

‘No publishing list today answers our perplexity, or relieves our anxiety,
as effectively as Hurst’s.’ — Pankaj Mishra



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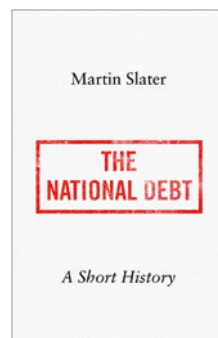
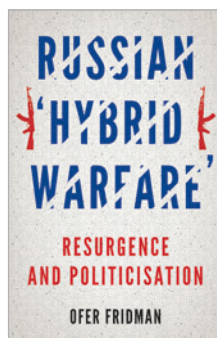
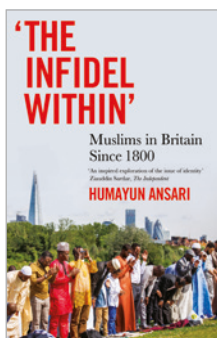
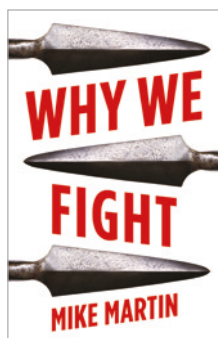
Autumn – Winter 2018

ABOUT HURST

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Table of Contents

General Interest	1-17	Europe	29-31
War	18-19	Middle East	32-38
Asia	20-24	Critical Muslim	39
Africa	25-28	Recent Highlights	40-43



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TOM BALDWIN

Ctrl Alt Del

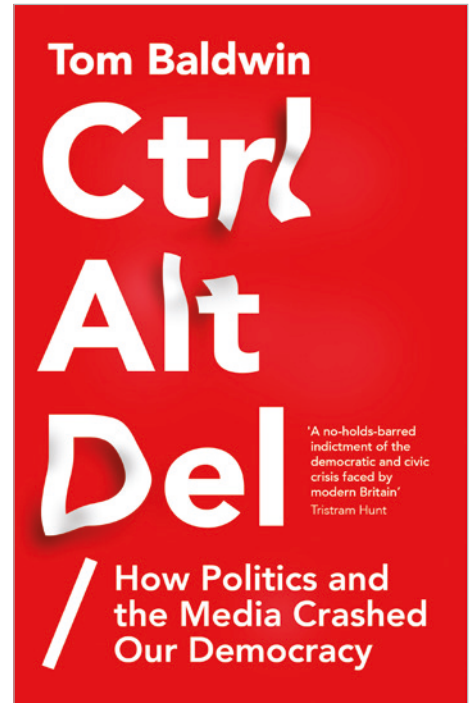
How Politics and the Media Crashed Our Democracy

'Written with characteristic gusto and insight, this is a no-holds-barred indictment of the democratic and civic crisis we face today.' — Tristram Hunt

We all know something has gone wrong: people hate politics, loathe the media and are now scared of each other too. Journalist and one-time senior political advisor Tom Baldwin tells the riveting—often shocking—story of how a tidal wave of information overwhelmed democracy's sandcastle defences against extremism and falsehood.

Ctrl Alt Del exposes the struggle for control between a rapacious 24-hour media and terrified politicians, loosening those leaders' grip on truth even as the internet rips the ground out from under them. It explains how dependency on data, algorithms and digital technology brought about the rise of the Alt Right, the Alt Left and a triumphant army of trolls driving people apart. And it warns of the rise of those threatening to delete what remains of democracy: resurgent populists in Westminster, the White House and the Kremlin, but also—just as often—liberals fearful of mob rule.

This is an explosive, brutally honest and sometimes funny account of what we all got wrong, and how to put it right again. It will change the way you look at the world—and especially the everyday technology that crashed our democracy.



Tom Baldwin has spent twenty-five years at the centre of the action. He started his career on local newspapers before becoming political editor of *The Sunday Telegraph* and then assistant editor of *The Times*. Later he worked as *The Times*' Washington bureau chief, and as Director of Communications and Strategy for the Labour Party. He lives in London with his family.

Hardback
9781787380066
£20.00 / 320pp
July 2018
216mm x 138mm
Politics / Current Affairs

ENGLISH NATIONALISM

A Short History



JEREMY BLACK

JEREMY BLACK

English Nationalism

A Short History

Where does the idea of 'England' come from, how did it evolve and is its relevance real or imagined?

There is no English state within the UK—no English passport, Parliament or currency; nor is there any immediate prospect of one. But that does not mean that England lacks an identity.

The extent to which English nationalism has a deep history is a matter of controversy. Jeremy Black argues persuasively for its existence from 'the Old English State' onwards, predating the Norman invasion. By looking to the past, he seeks to understand England's historical identity, and what it means for English nationalism today.

English Nationalism also probes how other nationalist movements within Britain have helped shape an English identity. Has hostility to 'England' and 'Englishness' been the principal driver of resurgent English nationalism?

The Brexit vote may appear to have cancelled out Scottish and other nationalisms as an issue—but in fact it has made what it is to be English a question of great urgency.

Jeremy Black is Professor of History at the University of Exeter, and one of Britain's most published academics. His interests include military history, British politics, newspaper and cartographic history, and international relations. Among his many books are *Maps and History*, *War and the World*, and *A Short History of Britain*.

Hardback

9781849049856

£16.99 / 224pp

June 2018

216mm x 138mm

Politics / Current Affairs

New in paperback

MARK LILLA

The Once and Future Liberal

After Identity Politics

'A deep and provocative brief on what has gone wrong, and what liberals, moderates, and progressives might do about it.' — Stephen Pinker

'A sizzling polemic.' — *Financial Times*

'A passionate and highly critical wake-up call.'
— *Washington Post*

'A dead-on diagnosis.' — *The Guardian*

For nearly forty years, Ronald Reagan's vision—small government, lower taxes, and self-reliant individualism—has remained America's dominant political ideology. The Democratic Party has offered no truly convincing competing vision. Instead, American liberalism has fallen under the spell of identity politics.

Mark Lilla argues with acerbic wit that liberals, originally driven by a sincere desire to protect the most vulnerable Americans, have now unwittingly invested their energies in social movements rather than winning elections. This abandonment of political priorities has had dire consequences. But, with the Republican Party led by an unpredictable demagogue and in ideological disarray, Lilla believes liberals now have an opportunity to turn from the divisive politics of identity, and offer positive ideas for a shared future.

