary General. He is a Congress MP in India, the author of fourteen previous books and has won numerous literary awards, including a Commonwealth Writers' Prize. Tharoor has a PhD from the Fletcher School and was named by the World Economic Forum in Davos in 1998 as a Global Leader of Tomorrow.

Hardback 9781849048088 £20.00 / 288pp March 2017 216mm x 138mm



**Frank Ledwidge** is a former barrister and military intelligence officer who served in Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya. His books include *Losing Small Wars: British Military Failure in Iraq and Afghanistan* (2011) and *Investment in Blood: The True Cost of Britain's Afghan War* (2013).

Hardback 9781849047982 £25.00 / 256pp April 2017 216mm x 138mm FRANK LEDWIDGE

## **Rebel Law**

Insurgents, Courts and Justice in Modern Conflict

A revealing and unique account of how courts and judgments are used to gain and retain control in insurgencies.

In most societies, courts are where the rubber of government meets the road of the people. If a state cannot settle disputes and ensure that its decisions are carried out, for practical purposes it is no longer in charge. This is why successful rebels put courts and justice at the top of their agendas. *Rebel Law* examines this key weapon in the arsenal of insurgent groups, ranging from Ireland in the 1920s, where the IRA sapped British power using 'Republican Tribunals', to today's 'Caliphate of Law'—the Islamic State, by way of Algeria in the 1950s and the Afghan Taliban.

Frank Ledwidge tells how insurgent courts bleed legitimacy from government, decide cases and enforce judgments on the battlefield itself. Astute counterinsurgents in 'ungoverned space' can ensure that they retain the initiative. Ledwidge also describes French, Turkish and British colonial 'judicial strategy' and contrasts these experiences with the chaos of more recent 'stabilisation operations' in Iraq and Afghanistan, drawing lessons for contemporary counterinsurgents.

Rebel Law builds on these insights and shows that the courts themselves can be used as weapons for both sides in a world gripped by highly unconventional warfare.

**GINNY HILL** 

## **Yemen Endures**

# Civil War, Saudi Adventurism and the Future of Arabia

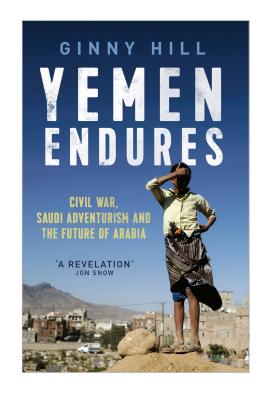
'Ginny Hill is superbly seasoned in Yemen's physical and political terrain. Her book is a revelation.'

— Jon Snow

Why is Saudi Arabia, the world's largest oil exporter, involved in a costly and merciless war against its mountainous southern neighbour Yemen, the poorest country in the Middle East? When the Saudis attacked the hitherto obscure Houthi militia, which they believed had Iranian backing, to oust Yemen's government in 2015, they expected an easy victory. They appealed for Western help and bought weapons worth billions of dollars from Britain and America; yet two years later the Houthis, a unique Shia sect, have the upper hand.

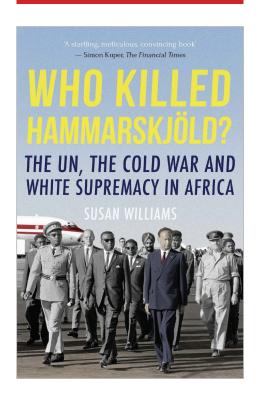
In her revealing portrait of modern Yemen, Ginny Hill delves into its recent history, dominated by the enduring and pernicious influence of career dictator Ali Abdullah Saleh, who ruled for three decades before being forced out by street protests in 2011. Saleh masterminded patronage networks that kept the state weak, allowing conflict, social inequality and terrorism to flourish.

In the chaos that follows his departure, civil war and regional interference plague the country while separatist groups, Al-Qaeda and ISIS compete to exploit the broken state. And yet, Yemen endures.



Ginny Hill is a visiting fellow in the Middle East Centre at the LSE who has covered Yemen for more than a decade as a journalist and policy advisor. She founded the Chatham House Yemen Forum and recently served on the UN Panel of Experts on Yemen. Hill has worked for al-Jazeera English, the BBC, Channel 4 News and ITV.

Hardback 9781849048057 £25.00 / 320pp March 2017 216mm x 138mm



Susan Williams is a senior fellow at the School of Advanced Study, University of London. Her recent books include Spies in the Congo: The Race for the Ore That Built the Atomic Bomb and Colour Bar: The Triumph of Seretse Khama and His Nation, now a major film entitled A United Kingdom.

'Williams schmoozed spies, befriended diplomats and mercenaries and won the trust of Hammarskjöld's relatives to get her tale. She unwinds each thread of the narrative with infinite patience.'

— The Spectator

Paperback 9781849048026 £14.99 / 320pp December 2016 216mm x 138mm 32 b/w images SUSAN WILLIAMS

New edition

# Who Killed Hammarskjöld?

The UN, The Cold War and White Supremacy in Africa

'A startling, meticulous, convincing book.'

- Simon Kuper, The Financial Times

The death of UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld remains one of the biggest mysteries of the twentieth century.

Shortly after midnight on 18 September 1961, an aircraft carrying Hammarskjöld and his UN team crashed into dark forest in the British colony of Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia), abruptly ending his mission to bring peace to the Congo. Many around the world suspected sabotage, pointing the finger at Britain, Belgium, the USA, and South Africa, as well as the huge multinationals with mining interests in the region. These suspicions have never gone away.

A man who cared deeply about social justice, Hammarskjöld sought to shield the newly-independent nations from the predatory aims of the Great Powers. His enemies included colonialists and settlers in Africa who were determined to maintain white minority rule.

In Who Killed Hammarskjöld?, Susan Williams carefully navigates a mass of secret documents and witness testimonies suggesting a massive cover-up, to present a case which has already triggered a new investigation by the United Nations.

KAJSA NORMAN

## A Hero's Curse

# The Perpetual Liberation of Venezuela

A wonderfully written account of a beautiful, bountiful country torn apart by its uncompromising dreamers and their competing dreams.

For nearly two hundred years Venezuela's political leaders have evoked the legacy of their liberator, Simón Bolívar, to stir popular support for their positions. While Bolívar's heroic struggle helped free a continent, his eventual affinity for dictatorial rule spawned a vicious cycle of liberation and tyranny that has always haunted Venezuela.

A Hero's Curse is the story of the modern Venezuelans whose lives have taken shape in the shadow of Bolívar and his most passionate disciple, Comandante Hugo Chávez. Since Chávez's death, the battle for Venezuela's future has intensified. Amidst a collapsing economy, escalating violence, and shortages of basic goods, there are increasing calls for a change of leadership. Rivals for power compete in demonstrating to the masses that they are the new, true, Venezuelan hero come to set them free.

Kajsa Norman chronicles the rise and fall of Hugo Chávez and the tragic impact of Venezuela's 'heroic' politics on ordinary citizens—but also the new generation of leaders clamouring for national hero status. The stage is set for yet another turn in Venezuela's cycle of perpetual liberation.



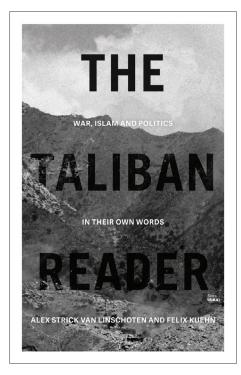
# A HERO'S CURSE THE PERPETUAL LIBERATION OF VENEZUELA KAJSA NORMAN





Kajsa Norman is a London-based investigative journalist and author focused on dictatorships and conflict zones. She has previously published books on Cuba, Zimbabwe and Venezuela. She has also served as a press and information officer for the Swedish Armed Forces in Afghanistan and Mali. Her most recent book is Bridge Over Blood River: The Rise and Fall of the Afrikaners (2016).

Hardback 9781849047951 £16.99 / 296pp March 2017 216mm x 138mm



Alex Strick van Linschoten is a researcher and writer based in Amman, Jordan. His previous books include, with Felix Kuehn, Poetry of the Taliban, An Enemy We Created and My Life with the Taliban. He holds a PhD in War Studies from King's College London.

Felix Kuehn is a researcher and writer based in Berlin. He has worked in Afghanistan since 2006, focusing on the Taliban insurgency and the history of southern Afghanistan over the past four decades. He is a PhD candidate at the War Studies Department of King's College London.

Paperback 9781849048095 £25.00 / 320pp May 2017 216mm x 138mm ALEX STRICK VAN LINSCHOTEN & FELIX KUEHN (EDS)

## The Taliban Reader

War, Islam and Politics in their Own Words

A comprehensive sourcebook for scholars and students of Islamist political movements.

Who are the Taliban? Are they a militant movement? Are they religious scholars? The fact that these and other questions are still raised is testimony to the way the movement has been studied, often at arm's length and with scant use of primary sources.

The Taliban Reader forges a new path, bringing together an extensive range of largely unseen sources in a guide to the Afghan Islamist movement from a unique insider perspective. Ideal for students, journalists and scholars alike, this book is the result of an unprecedented, decadelong effort to encourage the emergence of participant-centred accounts of Afghan history.

This ground-breaking collection, ranging from news articles and opinion pieces to online publications and poems transcribed by hand in the field, sets the stage for a recalibration of how we understand and study the Afghan Taliban. It challenges researchers to forge new norms in the documentation of conflict and provides insight into the future trajectory of political Islamism in South Asia and the Middle East.