A fiercely argued, no-nonsense book, *The Once and Future Liberal* is essential reading for our times.



Mark Lilla is Professor of the Humanities at Columbia University and a prizewinning essayist for the *New York Review of Books* and other publications worldwide. His books include *The Shipwrecked Mind: On Political Reaction*; *The Stillborn God: Religion, Politics, and the Modern West*; and *The Reckless Mind: Intellectuals in Politics*. He lives in Brooklyn, New York.

Paperback

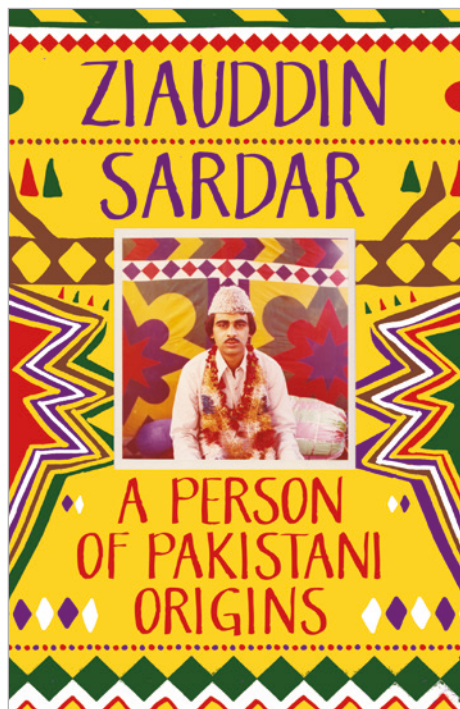
9781849049955

£12.99 / 160pp

May 2018

198mm x 130mm

Politics / Current Affairs



Ziauddin Sardar is an award-winning, internationally renowned writer, futurist and cultural critic. A former *New Statesman* columnist and Equality and Human Rights Commissioner, he has authored many books, including *Desperately Seeking Paradise: Journeys of a Sceptical Muslim*; *Reading the Qur'an*; and *Mecca: The Sacred City*. He is editor of the influential quarterly, *Critical Muslim*.

Hardback
9781849049870
£15.99 / 232pp
July 2018
198mm x 130mm
Memoir / Politics

ZIAUDDIN SARDAR

A Person of Pakistani Origins

A delightful account of a life lived in Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Britain, brimful of poignancy, poetry, absurdity and humour.

What does it mean to be a Pakistani? When people think they see one, what are they seeing? Can a Pakistani be more than one thing?

In *A Person of Pakistani Origins*, Ziauddin Sardar, who does not have an authentic birth certificate to prove his origins, seeks to discover what makes a Pakistani, and whether it is something one wants or ought to be. He reflects on his culture and heritage through the stories of the Pakistanis in his life. These are tales of duelling poets, fake thrillers, an uncle who has the ability to disappear and reappear miles away without breaking a sweat, a traditional bookish auntie who harbours feminist desires, and a culture deeply entangled in Bollywood films. Nothing is as it seems, and assumptions made serve only as lessons for tomorrow.

Contemplative and generously laced with humour, this book takes the reader deep into Pakistan's eclectic culture, the beauty of Urdu, and the humble insanity of everyday life for a person of Pakistani origins. The reader emerges with a sharper sense of the importance of where one comes from, and of who one has become.

SHASHI THAROOR

Why I Am a Hindu

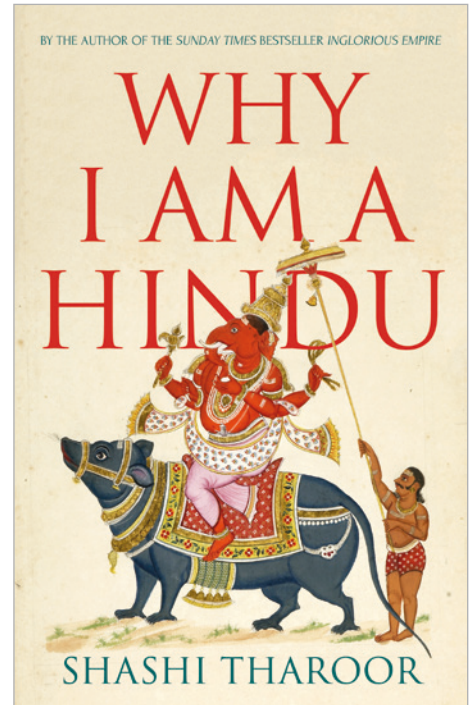
In his inimitable prose, Shashi Tharoor reevaluates Hinduism for the modern era and challenges its attempted capture by arch-nationalists.

Why I Am a Hindu offers a profound reexamination of Hinduism, one of the world's oldest and greatest religious traditions.

Opening with a frank and touching reflection on his personal beliefs, Shashi Tharoor untangles Hinduism's origins and its key philosophical concepts—including Vedanta, the Purusharthas and Bhakti—before focusing on key texts such as the Bhagavad Gita. In captivating prose, he delves into the 'Great Souls' of Hinduism, from Adi Shankara to Vivekananda, and explores everyday Hindu beliefs and practices, from worship to pilgrimage to caste.

Tharoor is unsparing in his criticism of 'Hindutva', an extremist, politicised Hinduism. He believes unequivocally that, if such narrow fundamentalism seizes the high ground, this will imperil India's distinct national character and unique culture. Tharoor argues urgently and persuasively that it is precisely because of Hinduism's rich diversity that India has survived and thrived as a plural, secular democracy.

A book that will be read and debated well into the future, *Why I Am a Hindu* is a revelatory and original contribution to our understanding of religion in the modern era.



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 fifteen previous books and has won numerous literary awards, including a Commonwealth Writers' Prize. His *Inglorious Empire: What the British Did to India* was a *Sunday Times* bestseller and named as a *Financial Times* Book of the Year.

Hardback
9781849049894
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June 2018
216mm x 138mm
Religion / Politics



François Bougon is an economics correspondent at *Le Monde*. An Asia specialist, he was formerly Beijing correspondent for Agence France-Presse (2005–10), and assistant director of *Le Monde*'s international service until 2017.

FRANÇOIS BOUGON

Inside the Mind of Xi Jinping

A revealing biographical inquiry into what motivates the man consolidating his grip on China.

Anyone seeking to become the world's most powerful leader must have the courage of their convictions. Xi Jinping, General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, is ready to don Chairman Mao's mantle, but also has his own lofty ambitions. To succeed, he knows he must do more than swap the *Little Red Book* for the *Analects* of Confucius.

For Xi, the greatest challenge facing China's thinkers today is to preserve Marxism as a guiding ideology, while engaging critically with mistaken credos like 'constitutional democracy', 'universal values' and 'neoliberalism'.

China must have total faith in its own brand of socialism and blend it meaningfully with Chinese tradition, from Confucius onwards. François Bougon's compelling biography finds alarming parallels with the leader's favourite philosopher, Han Fei. Does Han Fei's fondness for preserving authority through force and fear point to a 'new-market totalitarianism' in Xi's China? Will this be the price of the Chinese dream?

Paperback

9781849049849

£12.99 / 232pp

September 2018

198mm x 130mm

Biography / Politics

ANSHEL PFEFFER

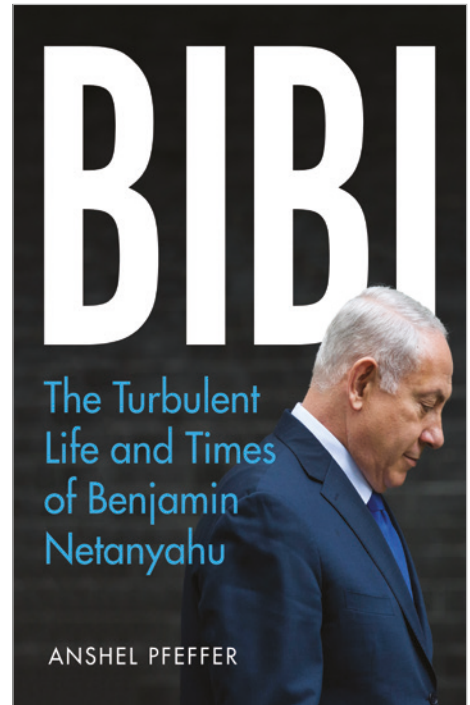
BibiThe Turbulent Life and Times
of Benjamin Netanyahu

'A page-turning biography of Benjamin Netanyahu
— scrupulously fair to his formidable political
strengths yet unsparing of his multitude of flaws. ...
Revelations in every chapter.' — Simon Schama

For many in Israel and elsewhere, Benjamin Netanyahu is anathema, an embarrassment; yet he continues to dominate Israeli public life. How can we explain his rise, his hold on Israeli politics, and his outsized role on the world's stage?

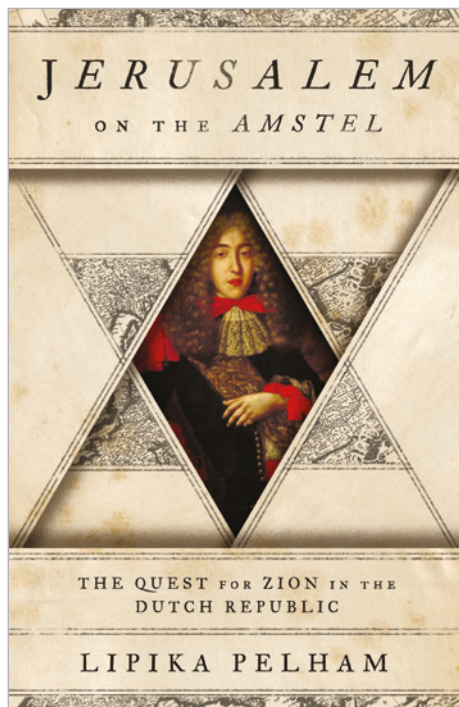
In *Bibi*, Anshel Pfeffer reveals the formative influence of Netanyahu's father and grandfather, who bequeathed to him a once-marginal brand of Zionism, combining Jewish nationalism with religious traditionalism. In the Zionist enterprise, Netanyahu embodies the triumph of the underdogs over the secular liberals who founded the nation.

Netanyahu's Israel is a hybrid of ancient phobia and high-tech hope; of tribalism and globalism—just like the man himself. We cannot understand Israel without first understanding the man who leads it.



Anshel Pfeffer has covered Israeli politics and global affairs for two decades. He is a senior correspondent and columnist for *Haaretz* and the Israel correspondent for *The Economist*. He lives in Jerusalem.

Hardback
9781849049887
£20.00 / 432pp
May 2018
234mm x 156mm
Biography / Politics



Lipika Pelham worked in the BBC newsroom for over a decade and also reported from the Middle East, North Africa and Asia. In 2005–13, she lived in Jerusalem, where she learnt Hebrew, made award-winning films and wrote a memoir, *The Unlikely Settler*. She now works as an independent documentary maker for the BBC and other broadcasters.

Hardback
9781787380080
£20.00 / 352pp
December 2018
216mm x 138mm
History / Europe

LIPIKA PELHAM

Jerusalem on the Amstel

The Quest for Zion in the Dutch Republic

A fascinating history of Amsterdam's unlikely Jewish 'Nation'—a prosperous community of Catholic converts fleeing the Spanish Inquisition.

Many Jews fleeing the Inquisition were actually 'New Christians'—Spanish and Portuguese converts to Catholicism. In seventeenth-century Amsterdam, they found refuge among 'a carnival of nations', alongside French Huguenots, North African Sephardi merchants, and Spanish Muslims. But none of these groups linked identity and 'nation' as decisively as the Jews.

In a rediscovery of their ancestral faith, these former Catholics dreamt of messianic redemption and a return to Jerusalem. For them, their *Nação* (Nation) in Amsterdam was the last step on the long road of exile. This extraordinary development radically altered the old idea of the Wandering Jew, creating a prototype Jewish nation 200 years before Zionism. Despite this commitment to the 'Hope of Israel', the community settled and prospered, enjoying high status and unparalleled freedom at a time when Dutch Catholics were repressed and Jews elsewhere were confined to the ghetto.

Lipika Pelham traces the captivating history of Amsterdam's Jews, from their integral role in the Dutch economic miracle and the Enlightenment to a sombre coda in 1942, when the Nazis herded them into the Portuguese Synagogue to be deported and murdered.