THOMAS H. JOHNSON

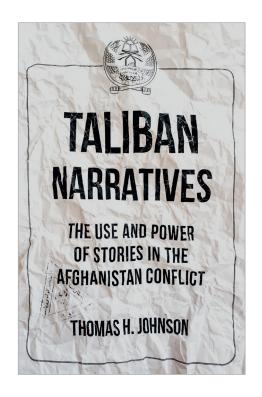
# **Taliban Narratives**

The Use and Power of Stories in the Afghanistan Conflict

Shines a light on the Taliban's propaganda arm and its impact on the course of the war in Afghanistan.

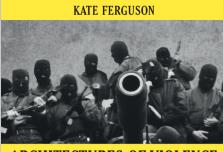
Why has the Taliban been so much more effective in presenting messages that resonate with the Afghan population than the United States, the Afghan government and their allies? This book, based on years of field research and the assessment of hundreds of original source materials, examines the information operations and related narratives of Afghan insurgents, especially the Afghan Taliban, and investigates how the Taliban has won the information war.

Taliban messaging, wrapped in the narrative of jihad, is both to the point and in tune with its target audiences. On the other hand, the United States and its Kabul allies committed a basic messaging blunder, failing to present narratives that spoke to or, often, were even understood by their target audiences. Thomas Johnson systematically explains why the United States lost this 'battle of the story' in Afghanistan, and argues that this defeat may have cost the US the entire war, despite its conventional and technological superiority.



Thomas Johnson is Research Professor and Director of the Program for Culture & Conflict Studies at the National Security Affairs Department at the Naval Postgraduate School. He is also director of the Program for Culture and Conflict Studies, which coordinates anthropological research on Central and South Asia. From 2002-9, he served as a US representative to a number of NATO committees involved with WMD and CBRN.

Paperback 9781849048439 £30.00 / 336pp May 2017 216mm x 138mm



ARCHITECTURES OF VIOLENCE



THE COMMAND STRUCTURES OF MODERN MASS ATROCITIES. FROM YUGOSLAVIA TO SYRIA

Kate Ferguson is Director of Research & Policy at the human rights NGO Protection Approaches, and Research Associate at the School of History, University of East Anglia, where she teaches on subjects of human rights, international justice, and humanitarianism. She tweets as @WordsAreDeeds.

Hardback 9781849048118 £35.00 / 240pp June 2017 216mm x 138mm KATE FERGUSON

# **Architectures of Violence**

The Command Structures of Modern Mass Atrocities, from Yugoslavia to Syria

Most atrocities are committed by states yet they hide their culpability by recourse to paramilitary forces, as Ferguson explains.

Paramilitary or irregular units have been involved in practically every case of identity-based mass violence in the modern world, but detailed analysis of these dynamics is rare. Exploring the case of former Yugoslavia, the genocides in Rwanda and Darfur, and the ongoing violence in Syria, Kate Ferguson exposes the relationships between paramilitaries, state commands, local communities, and organised crime. She presents these 'architectures of violence' as a way of comprehending how the various structures of command and control fit together into domestic and international webs of support enabling and encouraging irregular and paramilitary violence.

Visible paramilitary participation masks the continued dominance of the state in violent crises. Political elites benefit from using unconventional forces to fulfil ambitions that violate international law—and international policy responses are hindered when responsibility for violence is ambiguous. Ferguson's inquiry into these overlooked dynamics of mass violence unveils substantial loopholes in current atrocity prevention architecture.

DONALD HOLBROOK (ED.)

# Al-Qaeda 2.0

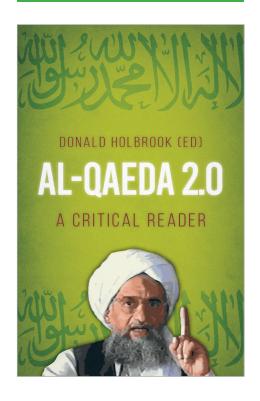
#### A Critical Reader

With a foreword by Cerwyn Moore

An indispensable resource for understanding the evolution of Al-Qaeda since the death of Osama bin Laden.

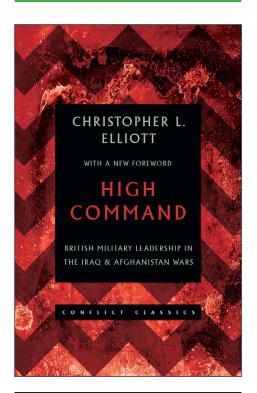
On 16 June 2011, three days before his sixtieth birthday, Ayman al-Zawahiri was declared the new leader of Al-Qaeda, replacing the fallen Osama bin Laden. The veteran Egyptian jihadist has little of his predecessor's charisma and enjoys much less popularity, respect and celebrity. Yet, as scores of jihadi commanders from different organisations have succumbed to their enemies' missiles, bombs and bullets, Zawahiri has soldiered on. His tenure as Al-Qaeda's leader has been marked by some of its darkest and most challenging moments, which have threatened the viability and future of Al-Qaeda's central leadership. The gravest such development has been the emergence of Islamic State as a separate and rival jihadist entity.

The best way to gauge Zawahiri's response to these threats is by analysing the statements and communiqués he has released since taking the reins. This book provides the reader with professional translations of Zawahiri's key statements during his first five years as leader of Al-Qaeda. These official communications are introduced and contextualised to provide the reader with a comprehensive sourcebook, outlining the Al-Qaeda leadership's stance on the challenges to its existence since the death of bin Laden.



Donald Holbrook is a Lecturer in the Department of Politics, Philosophy and Religion at the University of Lancaster. He was previously a Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence, University of St Andrews. His publications include The Al-Qaeda Doctrine: The Framing and Evolution of the Leadership's Public Discourse (2014).

Paperback 9781849048101 £25.00 / 320pp June 2017 216mm x 138mm



### **CONFLICT CLASSICS**

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Christopher L. Elliott retired from the British Army as a Major General in 2002. This book was written over two years while Elliott was a research fellow at the universities of Oxford and Reading.

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#### New edition

# **High Command**

British Military Leadership in the Iraq and Afghanistan Wars

'High Command is a study of what's wrong at the MoD ... in terms that Evelyn Waugh could not have bettered.' — The Spectator

'Offers a rare insight into the turmoil within the armed forces during one of the most critical decisions of the two wars.'—The Times

'Combines an insider's perspective with shrewdness, wit and strategic insight.' — Sir Hew Strachan, University of Oxford

From 2001 Britain supported the United States in wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. 'Victory' in such conflicts is always hard to gauge and domestic political backing for them was never robust. For this, the governments of Tony Blair and Gordon Brown were held responsible, and paid the price, but the role played by the High Command in the Ministry of Defence also bears examination. Critics have noted that the armed services were riven by internal rivalry and their leadership was dysfunctional, but the truth is more complicated.

In his book Elliott explores the circumstances that led to these wars and how the Ministry of Defence coped with the challenges presented. He reveals how the Service Chiefs were set at odds by the system, almost as rivals in the making, with responsibility diffuse and authority ambiguous. The MoD concentrated on making things work, rather than questioning whether what they were being asked to do was practicable.

MONTGOMERY MCFATE

# Military Anthropology

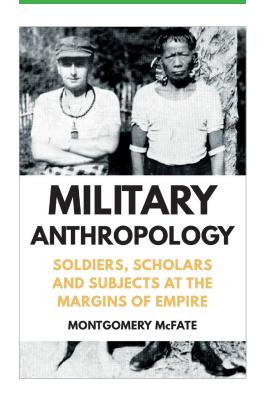
Soldiers, Scholars and Subjects at the Margins of Empire

A candid reassessment of the role of anthropologists in mediating encounters between Western armies and non-Western peoples.

In almost every military intervention in its history, the US has made cultural mistakes that hindered attainment of its policy goals. From the strategic bombing of Vietnam to the accidental burning of the Koran in Afghanistan, it has blundered around with little consideration of local cultural beliefs and for the long-term effects on the host nation's society. Cultural anthropology—the so-called 'handmaiden of colonialism'—has historically served as an intellectual bridge between Western powers and local nationals. What light can it shed on the intersection of the US military and foreign societies today?

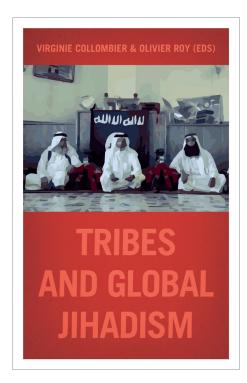
This book tells the story of anthropologists who worked directly for the military, such as Ursula Graham Bower, the only woman to hold a British combat command during WWII. Each faced challenges including the negative outcomes of exporting Western political models and errors of perception.

Ranging from the British colonial era in Africa to the recent wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, *Military Anthropology* illustrates the conceptual, cultural and practical barriers encountered by military organisations operating in societies vastly different from their own.



Montgomery McFate is Professor at the US Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island. Formerly, she was the Senior Social Scientist for the US Army's Human Terrain System. McFate holds a PhD in Anthropology from Yale University, and a JD from Harvard Law School. She is the coeditor of Social Science Goes to War (2015).

Hardback 9781849048125 £35.00 / 352pp June 2017 216mm x 138mm



Virginie Collombier is the Research Coordinator of the Middle East Directions Programme at the Robert Schuman Center for Advanced Studies at the European University Institute in Florence, where her research focus is Libya.