BRIAN A. CATLOS

Kingdoms of Faith

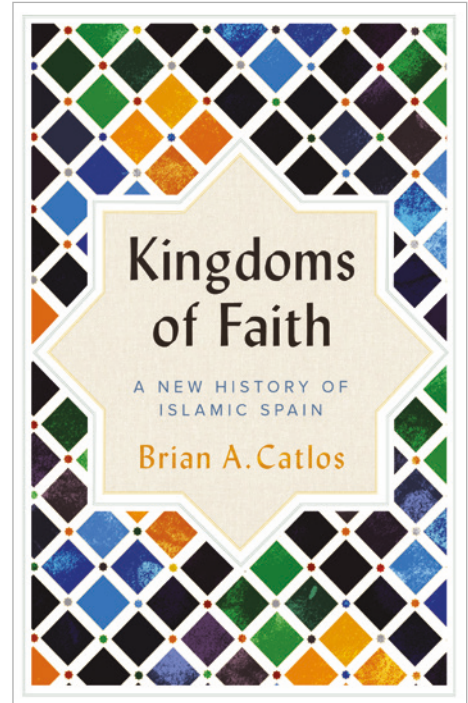
A New History of Islamic Spain

'A brilliant, well-written book that will force historians to see the Islamic presence in Iberia in a new light.' —Teofilo F. Ruiz, Distinguished Professor of History, UCLA

A magisterial, myth-dispelling history of Islamic Spain spanning the millennium from the founding of Islam in the seventh century to the final expulsion of Spain's Muslims in the seventeenth.

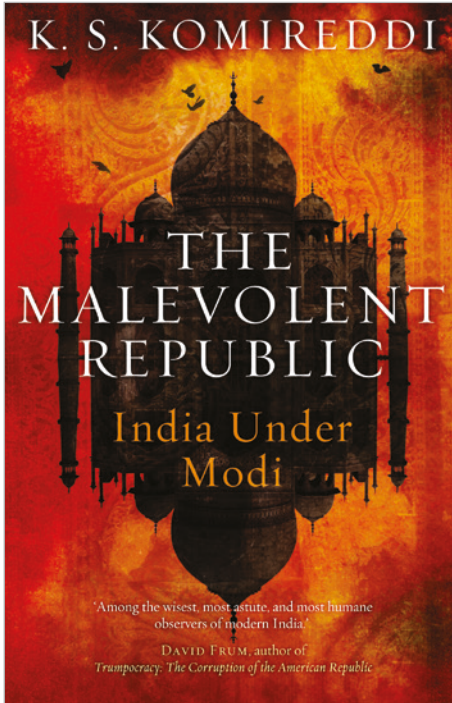
In *Kingdoms of Faith*, award-winning historian Brian A. Catlos rewrites Spain's Islamic past from the ground up, evoking the cultural splendour of al-Andalus, while offering an authoritative new interpretation of the forces that shaped it.

Prior accounts have portrayed Islamic Spain either as a paradise of enlightened tolerance, or as the site where civilisations clashed. Catlos taps a wide array of original sources to paint a more complex picture, showing how Muslims, Christians, and Jews together built a sophisticated civilisation that transformed the Western world, even as they waged relentless war against each other and their co-religionists. Religion was often the language of conflict, but seldom its cause—a lesson we would do well to learn in our own time.



Brian A. Catlos is Professor of Religious Studies at the University of Colorado, Boulder. His books have won the American Historical Association's Premio del Rey Award, the John E. Fagg Prize, and the Medieval Academy of America's Charles Homer Haskins Medal. He divides his time between Barcelona, Spain and Boulder, Colorado.

Hardback
9781787380035
£25.00 / 496pp
July 2018
234mm x 156mm
History / Europe



K. S. Komireddi was born in India, and educated there and in England. His commentary, criticism and journalism have appeared in *The Economist*, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Guardian*, *The New Statesman*, *The Spectator*, *The New Republic*, and *The Jewish Chronicle*. This is his first book.

Hardback
9781787380059
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October 2018
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Politics / South Asia

K. S. KOMIREDDI

The Malevolent Republic

India Under Modi

'Kapil Komireddi ranks high among the wisest, most astute, and most humane observers of modern India.' — David Frum, *The Atlantic*

After decades of imperfect secularism, New Delhi radiates the ideological convictions of its new master, Narendra Modi, as he seeks irreversibly to transform India. The 'invisible threads' holding together Nehru's diverse country have snapped under the weight of Hindu-supremacist rule. Resistance is feeble, with an opposition bleached of conviction. Some parties have taken to mimicking Modi; others pray for a miracle.

Modi, meanwhile, has become an unstoppable force. Democratic institutions, honed over decades, are being repurposed by his project. Hindu bigotry has been ennobled as a healthy form of self-assertion; anti-Muslim rhetoric has permeated the mainstream. India is in a vicious mood, and religious minorities live in terror of a vengeful majority.

Komireddi argues that secular Indian nationalism never had the courage of its convictions—and that its cowardly concessions to the Hindu right, convenient distortions of India's past, and demeaning bribes to India's minorities account for its failure to suppress the temptations of Hindu nationalism. Modi decisively won a free election, yet those complicit in his ascent may have squandered the republic. Indian democracy, for decades paraded as the antidote to chauvinism, is now the chief enabler of Hindu extremism.

ALPA SHAH

Nightmarch

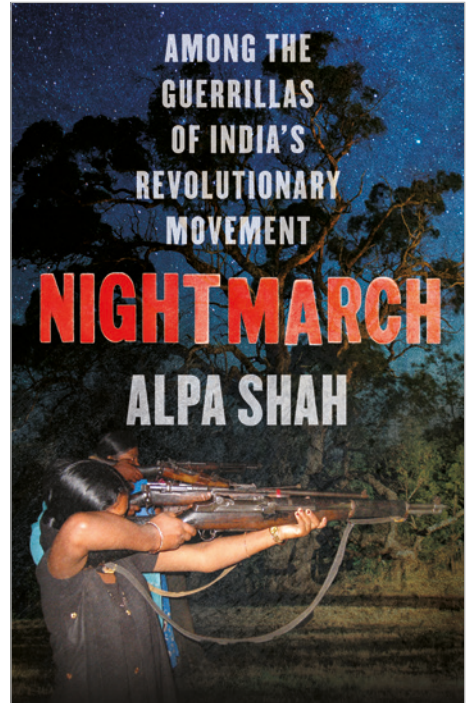
Among the Guerrillas of India's Revolutionary Movement

A revealing, at times horrific, account of India's widespread leftist insurgency and the state's brutal response to it.

In 2010, Alpa Shah found herself dressed as a man in an olive-green uniform, on a seven-night trek with Communist guerrillas. The only woman and the only non-combatant in the column, she walked 250 kilometres in the dense, hilly forests of eastern India.

This book recounts Shah's journey into the underbelly of the subcontinent, seeking to understand how and why, behind the mask of a shining 'new India', many of the country's poor have shunned the world's largest democracy, uniting with revolutionary ideologues to fight for a fairer society. She reveals one of the world's most intractable and under-reported rebellions, from the perspectives of both the insurrection's thinkers and the underprivileged rural communities who join them. These fighters, mostly from lower-caste and Tribal backgrounds, seasonally migrate for work, carrying bricks on their shoulders in faraway kilns and building the skyscrapers of a brand-new India. Yet, when they return home to the forested hills of the centre and west, they recite poetry, sing revolutionary songs, and take up arms against rising inequality.

Nightmarch is a compelling reflection on economic growth, dispossession and conflict at the heart of contemporary India.



Alpa Shah was raised in Nairobi, studied at Cambridge and completed her PhD at the LSE, where she now teaches anthropology. She is the author of *In the Shadows of the State: Indigenous Politics, Environmentalism, and Insurgency in Jharkhand, India*, and made the radio documentary 'India's Red Belt' for BBC Radio 4's 'Crossing Continents'.

Hardback
9781849049900

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Politics / South Asia



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*; *Blood and Faith: The Purging of Muslim Spain, 1492-1614*; and *The Devils of Cardona*.

Hardback
9781787380073
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November 2018
216mm x 138mm
History / Europe

MATTHEW CARR

Savage Frontier

The Pyrenees in History

The rugged Pyrenees form one of Europe's great faultlines, a cultural and political boundary that looms large in European history.

In *Savage Frontier* acclaimed author and journalist Matthew Carr uncovers the fascinating, multi-layered story of the Pyrenees—both a forbidding, mountainous frontier zone of stunning beauty, home to a unique culture, and a site of sharp conflict between nations and empires.

Carr traces the routes over the mountains taken by monks, soldiers, poets, pilgrims and refugees, to examine the lives and events that have shaped the Pyrenees across the centuries. His cast of characters includes Napoleon, Hannibal and Charlemagne; the eccentric British climber Lord Henry Russell; Francisco Sabaté Llopart, the Catalan anarchist who waged a lone war across the Pyrenees against Franco for years after the Civil War; and the cellist Pablo Casals, who spent more than twenty-three years in exile only a few miles from the Spanish border, to show his disgust and disapproval of the regime.

Savage Frontier shines a new light on one of the most haunting, magical and dramatic landscapes on Earth.

BARRY HATTON

Queen of the Sea

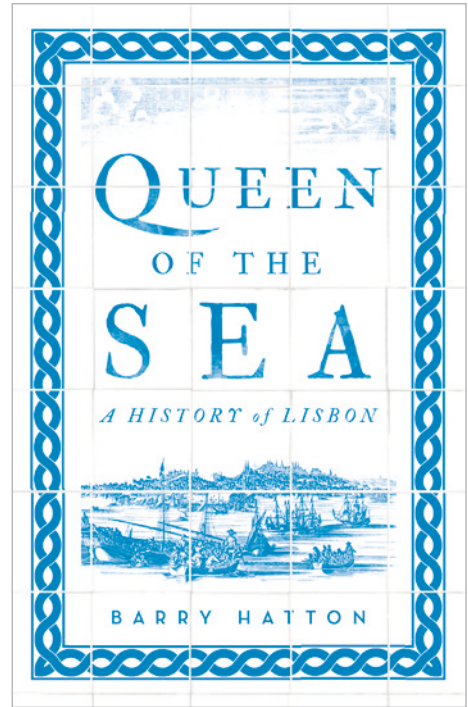
A History of Lisbon

A boldly written evocation of one of the world's great cities—the gateway to the Atlantic and port of origin for Portuguese overseas exploration.

Lisbon was almost somewhere else. In 1755 Portuguese officials considered moving the city after it was devastated by what is believed to have been the strongest earthquake ever to strike modern Europe, followed by a tidal wave as high as a double-decker bus and a six-day inferno that turned sand into glass. Lisbon's charm is legendary, but its rich, 2,000-year history is not widely known.

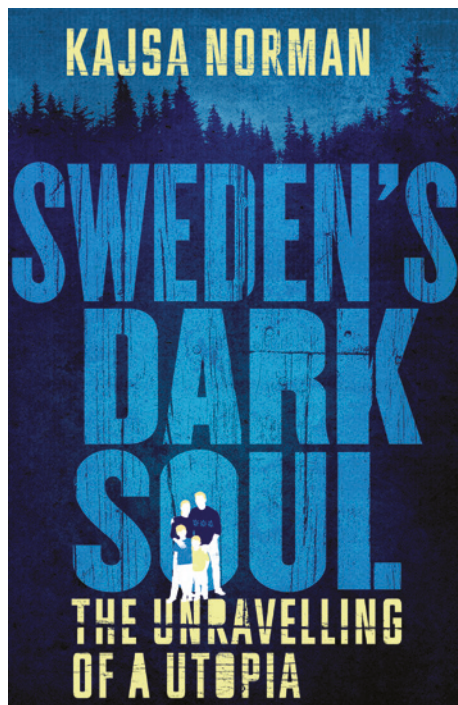
Barry Hatton unearths these forgotten memories in an entertaining account of Lisbon's colourful past—from the Roman theatre and Hippodrome and the dramatic 1147 siege during the Iberian *Reconquista*, to the assassination of the king, the founding of a republic and the darkness of dictatorship in modern times. He brings to life this wealthy international bazaar at the centre of an empire that spanned four continents. By the mid-1500s, around 10 per cent of Lisbon's population was black and the city today still bears hallmarks of an African heritage. But gone are the rhinoceros, five elephants, Arabian horse and jaguar that once led the king's cortège; Lisbon is now a European capital, in yet another new chapter of the Portuguese story.