**Olivier Roy** is Joint Chair of the Robert Schuman Centre. He is one of the world's most renowned scholars of political Islam, five of whose books have been published by Hurst.



COMPARATIVE POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES SERIES CHRISTOPHE JAFFRELOT (EDITOR)

Paperback 9781849048156 £20.00 / 200pp May 2017 216mm x 138mm VIRGINIE COLLOMBIER & OLIVIER ROY (EDS)

# Tribes and Global Jihadism

The first study of an important political nexus in today's Islamist insurgencies, the better to understand their evolution.

Across the Muslim world, from Iraq and Yemen, to Egypt and the Sahel, new alliances have been forged between the latest wave of violent Islamist groups — including Islamic State and Boko Haram — and local tribes. But can one now speak of a direct link between tribalism and jihadism, and how analytically useful might it be?

Tribes are traditionally thought to resist all encroachments upon their sovereignty, whether by the state or other local actors, from below; yet by joining global organisations such as Islamic State, are they not rejecting the idea of the state from above? This triangular relationship is key to understanding instances of mass 'radicalisation', when entire communities forge alliances with jihadi groups, for reasons of self-interest, self-preservation or religious fervour. If Algeria's FIS or Turkey's AKP once represented the 'Islamisation of nationalism', have we now entered a new era, that of the 'tribalisation of globalisation'?

FREDERIC WEHREY (ED.)

# **Beyond Sunni and Shia**

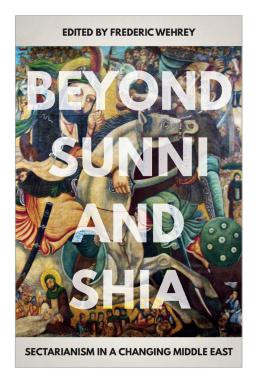
# Sectarianism in a Changing Middle East

Surveys the landscape of sectarianism within Islam in North Africa and the Middle East.

This collection seeks to advance our understanding of intra-Islamic identity conflict in the Middle East. Instead of treating distinctions between and within Sunni and Shia Islam as primordial and immutable, it examines how political economy, geopolitics, domestic governance, social media, non- and sub-state groups, and clerical elites have affected the transformation and diffusion of sectarian identities

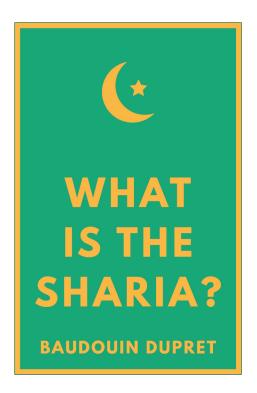
Particular attention is paid to how conflicts over distribution of political and economic power have taken on a sectarian quality, and how a variety of actors have instrumentalised sectarianism. The volume, covering Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf, Iran, and Egypt, includes contributors from a broad array of disciplines including political science, history, sociology, and Islamic studies.

Beyond Sunni and Shia draws on extensive fieldwork and primary sources to offer insights that are empirically rich and theoretically grounded, but also accessible for policy audiences and the informed public.



Frederic Wehrey is a senior associate of the Middle East Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He is the author of Sectarian Politics in the Gulf: From the Iraq War to the Arab Uprisings (2013), chosen as a Best Book on the Middle East by Foreign Affairs magazine. He holds a DPhil in International Relations from Oxford University.

Paperback 9781849048149 £25.00 / 288pp April 2017 216mm x 138mm



Baudouin Dupret is educated in Law, Islamic Sciences and Political Sciences. He spent many years as a CNRS researcher in Egypt, Syria, and Morocco. He has published extensively on sociology and anthropology of law, and on legislation in the Middle East and North Africa, including the co-authored Law at Work

With the support of the Aga Khan University Institute for the Study of Muslim Civilisations (AKU-ISMC)

Hardback 9781849048170 £35.00 / 256pp June 2017 216mm x 138mm **BAUDOUIN DUPRET** 

## What is the Sharia?

An indispensable introduction to the evolution and implementation of Sharia law within the Muslim world.

In the West, 'sharia' often calls to mind antiquated laws founded upon gender discrimination and barbaric punishments. In the East, for some it means the ideal standards by which Muslims strive to live; for others, it is the greatest obstacle to modernisation of their societies. These clashing views sometimes lead to violence. Clarification of the term has therefore become an urgent necessity.

Sharia is all of these things and much more. It is the legal system of Islam, a series of guidelines and prohibitions. But it is also a concept invested with a whole range of meanings, from the virtuous attributes of an 'ideal' society, to the confinement of particular elements to otherness and adversity.

Moving through history, society and Islamic thought to explore the sources of sharia law, Baudouin Dupret gets to the heart of its uses and abuses in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. This short, accessible book provides an invaluable guide for those seeking to understand a matter more complex and pressing today than ever before.

GEORGES CORM

# **Arab Political Thought**

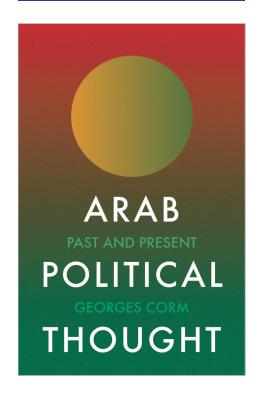
Past and Present

Explores the many facets of Arab political thought from the nineteenth century to the present day.

This book demonstrates the vitality of Arab political thought and its major controversies. It shows that the key players involved, far from being constrained by a theological-political straitjacket, have often demonstrated strong critical thinking when tackling religion and philosophy, anthropology and politics.

Setting these thinkers and their works within two centuries of upheaval in the Arab world, Georges Corm demonstrates how Arab critical thought has been marginalised by powerful external forces: the military, the academy and the media. In its place has risen a hegemonic Islamist thought, used cannily by certain Arab regimes and their Western protectors. Closely tracing the successive transformations of modernist Arab nationalism, *Arab Political Thought* offers a blueprint for understanding the libertarian Arab Spring, as well as the counter-revolutions and external interventions that have followed.

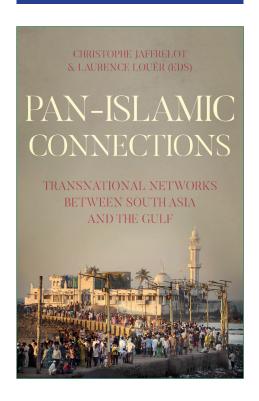
This invaluable guide comprehensively distils the complexity of Arab intellectualism, which is both critical and profane, and a far cry from the outdated politicoreligious image it has acquired.



Georges Corm is Professor at the Institute
of Political Sciences at Saint-Joseph
University in Beirut, Lebanon. He was
formerly a public-sector economist and an
international economic consultant. Between
1998 and 2000 he was Lebanese Minister of
Finance. He has published extensively on
the contemporary history of the Middle East
and relations between the Arab world

With the support of the Aga Khan University Institute for the Study of Muslim Civilisations (AKU-ISMC)

> Hardback 9781849048163 £35.00 / 288pp June 2017 216mm x 138mm



Christophe Jaffrelot is Senior Research Fellow at CERI-Sciences Po/CNRS, and Professor of Indian Politics and Sociology at the King's India Institute (London). His most recent book is *The Pakistan Paradox: Instability and Resilience* (2015).

Laurence Louër is Associate Professor at Sciences Po (Paris), a Research Fellow at CERI and author of Transnational Shia Politics (2008) and Shiism and Politics in the Middle East (2012).



COMPARATIVE POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES SERIES CHRISTOPHE JAFFRELOT (EDITOR)

Paperback 9781849048187 £25.00 / 288pp June 2017 216mm x 138mm CHRISTOPHE JAFFRELOT & LAURENCE LOUËR (EDS)

## **Pan-Islamic Connections**

Transnational Networks Between South Asia and the Gulf

An absorbing comparison of 'the Islams' of Arabia and South Asia and how they interact through the vectors of trade, politics and migration.

South Asia is today the region inhabited by the largest number of Muslims—roughly 500 million. In the course of its Islamisation process, which began in the eighth century, it developed a distinct Indo-Islamic civilisation that culminated in the Mughal Empire. While paying lip service to the power centres of Islam in the Gulf, including Mecca and Medina, this civilisation has cultivated its own variety of Islam, based on Sufism.

Over the last fifty years, pan-Islamic ties have intensified between these two regions. Gathering together some of the best specialists on the subject, this volume explores these ideological, educational and spiritual networks, which have gained momentum due to political strategies, migration flows and increased communications.

At stake are both the resilience of the civilisation that imbued South Asia with a specific identity, and the relations between Sunnis and Shias in a region where Saudi Arabia and Iran are fighting a cultural proxy war, as evident in the foreign ramifications of sectarianism in Pakistan.

**NEGUIN YAVARI** 

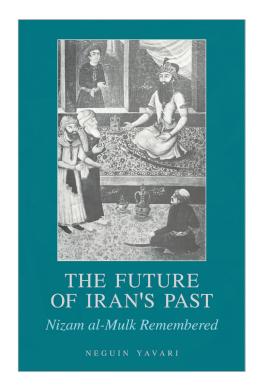
## The Future of Iran's Past

Nizam al-Mulk Remembered

A biography of the remarkable eleventh-century Persian statesman who for thirty years effectively ruled over the Saljuq Empire.