Queen of the Sea is an unrivalled, intimate portrait of a vibrant city at the heart of world history.



Barry Hatton is a British foreign correspondent in Lisbon, where he has lived for three decades. He is the author of *The Portuguese: A Modern History*.

Paperback
9781849049979
£14.99 / 296pp
August 2018
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History / Europe



KAJSA NORMAN

Sweden's Dark Soul

The Unravelling of a Utopia

How has the poster child of 'cradle to grave' welfare fared in recent decades, and what have the strains on Swedish society revealed about its true nature?

Kajsa Norman is a London-based investigative journalist and author. 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 books are *Bridge Over Blood River: The Rise and Fall of the Afrikaners*, and *A Hero's Curse: The Perpetual Liberation of Venezuela*.

Alternative blogger Chang Frick grew up dark-haired in a nation of blondes. Ostracised and abused as a child, in adulthood he set out to expose the hypocrisy of Swedish society. When he reported the cover-up of mass sexual assaults on teen girls at a 2015 music festival, he provoked a chain reaction nationwide. Sweden's elites shirked responsibility and rushed to discredit him, while immigrants like Armenian Samvel Atabekyan bore the collective blame.

The institutions and characters caught up in this scandal speak of a democracy in crisis. Although Sweden was the first country to guarantee press freedom, its history of homogeneity, social engineering, and conformity has created a culture where few dare dissent from consensus, and those outside the norm are driven to extremes.

In this fearless and groundbreaking book, investigative journalist Kajsa Norman delves deep into the oppressive underbelly of the Swedish model. Weaving the history of Sweden's social politics with the stories of Frick, Atabekyan, and other outcasts, Norman reveals the darkness in the Swedish soul.

Hardback

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November 2018

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Politics / Europe

DILIP HIRO

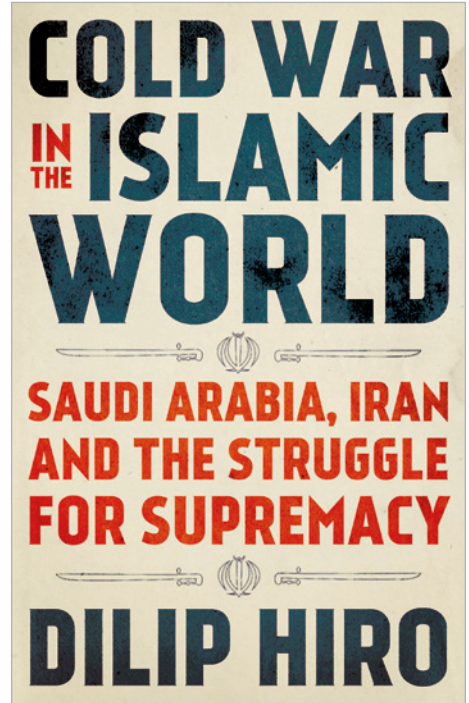
Cold War in the Islamic World

Saudi Arabia, Iran and the Struggle for Supremacy

The foundational schism between Sunni Arabia and Shia Persia manifests itself in geopolitics, as Kingdom and Islamic Republic compete.

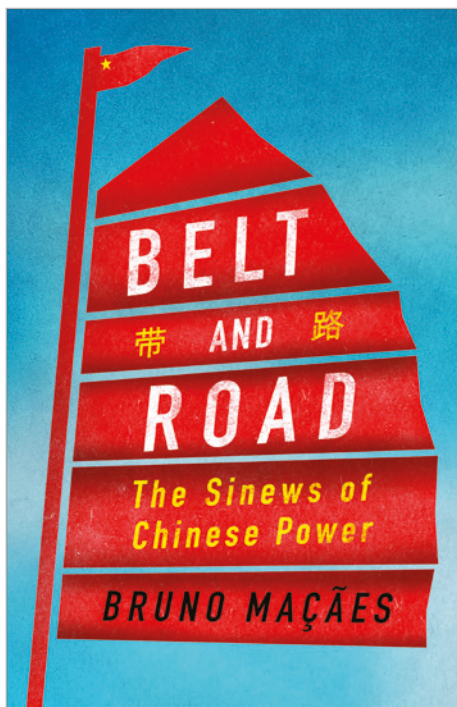
For decades Saudi Arabia and Iran have vied for influence, above all in the Islamic world, by sponsoring religious and military proxies in the Middle East, South Asia and Africa. At the heart of this ongoing Cold War between Riyadh and Tehran lie the Sunni-Shia divide, and the intertwined histories of those who speak Arabic and those who speak Persian. Saudis frame this rivalry in sectarian terms, given the Wahhabi House of Saud's hostility to Shias; the leaders of Iran's clerical republic contend that monarchy, including Saudi Arabia's, is 'un-Islamic' and therefore illegitimate.

Iran has expanded its influence in Syria, Iraq and Lebanon by combining adroit diplomacy with mobilisation of forces like Hezbollah, deployment of its Revolutionary Guards in the Syrian war, and, above all, President Bush's disastrous invasion of Iraq. In response, Saudi Arabia's hyperactive crown prince, Muhammad bin Salman, has intervened in Yemen, isolated Qatar and destabilised Lebanon. The Islamic Cold War is unlikely to end any time soon.



Dilip Hiro is the author of more than thirty books, including *After Empire: The Birth of a Multipolar World*; *Inside Central Asia*; and *Apocalyptic Realm: Jihadists in South Asia*.

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Politics / Middle East



Bruno Maçães is a non-resident senior fellow at the Hudson Institute and senior advisor at Flint Global. Formerly Portugal's Europe minister (2013–15), he has been a regular commentator for CNN, the BBC and Al Jazeera, and has written for the *Financial Times*, *The Guardian* and *Foreign Affairs*. His last book was *The Dawn of Eurasia: On the Trail of the New World Order*.

Hardback
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December 2018
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Politics / Asia

BRUNO MAÇÃES

Belt and Road

The Sinews of Chinese Power

An unrivalled account of the biggest infrastructure initiative in human history, and what it tells us about China's global ambitions.

China's 'Belt and Road' project is acknowledged to be the most ambitious geopolitical initiative of the modern era. More than any other, it symbolises a new phase in China's rise—the moment when Beijing embraces its role as a superpower, capable of remaking the world economy and attracting other countries to both its economic orbit and its ideological model.

It is much clearer now just how rich and elaborate 'Belt and Road' truly is. It combines political, economic and cultural elements; covers about seventy countries by land and sea; and will affect every sector of the world economy, from shipping to agriculture, digital to tourism.

Bruno Maçães traces this extraordinary initiative's history, evaluating its achievements to date and unveiling its staggering complexity. Scrutinising official statements, he sheds light on the almost maniacal ambition with which China pursues its project: to build an infrastructure corridor that will remake the world economy and leave Beijing the new centre of capitalism and globalisation. Finally, he asks whether 'Belt and Road' is simply about power projection and profit. Might it herald a new set of universal political values, to rival those of the West? Is it, in fact, the story of the century?

NICHOLAS WALTON

Singapore, Singapura

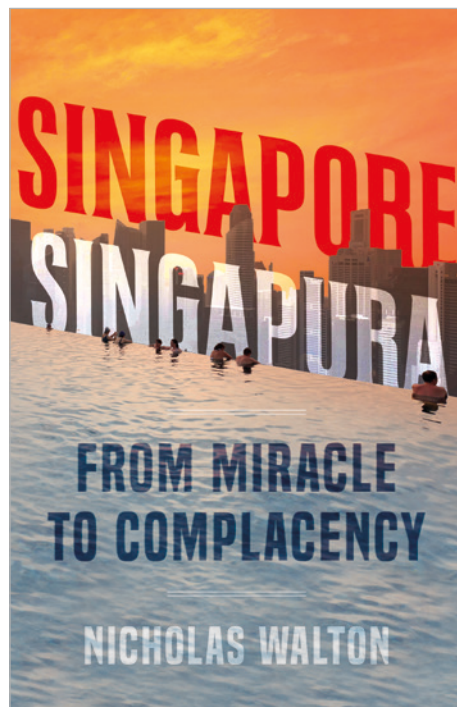
From Miracle to Complacency

A portrait of the ultimate globalised city, its fortune tied firmly to the world economy and vulnerable to the vagaries of global commerce.

Modern Singapore is a miracle. Half a century ago it unwillingly became an independent nation, after it was thrown out of the Malay Federation. It was tiny, poor, almost devoid of resources, and in a hostile neighbourhood. Now, this unlikely country is at the top of almost every global national index, from high wealth and low crime to superb education and much-envied stability. But have these achievements bred a dangerous sense of complacency?

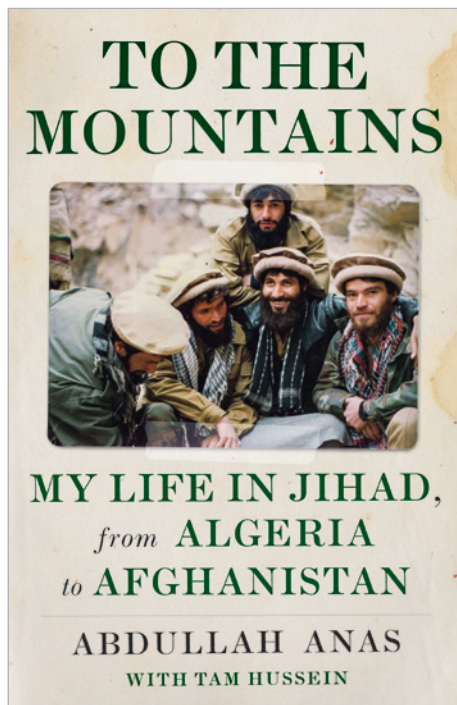
Nicholas Walton walked across the entire country in one day, to grasp what it was that made Singapore tick, and to understand the challenges that it now faces. *Singapore, Singapura* teases out the island's story, from mercantilist Raffles and British colonial rule, through the war years, to independence and the building of the current miracle.

There are challenges ahead, from public complacency and the constraints of authoritarian democracy to changing geographic realities and the difficulties of balancing migration in such a tiny state. Singapore's second half-century will be just as exacting as the one since independence—as Walton warns, talk of a 'Singapore model' for our hyper-globalised world must face these realities.



Nicholas Walton is a former BBC World Service journalist who worked and reported from around the world for fourteen years before moving to the European Council on Foreign Relations. He previously lived in Singapore; now based in the Netherlands, he reports on education and the media for The Economist Intelligence Unit. His *Genoa, 'La Superba'* is also published by Hurst.

Hardback
9781787380103
£20.00 / 224pp
August 2018
216mm x 138mm
Politics / Asia



Abdullah Anas is an Algerian politician-in-exile and former member of the mujahideen who fought alongside bin Laden before falling out with the Al-Qaeda leader over his plans for a global jihad. He lives in London, having gained political asylum.

Tam Hussein is an award-winning investigative journalist and writer who has reported on UK jihadi networks and British foreign fighters in Syria.

Hardback
9781787380110
£20.00 / 224pp
January 2019
216mm x 138mm
Biography / Terrorism

ABDULLAH ANAS, WITH TAM HUSSEIN

To the Mountains

My Life in Jihad,
from Algeria to Afghanistan

A fascinating account of the early years of the anti-Soviet insurgency in Afghanistan and its role in rallying Islamists from across the globe.

The Algerian Islamist Abdullah Anas, 'perhaps the greatest warrior of the Afghan Arabs', fought the Soviet Union for a decade. As one of the earliest Arabs to join the Afghan jihad, he counted as brothers-in-arms the future icons of Al-Qaeda's global war, from Abdullah Azzam to Osama bin Laden to Omar Abdel-Rahman, and befriended key Afghan jihadi figures such as Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and Ahmad Shah Massoud, the Lion of Panjshir.

To the Mountains is an intimate portrait of this brutal war, tracing Anas's involvement in the conflict, as well as his experiences of the Algerian civil war (1992–8) and his sojourn in 'Londonistan'. Brushing shoulders with everyone from Abu Mus'ab al-Zarqawi to Jalaluddin Haqqani, Anas opted for his own independent route, seeking to persuade the Afghan Arabs that they should not be distracted by attacks on the West. Paradoxically, he remains committed to the broader Islamist movement, believing that jihad will continue till the end of time, yet has also spent years talking to the Taliban, seeking to build a lasting peace in Afghanistan. This is his story.

Co-written with investigative journalist Tam Hussein, Anas's memoir will doubtless become a seminal primary source on the rise of global jihadism.