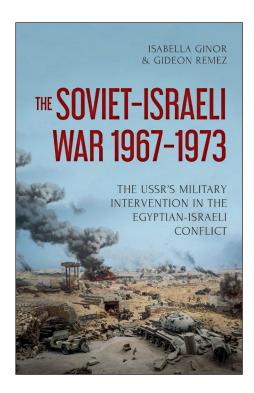
The Future of Iran's Past is a critical study of the life and afterlife of Nizam al-Mulk (1018-92), celebrated Persian vizier and stalwart figure of power and authority in medieval Islamic society. He became the de facto ruler of a vast empire, with a final apotheosis as Islamic history's archetypal good vizier. Such was his standing among the glitterati of his era that he was considered an ideal replacement for the Abbasid caliph himself.

As well as the outstanding figure in a long run of great viziers and administrators who dominated premodern Islamic politics, al-Mulk is remembered as the most prominent politician of the period to perceive new beginnings and radical departures. Neguin Yavari offers a close reading of al-Mulk's many legacies, revealing a complex imbrication of political and religious authority, as well as pre-Islamic and Islamic influences that have together shaped modern Iran. She shows that the new Iran of al-Mulk's singular vision, rather than a tale of uninterrupted Iranisation, is imbued with an extensive interplay of residual and emergent tendencies.



Neguin Yavari is a senior fellow at the
Institute for Advanced Study, Central
European University. She studied medieval
history at Columbia University, and has
written on medieval Islamic history,
political thought and international history.
Her books include Advice for the Sultan:
Prophetic Voices and Secular Politics in
Medieval Islam (2014) and the co-edited
Global Medieval: Mirrors for Princes
Reconsidered (2015).

Hardback 9781849048200 £40.00 / 256pp June 2017 216mm x 138mm



Isabella Ginor (former Soviet/Russian affairs specialist, Haaretz newspaper) and Gideon Remez (former head of foreign news, Israel Radio) are fellows of the Truman Institute, Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Their previous book, Foxbats over Dimona (2007), won the silver medal in the Washington Institute for Near East Policy's inaugural book prize competition.

Hardback 9781849048194 £30.00 / 400pp May 2017 216mm x 138mm ISABELLA GINOR & GIDEON REMEZ

# The Soviet-Israeli War, 1967-1973

The USSR's Military Intervention in the Egyptian-Israeli Conflict

A history of how the Russians, ever since the Six Day War, were involved in planning, instigating and supporting further Arab military action against Israel.

Russia's forceful re-entry into the Middle Eastern highlights the topicality of this groundbreaking study, which confirms the USSR's role in shaping Middle Eastern and global history.

This book covers the peak of the USSR's direct military involvement in the Egyptian-Israeli conflict. The head-on clash between US-armed Israeli forces and some 20,000 Soviet servicemen with state-of-the-art weaponry turned the Middle East into the hottest front of the Cold War. The Soviets' success in this war of attrition paved the way for their planning and support of Egypt's cross-canal offensive in the 1973 Yom Kippur War.

Ginor and Remez challenge a series of long-accepted notions as to the scope, timeline and character of the Soviet intervention and overturn the conventional view that a US-Moscow détente led to a curtailment of Egyptian ambitions to capture the land it lost to Israel in 1967. Between this analytical rethink and the introduction of an entirely new genre of sources—memoirs and other publications by Soviet veterans themselves—*The Soviet-Israeli War* paves the way for scholars to revisit this pivotal moment in world history.

JAMES REARDON-ANDERSON (ED.)

# The Red Star and the Crescent

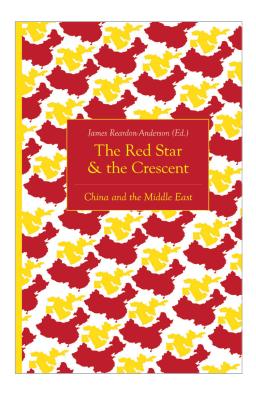
China and the Middle East

An absorbing look at China's diplomatic and business outreach in pursuit of secure hydrocarbon reserves.

The Red Star and the Crescent provides an in-depth and multi-disciplinary analysis of the evolving relationship between China and the Middle East. Despite its increasing importance, very few studies have examined this dynamic, deepening, and multi-faceted nexus. James Reardon-Anderson has sought to fill this critical gap.

The volume examines the 'big picture' of international relations, then zooms in on case studies and probes the underlying domestic factors on each side. Reardon-Anderson tackles topics as diverse as China's security strategy in the Middle East, its military relations with the states of the region, its role in the Iran nuclear negotiations, the Uyghur question, and the significance and consequences of the Silk Road strategy.

A comprehensive study of the changing forces driving one of the world's most important strategic, economic and cultural relationships.



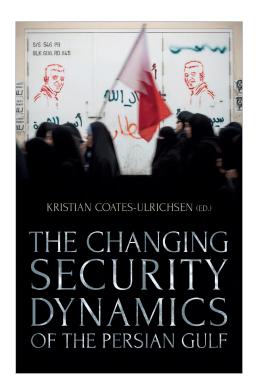
James Reardon-Anderson is Sun Yat-sen
Professor of Chinese Studies and Dean of the
Georgetown University School of Foreign
Studies in Qatar. He is the author of five
books on the history and politics of China,
most recently Reluctant Pioneers: China's
Expansion Northward, 1644-1937 (2005).

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Center for International and Regional Studies, School of Foreign Service in Qatar

> Paperback 9781849048217 £25.00 / 240pp May 2017 216mm x 138mm



Kristian Coates Ulrichsen is the Fellow for the Middle East at Rice University's Baker Institute for Public Policy. He holds a PhD from the University of Cambridge and is the author of five books, including Insecure Gulf; The First World War in the Middle East and Qatar and the Arab Spring, all published by Hurst.

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Center for International and Regional Studies, School of Foreign Service in Qatar

Paperback 9781849048422 £25.00 / 256pp May 2017 216mm x 138mm KRISTIAN COATES ULRICHSEN (ED.)

# The Changing Security Dynamics of the Persian Gulf

Dissects the domestic and external challenges confronting the GCC countries.

The contradictory trends of the 'post-Arab Spring' landscape form both the backdrop to, and the focus of, this volume on the changing security dynamics of the Persian Gulf, defined as the six GCC states plus Iraq and Iran. The political and economic upheaval triggered by the uprisings of 2011, and the rapid emergence of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria in 2014, have underscored the vulnerability of regional states to an intersection of domestic pressures and external shocks. The initial phase of the uprisings has given way to a series of messy and uncertain transitions that have left societies deeply fractured and ignited violence both within and across states. The bulk of the protests, with the notable exception of Bahrain, occurred outside the Gulf region, but Persian Gulf states were at the forefront of the political, economic, and security response across the Middle East.

This volume provides a timely and comparative study of how security in the Persian Gulf has evolved and adapted to the growing uncertainty of the post-2011 regional landscape.

JANE BRISTOL-RHYS

# Future Perfect/ Present Tense

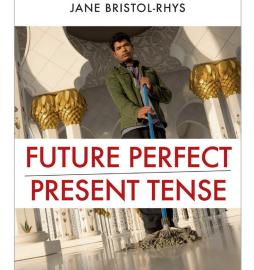
Migrant Workers, Expats, and Sponsors in Abu Dhabi

A measured investigation of the mutual dependency created by long term and large scale migration to Abu Dhabi.

Future Perfect/Present Tense examines the relations between migrants and the Emirati individuals and institutions that sponsor them. Divided by culture, language, and status, the two groups harbour opposing visions of a perfect future. The migrants dream of success in Abu Dhabi, of providing for their families in recompense for years of sacrifice far from home. On the contrary, the Emiratis imagine a migrant exodus, after which foreigners will no longer outnumber them.

But a migrant-free future will never come. Maintaining the scale of development already achieved will necessarily require a large foreign workforce, and very few families are willing to contemplate life without maids, cooks, and drivers. Meanwhile, both populations are trapped in a present that is often tense, amidst security concerns about particular nationalities and worries about the erosion of Emirati culture.

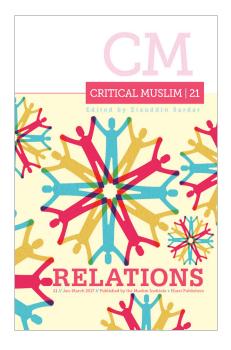
Jane Bristol-Rhys has produced a unique work of 'embedded ethnography.' Future Perfect/Present Tense is the product of fifteen years of interviews and close-range observations of the continuing gulf between the UAE's tense present and perfect future.



MIGRANT WORKERS, EXPATS, AND SPONSORS IN ABU DHABI

Jane Bristol-Rhys is Associate Professor of Anthropology at Zayed University Abu Dhabi, where she has taught since 2001. She was educated at the American University in Cairo and the University of Washington, Seattle. She is the author of Emirati Women: Generations of Change, also published by Hurst, as well as numerous articles and chapters on Emirati history and society.

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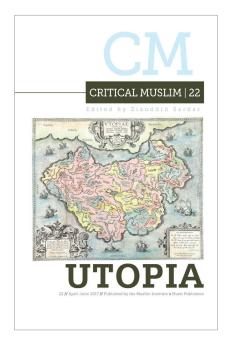
Paperback / 9781849048231 January 2017 / £14.99 256pp / 216mm x 138mm

ZIAUDDIN SARDAR (ED.)

# **Critical Muslim 21**

#### Relations

Samia Rahman is amazed at the complexity of relations in an interconnected world; Piro Rexhepi explores sexual politics in the Balkans; Mohammed Moussa examines extended families in Japan; Ayisha Malik goes in search of love; Annalisa Mormile uncovers disunity in the EU family; Elma Berisha attempts to shatter the myth of homogeneity; Michael Vincente Perez argues that feminism is for everybody; Amir Hussain has an American Muslim dream; Saulat Pervez sets out to cultivate reading habits; Aamer Hussein looks back on his diasporic life; Fatimah Ashrif and Julian Bond have a conversation on interfaith; Claire Chambers challenges the representation of British Muslim sexuality; and Ziauddin Sardar tries to cope with a troublesome auntie.



Paperback / 9781849048248 April 2017 / £14.99 256pp / 216mm x 138mm

ZIAUDDIN SARDAR (ED.)

# **Critical Muslim 22**

### Utopia

Hassan Mahamdallie gets spiritual in a commune; Marco Lauri visits Ibn Tufayl's twelfth-century island utopia Hayy Ibn Yaqdan; Malise Ruthven interrogates modernity and Islamic utopias, Nazry Bahrawi is sceptical about secular utopias; and Sadek Hamid traces the rise and fall of the utopian vision of Hizb-ut-Tahrir.

Also in this issue: orientalist utopias in Andalusia, feminist futures, and was the Prophet's Medina a utopia? Not forgetting poems, short stories, the Last Word and the List.

**KOSTAS KOSTIS** 

# **History's Spoiled Children**

# The Formation of the Modern Greek State

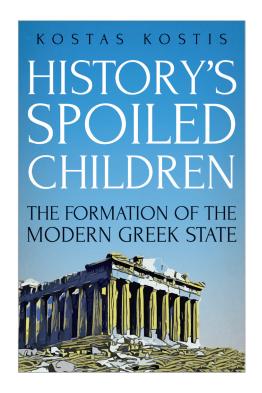
Translated by Jacob Moe

'This sweeping, provocative, argumentative history of the evolution of the Greek state is the most important to have appeared since the 1970s.' — Mark Mazower, author of Salonica: City of Ghosts

History's Spoiled Children is the story of a small Ottoman province and its transformation into a modern European state. In some respects, the challenges to the formation of the Greek state could be likened to those encountered by the Western world in its efforts to impose its politico-cultural model on societies foreign to it. Though the Greeks of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were Christians whereas the societies subject to Western experimentation today are Muslim, the political venture known as modernisation has treated both as civilising projects and in no way as equal partners.

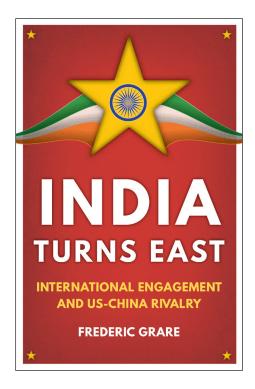
However, there is one distinction that cannot be ignored. Western Europeans regard Greece and Greeks as foundational in their own history. With this in mind, one may better understand the West's (more or less) particular treatment of these populations, which not only rebelled against the Ottoman Empire in the name of Christianity but also invoked connections to an ancient past in which Europe sees the roots of its own identity.

Kostas Kostis explores this perception and traces the formation of this favoured modern nation, dubbed in nineteenth-century Europe the 'spoiled children of history.'



Kostas Kostis is a Professor in the
Department of Economics at the University
of Athens. From 2006 to 2009 he occupied
the Chair of Modern and Contemporary
Greek Studies at the École des hautes études
en sciences sociales in Paris.

Hardback 9781849048255 £25.00 / 352pp April 2017 216mm x 138mm



Frédéric Grare is a senior associate in the Carnegie Endowment's South Asia Program. His research focuses on security issues, Afghan, Indian and Pakistani regional policies and the tension between stability and democratization. He has served at the French Defence Ministry's Directorate for Strategic Affairs, at the French embassy in Pakistan and as director of the Centre for Social Sciences and Humanities in

Hardback 9781849048354 £30.00 / 288pp April 2016 216mm x 138mm FRÉDÉRIC GRARE

## **India Turns East**

# International Engagement and US-China Rivalry

Charts India's uneasy relationship with the PRC since the 1962 War and New Delhi's burgeoning strategic realignment.

India Turns East tells the story of India's long and difficult journey to reclaim its status in a rapidly changing Asian environment increasingly shaped by the US-China rivalry and the uncertainties of US commitment to Asia's security. The Look East policy initially aimed at reconnecting India with Asia's economic globalisation. As China became more assertive, Look East rapidly evolved into a comprehensive strategy with political and military dimensions.

Frédéric Grare argues that, despite this rapprochement, the congruence of Indian and US objectives regarding China is not absolute. The two countries share similar concerns, but differ in their tactics as well as their thoughts about the role China should play in the emerging regional architecture. Moreover, though bilateral US policies are usually perceived positively in New Delhi, paradoxically, the multilateral dimensions of the US Rebalance to Asia policy sometimes pushes New Delhi closer to Beijing's positions than to Washington's. This important new book explores some of the possible ways out of India's 'Eastern' dilemma.

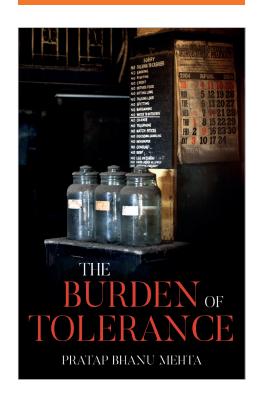
PRATAP BHANU MEHTA

## The Burden of Tolerance

Mehta argues that democracies must broker demands for social tolerance founded on diversity, pluralism and community with ideas of freedom, equality and individual dignity.

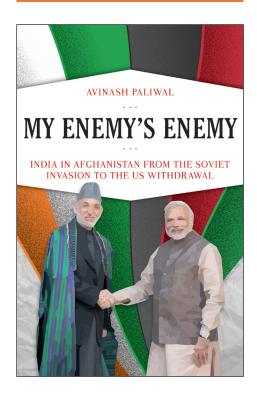
This book is a rumination on challenges to the idea of social and political tolerance, in both democracies and autocracies. It examines some of the conceptual confusions associated with the idea of tolerance, and how these distortions arise.

Pratap Bhanu Mehta reflects on the new challenges to socio-political openness and acceptance, in a world increasingly affected by neo-populism—from Russia and Hungary to Turkey and the Philippines—and considers the sources of social resistance to them. He also connects this political development with larger changes in our thinking about self, identity, representation and the distinction between public and private. He concludes by contending that we not only need to fashion new concepts of freedom and pluralism, but should even reimagine the idea of the state itself.



Pratap Bhanu Mehta is President of the Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi. He was educated at Oxford (PPE, St John's College) and Princeton (PhD) and taught for nine years at Harvard University. He is widely acknowledged as one of India's foremost public intellectuals.

Hardback 9781849048378 £20.00 / 176pp March 2017 198mm x 130mm



Avinash Paliwal is a Lecturer in Defence Studies at King's College London.

Specialising in the strategic affairs of South Asia and Afghanistan, he holds a doctorate in international relations from King's, and an economics degree from the University of Delhi. Prior to joining academia he worked as a journalist and foreign affairs analyst in New Delhi.

Hardback 9781849048347 £35.00 / 288pp March 2017 216mm x 138mm AVINASH PALIWAL

# My Enemy's Enemy

India in Afghanistan from the Soviet Invasion to the US Withdrawal

A definitive account, grounded in history, of the strategic axis between New Delhi and Kabul.

The archetype of 'my enemy's enemy is my friend', India's political and economic presence in Afghanistan is often viewed as a Machiavellian ploy aimed against Pakistan. The first of its kind, this book interrogates that simplistic yet powerful geopolitical narrative and asks what truly drives India's Afghanistan policy.

Based on an extensive repertoire of hitherto untapped primary sources including official memoranda, diplomatic correspondence, and a series of interviews with key political actors, *My Enemy's Enemy* provides a comprehensive analysis of India's strategy debates and foreign policymaking processes vis-à-vis Afghanistan, from the last decade of the Cold War to the 1990s Afghan civil war and the more recent US-led war on terror. It demonstrates that Indian presence in Afghanistan has been guided primarily by an enduring vision for the region that requires a stable balance of power across the Durand Line.

SHAH MAHMOUD HANIFI (ED.)

# Mountstuart Elphinstone in South Asia

Pioneer of British Colonial Rule

With a Preface by William Dalrymple

'Elphinstone's guidance in war and administration in peace furnished models of penetration, bravery, intelligence and wisdom.' — William Jerdan

Mountstuart Elphinstone (1779-1859), Lowland Scottish traveller, East India Company civil servant and educator, was one of the principal intellectual architects of British colonial rule in South Asia. Imbued with liberal views, such that Bombay's wealthy founded Elphinstone College in his memory, he pioneered the scholarly, scientific and administrative foundations of imperialism in India.

Elphinstone's career was launched when he led the inaugural British diplomatic mission to the Afghan court, after which his *Account of the Kingdom of Caubul* (1815) became the main source of British information about Afghanistan. He is best known for his periods as Resident at Poona and Governor of Bombay in the 1810s and 1820s, when he instituted innovative policies in administration and education while also conducting research for his extremely influential *History of India* (1841).

This volume examines Mountstuart Elphinstone's intellectual contributions and administrative career in their own right, in relation to prominent contemporaries including Charles Metcalfe and William Moorcroft, and in the context of later historical study of India, Afghanistan, British imperialism and its imperial frontiers.

SHAH MAHMOUD HANIFI (ED.)

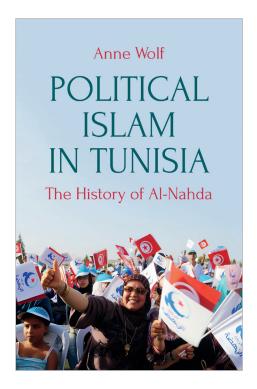
MOUNTSTUART
ELPHINSTONE
IN SOUTH ASIA
PIONEER OF BRITISH COLONIAL RULE

PREFACE BY WILLIAM DALRYMPLE

**Shah Mahmoud Hanifi** is Professor of History at James Madison University, Virginia.

William Dalrymple is a writer and historian, whose books include The Last Mughal; White Mughals; and Return of a King: The Battle of Afghanistan.

Hardback 9781849048361 £25.00 / 320pp April 2017 216mm x 138mm 16 b/w images



Anne Wolf is an Associate at the University of Cambridge's Centre for the Study of the International Relations of the Middle East and North Africa and a PhD Candidate at the University of Oxford, St. Antony's College. She has published widely on Tunisia, including with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the German Institute for International and Security Affairs. She is an Associate Editor of the Journal of North African Studies.

Hardback 9781849048262 £30.00 / 256pp March 2017 216mm x 138mm ANNE WOLF

# **Political Islam in Tunisia**

The History of al-Nahda

A definitive political history of Tunisia's moderate Islamist 'Renaissance Party'.

Political Islam in Tunisia uncovers the secret history of Tunisia's main Islamist movement, Al-Nahda, from its origins in the 1960s to the present. Banned until the popular uprisings of 2010-11 and the overthrow of Ben Ali's dictatorship, Al-Nahda has until now been impossible to investigate. This is the first in-depth account of the movement, one of Tunisia's most influential political actors.

Based on more than four years of field research, over 400 interviews, and access to private archives, Anne Wolf masterfully unveils the evolution of Al-Nahda's ideological and strategic orientations within changing political contexts and, at times, conflicting ambitions amongst its leading cadres. She also explores the challenges to Al-Nahda's quest for power from both secularists and Salafis. As the first full history of Al-Nahda, this book is a major contribution to the literature on Tunisia, Islamist movements, and political Islam in the Arab world. It will be indispensable reading for anyone seeking to understand the forces driving a key player in the country most hopeful of pursuing a democratic trajectory in the wake of the Arab Spring.

CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM

# The Horn of Africa

State Formation and Decay

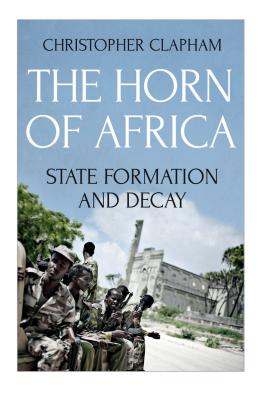
What distinguishes the Horn of Africa from the rest of the continent and explains its political fragility?

This is the book to read.

Why is the Horn such a distinctive part of Africa? This book, by one of the foremost scholars of the region, traces this question through its exceptional history and also probes the wildly divergent fates of the Horn's contemporary nation-states, despite the striking regional particularity inherited from the colonial past.

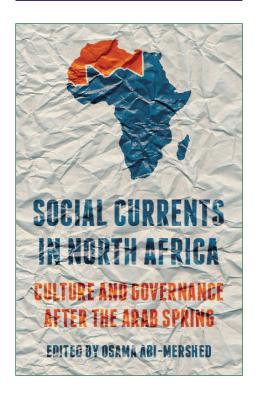
Christopher Clapham explores how the Horn's peculiar topography gave rise to the Ethiopian empire, the sole African state not only to survive European colonialism, but also to participate in a colonial enterprise of its own. Its impact on its neighbours, present-day Djibouti, Eritrea, Somalia and Somaliland, created a region very different from that of post-colonial Africa. This dynamic has become all the more distinct since 1991, when Eritrea and Somaliland emerged from the break-up of both Ethiopia and Somalia.

Yet this evolution has produced highly varied outcomes in the region's constituent countries, from state collapse (and deeply flawed reconstruction) in Somalia, through militarised isolation in Eritrea, to a still fragile 'developmental state' in Ethiopia. The tensions implicit in the process of state formation now drive the relationships between the once historically close nations of the Horn.



Christopher Clapham is based at the
Centre of African Studies, Cambridge
University, and recently retired as editor of
The Journal of Modern African Studies.
Until December 2002, he was Professor
of Politics and International Relations at
Lancaster University. He is a specialist in the
politics of Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa,
and his books include Transformation
and Continuity in Revolutionary Ethiopia
(1988), Africa and the International System
(1996), and African Guerrillas (1998).

Paperback 9781849048286 £17.99 / 256pp March 2017 216mm x 138mm



Osama Abi-Mershed is Associate Professor of History and Director of the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies at Georgetown University. His most recent publications include Apostles of Modernity: Saint-Simonians and the French Civilizing Mission in Algeria (2010), and the edited volume Trajectories of Education in the Arab World: Legacies and Challenges (2010).

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Paperback 9781849048279 £25.00 / 240pp May 2017 216mm x 138mm OSAMA ABI-MERSHED (ED.)

# Social Currents in North Africa

Culture and Governance after the Arab Spring

Maps the significant yet often overlooked forces shaping Maghrebian society from below.

Social Currents in North Africa is a multi-disciplinary analysis of the social phenomena unfolding in the Maghreb today. The contributors analyse the genealogies of contemporary North African behavioral and ideological norms, and offer insights into post-Arab Spring governance and today's social and political trends.

The book situates regional developments within broader international currents, without forgoing the distinct features of each socio-historical context. With its common historical, cultural, and socioeconomic foundations, the Maghreb is a cohesive area of study that allows for greater understanding of domestic developments from both single-country and comparative perspectives. This volume refines the geohistorical unity of the Maghreb by accounting for social connections, both within the nation-state and across political boundaries and historical eras. It illustrates that non-institutional phenomena are equally formative to the ongoing project of post-colonial sovereignty, to social construction and deployments of state power, and to local outlooks on social equity, economic prospects, and cultural identity.

New edition

JAMES COPNALL

# A Poisonous Thorn in Our Hearts

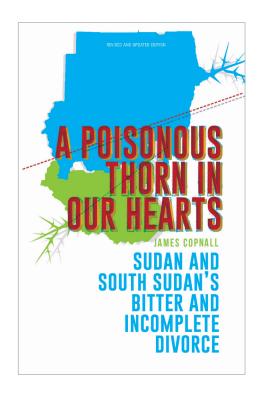
Sudan and South Sudan's Bitter and Incomplete Divorce

'A first-hand account that offers an even-handed, insightful perspective on the creation of South Sudan and a bleak assessment of its future.'

— Financial Times

What happened after Africa's biggest country split in two? When South Sudan ran up its flag in July 2011 two new nations came into being. In South Sudan the joy of independence vanished quickly: the former rebel movement ruling the country turned on itself, leading to one of the most brutal civil wars imaginable. The 'rump state', Sudan, has been debilitated by its own devastating conflicts, including in Darfur, and lost a significant part of its territory, and most of its oil wealth, after the divorce from the South. In the years after separation, the two Sudans dealt with crippling economic challenges, struggled with new and old rebellions, and fought each other along their disputed border.

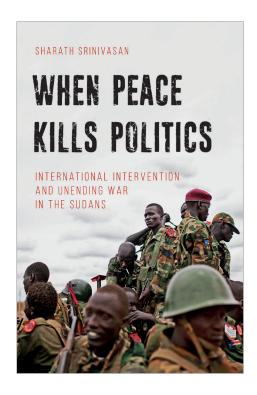
Benefiting from unsurpassed access to the politicians, rebels, thinkers and events that are shaping the Sudans, Copnall draws a compelling portrait of two misunderstood countries. This updated edition of *A Poisonous Thorn in Our Hearts* argues that Sudan and South Sudan remain deeply interdependent, despite their separation. It also diagnoses the political failings that threaten the future of both countries.



James Copnall is the BBC's Africa Editor.

He was the BBC Sudan correspondent from 2009-12, covering South Sudan's independence, the Darfur war, rebellions, and clashes between the Sudans. He has reported from over 20 African countries.

Paperback 9781849048309 £20.00 / 320pp March 2017 216mm x 138mm



Sharath Srinivasan is the David and Elaine
Potter Lecturer and Director of the Centre
of Governance and Human Rights at the
Department of Politics and International
Studies, University of Cambridge. He is a
Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and of
the Rift Valley Institute.

Paperback 9781849048316 £25.00 / 256pp May 2017 216mm x 138mm SHARATH SRINIVASAN

# When Peace Kills Politics

# International Intervention and Unending Wars in the Sudans

A withering analysis of how ill-conceived, poorlyexecuted interventionist peace deals often precipitate greater long term hostility.

Why do war and coercion still dominate the political realm in the Sudans, over a decade since the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, and despite a litany of conflict resolution efforts? This book explains the paradoxical role of international peacemaking in the reproduction of violence and political authoritarianism in Sudan and South Sudan.

Sharath Srinivasan charts the destructive effects of the peace process, from the role of north-south negotiations in fuelling war in Darfur, the Nuba Mountains and the Blue Nile to the failure of the political transformation promised by the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. Concluding with an analysis of peacebuilding's contribution to South Sudan's rapid descent into large-scale violence, he examines at close range how making peace has raised the political currency of violence.

This is an analysis of the perils of attempting to mould non-violent civil politics through neat designs and tools of compulsion, where the end goal of peace becomes caught up in constitutional texts, technocratic templates and deals on sharing spoils. When Peace Kills Politics shows that these methods, ultimately anti-political, will be resisted—violently—by dissatisfied local actors.

MAGGIE DWYER

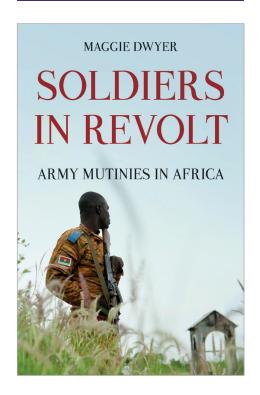
### **Soldiers in Revolt**

Army Mutinies in Africa

The first book-length analysis of military mutinies and their political impact in Africa.

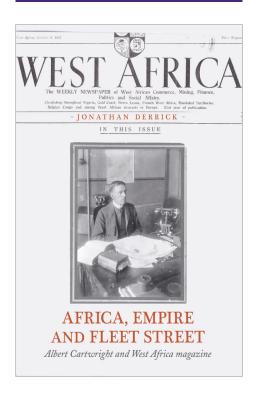
Soldiers in Revolt examines the understudied phenomenon of military mutinies in Africa. Through interviews with former mutineers in Sierra Leone, Burkina Faso, and The Gambia, the book provides a unique and intimate perspective on those who take the risky decision to revolt. This view from the lower ranks is key to comprehending the internal struggles that can threaten a military's ability to function effectively. Maggie Dwyer's detailed accounts of specific revolts are complemented by an original dataset of West African mutinies covering more than fifty years, allowing for the identification of trends.

Her book shows the complex ways mutineers often formulate and interpret their grievances against a backdrop of domestic and global politics. Just as mutineers have been influenced by the political landscape, so too have they shaped it. Mutinies have challenged political and military leaders, spurred social unrest, led to civilian casualties, threatened peacekeeping efforts and, in extreme cases, resulted in international interventions. Soldiers in Revolt offers a better understanding of West African mutinies and mutinies in general, valuable not only for military studies but for anyone interested in the complex dynamics of African states.



Maggie Dwyer is a Research Fellow at the
Centre of African Studies at University of
Edinburgh. She focuses on politics and
security in Africa, with a particular interest
in armed forces. Her works draws on
extensive field research with militaries and
police in West and East Africa.

Paperback 9781849048293 £25.00 / 256pp April 2017 216mm x 138mm



Jonathan Derrick is a freelance editor and scholar who for twenty years served on the editorial staff of West Africa magazine. He has published several scholarly articles on African history and is the author of Africa's 'Agitators': Militant Anti-Colonialism in Africa and the West, 1918-1939.

Hardback 9781849048323 £35.00 / 288pp April 2017 216mm x 138mm JONATHAN DERRICK

# Africa, Empire and Fleet Street

Albert Cartwright and West Africa Magazine

A dual biography: of a pioneering British anticolonialist and of the newspaper he edited with distinction.

For decades before and after African independence, the London weekly *West Africa* was a well-known source of news, analysis and comment on the region, especially the (former) British territories. Jonathan Derrick, who worked on the magazine's staff in the 1960s and again in its final years before closure in 2003, here studies the earlier history of *West Africa* through the story of its largely forgotten editor, Albert Cartwright, from the magazine's founding in 1917 to his retirement in 1947.

Before editing West Africa, Cartwright spent twenty years in South Africa, making the headlines in 1901 when, as editor of Cape Town's South African News during the Boer War, he was jailed for a year for a war crimes allegation against Lord Kitchener. Exploring Cartwright family papers and memories, Derrick reveals the complex nature of a man who, for three decades, ran a colonial magazine but was appreciated by Africans as someone who genuinely understood them.

Derrick places the story of colonial-era *West Africa*, which would reach its greatest heights during the independence period, within the wider landscape of British periodicals dealing with Africa in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

MALYN NEWITT

# A Short History of Mozambique

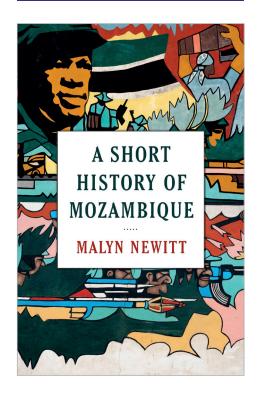
A splendidly written portrait of Mozambique in the colonial and post-colonial eras, by the premier historian of the country.

This comprehensive history traces the evolution of modern Mozambique, from its early modern origins in the Indian Ocean trading system and the Portuguese maritime empire to the fifteen-year civil war that followed independence and its continued after-effects.

Though peace was achieved in 1992 through international mediation, Mozambique's remarkable recovery has shown signs of stalling. Malyn Newitt explores the historical roots of Mozambican disunity and hampered development, beginning with the divisive effects of the slave trade, the drawing of colonial frontiers in the 1890s and the lasting particularities of the provinces.

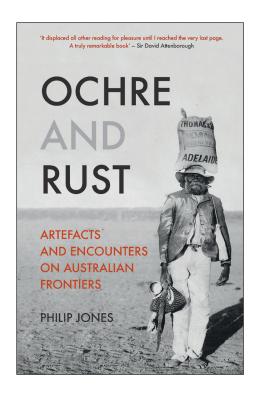
Following the nationalist guerrillas' victory against the Portuguese in 1975, these regional divisions resurfaced in a civil war pitting the south against the north and centre. The settlement of the early 1990s is now under threat from a revived insurgency, and the ghosts of the past remain.

This book seeks to distill this complex history, and to understand why, twenty-five years after the Peace Accord, Mozambicans still remain among the poorest people in the world.



Malyn Newitt was Deputy Vice Chancellor of Exeter University and first holder of the Charles Boxer Chair at King's College London. He is author of more than twenty books on Portugal and Portuguese colonial history including Portugal in Africa: The Last Hundred Years (1981), A History of Mozambique (1994), Emigration and the Sea (2015). He retired in 2005.

Paperback 9781849048330 £16.99 / 224pp March 2017 216mm x 138mm



Philip Jones is a social historian and ethnographer based at the South Australian Museum in Adelaide. He has undertaken extensive fieldwork with Aboriginal people in southern and central Australia. His historical research is based on those relationships, as well as a deep familiarity with museum artefacts and their trajectories, through time and space.

Hardback 9781849048392 £25.00 / 448pp March 2017 216mm x 138mm b/w images PHILIP JONES

## **Ochre and Rust**

### Artefacts and Encounters on Australian Frontiers

'It displaced all other reading until I reached the very last page. A truly remarkable book'

— Sir David Attenborough

Ochre and Rust offers a dazzling new perspective on frontier relations between Australia's Aboriginal peoples and European colonists. Nine museum artefacts take the reader into a fascinating zone of encounter and mutual curiosity between collectors and those indigenous people who piqued or responded to their interest. While colonialism is the broad frame, details gleaned from archives, images and the objects themselves reveal a new picture of interaction between individual Aboriginal people and European collectors.

Philip Jones explores and makes sense of particular historical moments in colonial history, when Aboriginal people perceived and expected other, more elusive outcomes. Ochre and Rust, an elegantly written challenge to received wisdom about the colonial frontier, has won Australia's inaugural Prime Minister's Award for Literary Non-Fiction.

MATTHEW J. WALTON

## **Buddhism and the Political**

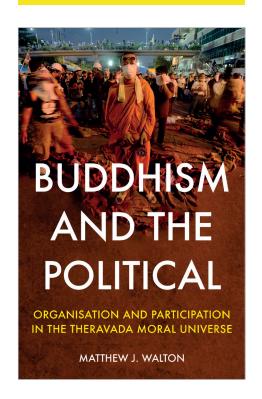
Organisation and Participation in the Theravada Moral Universe

Walton argues that there is a fundamental ambivalence in Buddhist thought towards the legitimacy of mass participation in politics.

Popular participation is one of the hallmarks of modern politics. So why have democracy and democratic norms generally failed to take root in the Theravada Buddhist countries of South and Southeast Asia? This book explores traditions of Buddhist political thought in Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia.

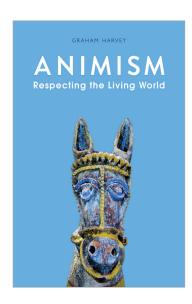
Matthew Walton considers each country's trajectory towards independence, the controversial issue of monastic political engagement, the influence of other political forces, and persistent attempts to restrict participation, even in contemporary democratic states. He also contextualises this landscape within the Theravada Buddhist arguments for and against greater political participation, probing the dualistic understanding of human nature that questions ability to self-govern while valuing moral improvement through free action.

Secular rationales in favour of democracy are unlikely to be effective unless they heed Walton's assessment of the region's politico-religious nexus, but also engage with the fundamental ambivalence he identifies in Buddhist perspectives on the legitimacy of mass participation.



Matthew J. Walton is the Aung San Suu
Kyi Senior Research Fellow in Modern
Burmese Studies at St Antony's College,
Oxford. His research focuses on religion
and politics in Southeast Asia. His first
book, Buddhism, Politics, and Political
Thought in Myanmar, will be published in
November 2016.

Hardback 9781849048385 £35.00 / 256pp May 2017 216mm x 138mm



Paperback / 9781849048408 April 2017 / £14.99 256pp / 216mm x 138mm GRAHAM HARVEY

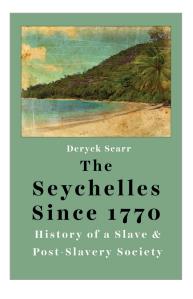
### **Animism**

New edition

### Respecting the Living World

'Animism' is now an important term for describing ways in which some people understand and engage respectfully with the larger-than-human world. Its central theme is our relationship with animals, plants, rocks, kettles and other non-human neighbours, rooted in the understanding that the term 'person' includes more than humans. Graham Harvey explores the animist cultures of Native Americans, Maori, Aboriginal Australians and eco-Pagans, introducing their diversity and considering the linguistic, performative, ecological and activist implications of these different animisms.

**Graham Harvey** is Professor of Religious Studies at the Open University.



Paperback / 9781849048415 May 2017 / £14.99 256pp / 216mm x 138mm **DERYCK SCARR** 

New edition

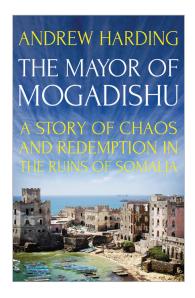
# **Seychelles Since 1770**

# History of a Slave and Post-Slavery Society

A comprehensive history of the Seychelles, this volume traces its periods of colonisation by France and Britain, the immobile years of the twentieth century, the granting of independence in 1976, and the social changes precipitated by tourism in the late-1990s.

Scarr has produced an extremely readable book on the history of the Seychelles. ... He has also masterfully captured the capriciousness of the Seychelles elite ... under colonial rule.' -A frican Affairs

**Deryck Scarr** is Emeritus Fellow at the Australian National University's Institute of Advanced Studies.



ANDREW HARDING

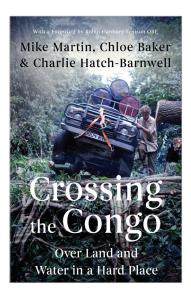
#### The Mayor of Mogadishu

A Story of Chaos and Redemption in the Ruins of Somalia

'An astonishing personal story, vivid and utterly memorable. This is a triumph of a book: surprising, informative, and humane.' — Alexander McCall Smith

'A wonderful account of one of the most troubled yet beautiful countries on Earth, told by one of our most gifted and sensitive journalists.'—
Jon Snow, Channel 4 News

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MIKE MARTIN, CHLOE BAKER & CHARLIE HATCH-BARNWELL

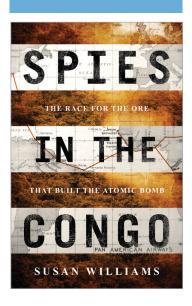
#### **Crossing the Congo**

Over Land and Water in a Hard Place

'A remarkable story of psychological and physical endurance, and a compelling account of what pushes people to embark on impossible journeys.' — Sir Ranulph Fiennes OBE

'Crossing the Congo gives you a deeply, brutally honest view of what it is like to complete a great journey. At times they were lucky to survive.'—
Robin Hanbury-Tenison, OBE

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SUSAN WILLIAMS

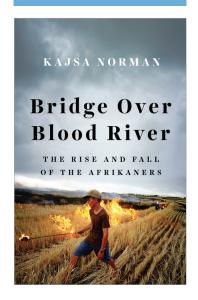
#### **Spies in the Congo**

The Race for the Ore that Built the Atomic Bomb

'Williams' book has shades of Graham Greene, a hint of Conrad, even echoes of Indiana Jones ... truly a thriller ... paints clear and sympathetic pictures of characters thrust into a totally unfamiliar territory.' — The Guardian

'Thrilling. Even the mundane details are delightful.' — The Sunday Telegraph

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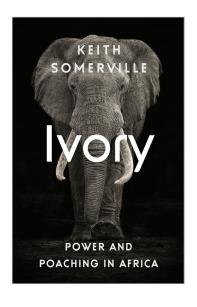
#### Bridge Over Blood River

The Rise and Fall of the Afrikaners

'Thick-skinned and fearless, Kajsa Norman embarked on a daring journey through South Africa, deep into the landscapes of the tensions that still prevail there. Injustice, oppression of women, and the living, breathing racism that is not just a lingering ghost.'

— Henning Mankell, best-selling author and activist

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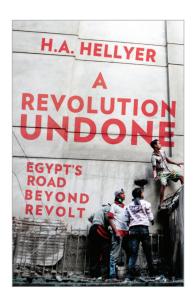
KEITH SOMERVILLE

#### **Ivory**

Power and Poaching in Africa

'Combating elephant poaching in Africa has become an international priority, attracting Hilary Clinton, Jackie Chan and Prince Harry to its cause. Drawing on decades of experience as a seasoned journalist, Keith Somerville eloquently writes about the politics of ivory poaching in Africa and shows why we should care.'—Dr Alex Vines OBE, Head of Africa Programme, Chatham House

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H. A. HELLYER

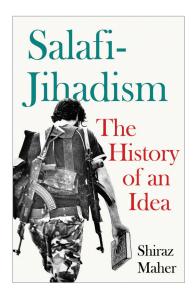
#### **A Revolution Undone**

Egypt's Road Beyond Revolt

'Hellyer is eminently qualified to interpret the punishing years since 2011. There's rigour, precision, and compelling anecdotes in his chronicle of Egypt's "unfinished revolution".'—Lyse Doucet, BBC

'Hellyer is thoughtful,
perceptive and above all
committed to the promise of
revolution,' — Jack Shenker,
former Egypt correspondent
for *The Guardian* 

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#### Salafi-Jihadism

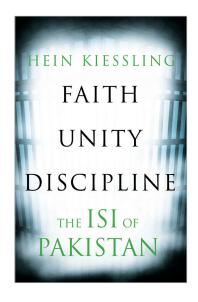
The History of an Idea

'A groundbreaking study ... a masterclass in how to do intellectual history, and one that nobody with an interest in radical Islam should miss.' — Tom Holland, New Statesman

'Maher deserves praise for producing a book that is the first of its kind ... Readers looking for a rigorous but lucid account of Islamic State's ideas will be well-served by Mr Maher's book.'

— Wall Street Journal

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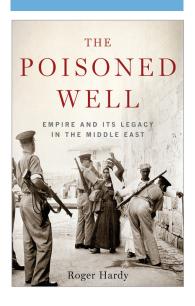
#### Faith, Unity, Discipline

The ISI of Pakistan

'An excellent account of the ISI's development and history which is especially helpful on its early years. This book will be an important addition to both Pakistan studies and to intelligence studies.' — Bruce Riedel, Brookings Institution

'To date, the most comprehensive analysis of the ISI.'—Christophe Jaffrelot, author of *The Pakistan Paradox: Instability and Resistance* 

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ROGER HARDY

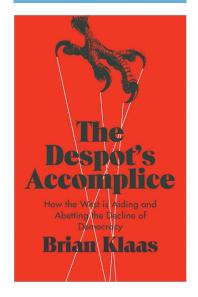
#### The Poisoned Well

Empire and its Legacy in the Middle East

'Roger Hardy distils the imperial past of the Middle East down to its essentials. Through memorable vignettes and powerful insights, he has produced a sharply-focused and brilliant history of the modern Middle East.' — Eugene Rogan, author of The Fall of the Ottomans

'A short and popularly accessible history of the late colonial period in the Middle East,' —Roger Owen, Emeritus Professor, Harvard University

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# The Despot's Accomplice

How the West is Aiding and Abetting the Decline of Democracy

'This is an important book for all who want to understand and do something about the crisis of democracy in our turbulent world. Klaas tells a disturbing story, but he offers hope — and a dose of humour — while showing how the West can turn the tide, if it acts wisely and quickly. Essential reading.' — Walter Mondale, Former Vice President of the United States, Ambassador to Japan, and United States Senator

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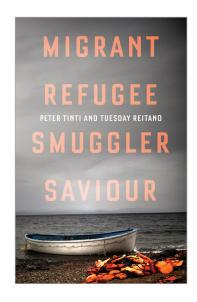
WILLIAM MALEY

#### What is a Refugee?

'William Maley has done the world a great service – introducing one of the key questions of our times with rich insight and clarity. His book is a thoroughly readable and essential exploration of refugee issues. I learnt a huge amount from his writing, and I highly recommend it.' — Patrick Kingsley, The Guardian

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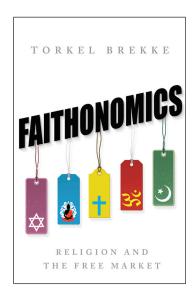
PETER TINTI & TUESDAY REITANO

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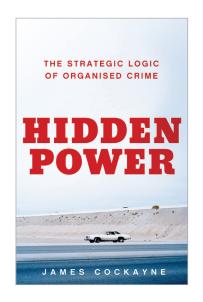


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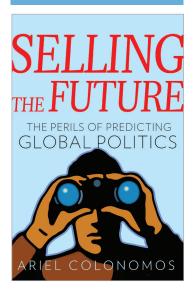
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