BENEDICT WILKINSON

Scripts of Terror

The Stories Terrorists
Tell Themselves

How do terrorists resolve the tension between their ambitions and their often limited resources?

This book explores terrorism as a strategic choice—one made carefully and deliberately by rational actors. Through an analysis of the terrorist groups of Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Yemen, it charts a series of different strategic ‘scripts’ at play in terrorist behaviour, from survival, to efforts in mobilising a supporter base, through to the grinding attrition of a long terrorist campaign.

The theme that runs through all these organisations is the unbridgeable gap between their strategic vision, and what actually unfolds. Regardless of which script terrorists follow, they often fall short of achieving their political ambitions. And yet, despite its frequent failure, the terrorist strategy is returned to time and again—people continue to join such groups, and to commit violence.

Scripts of Terror explores the reasons behind this. It asks why, if terrorism is so rarely successful and so hard to pull off, its approach remains an appealing one. And it examines how terrorists formulate their strategies, and how they envisage achieving their ambitions through violence. Most importantly, it explores why they so often fail.

SCRIPTS
— of —
TERROR

The Stories
Terrorists Tell
Themselves

Benedict Wilkinson

Benedict Wilkinson is Senior Research Fellow at King’s College London’s Policy Institute, where he works on contemporary defence, security and foreign policy issues.

He completed his PhD in War Studies at King’s under the supervision of Professor Sir Lawrence Freedman, during which time he was Head of Security and Counter-Terrorism at RUSI. This is his second book.

Hardback
9781787380172
£35.00 / 320pp
September 2018
216mm x 138mm
Terrorism

GREGORY B. LEE



China Imagined

**From European Fantasy
to Spectacular Power**

Gregory B. Lee is Professor of Chinese and Transcultural Studies at the University of Lyon. He has previously taught at SOAS, Cambridge, Chicago and Hong Kong universities and also worked as a China analyst at the BBC, broadcasting on Chinese and Hong Kong affairs. He is a fellow of the Hong Kong Academy of the Humanities.

Hardback

9781787380165

£15.99 / 208pp

November 2018

198mm x 130mm

Politics / Asia

GREGORY B. LEE

China Imagined

From European Fantasy
to Spectacular Power

If 'China', as Lee argues, is a product of Westernisation, then the West is itself in the process of becoming China.

How did China become China? And where is it leading us? We talk as if it had always existed: eternal China with its 5,000 years of uninterrupted history. But the name 'China' was first used by sixteenth-century Europeans, and its Chinese equivalent, *Zhongguo*, only gained currency in the mid-1800s.

China Imagined is a thoughtful exploration of the idea of China, from the naming and mapping of its territory and peoples to the creation and rise of the modern nation-state. China's early history describes a multilingual space, ruled by a homogeneous elite with its own minority culture—a far cry from Maoism's national mass culture, or Xi Jinping's state-controlled digital society today.

Gregory Lee traces this complex, diverse entity's evolution since the Opium Wars into a China made in 'our' image. Today, it is a great power integral to the global system, whether it comes to climate change, security or inequality. Given this rapid convergence with the West, Xi's China holds up a mirror to our own nations. Trump's America, Putin's Russia and post-Brexit Europe all betray echoes of 'the Chinese Dream'. If China is a product of Westernisation, is it now the West's turn to become China?

BERTIL LINTNER

The Costliest Pearl

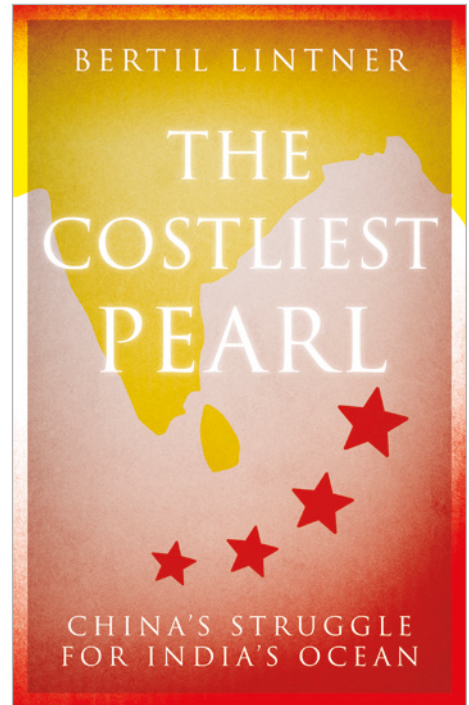
China's Struggle for India's Ocean

This fast-paced investigation of India's strategic encirclement reveals how China's chequebook diplomacy is impacting the region.

The Indian Ocean's strategic importance to China cannot be underestimated, given the oil, African minerals and container traffic that pass through it. Yet, until now, China has been absent from the region since Admiral Zheng He sailed his fleet through in the fifteenth century, exploring and mapping the waters in a bid to extend the Celestial Empire's trading and tributary system.

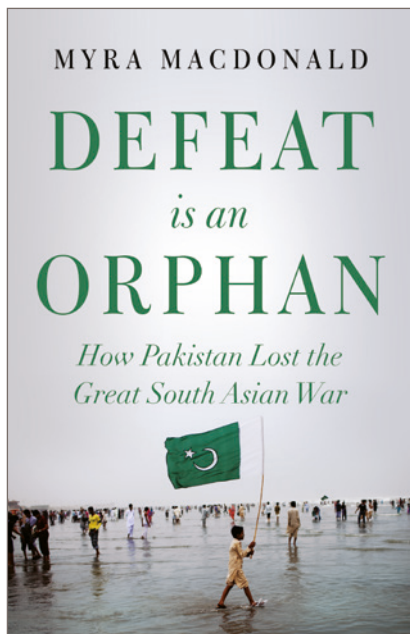
Beijing's re-entry into the Indian Ocean after 600 years is part of Xi Jinping's 'Belt and Road' megaproject. He is investing trillions of dollars in infrastructure projects around the Ocean rim, including a military base in Djibouti. This has touched off a new and dangerous confrontation. Ranged against China is an informal alliance of India, the US, France, Australia, and, predictably, Japan—Beijing's arch-rival in the Asia-Pacific.

Bertil Lintner unearths this dramatic story, profiling the key players, examining the economic and naval balance of power, and scrutinising New Delhi and Beijing's intense competition for the allegiance of small island nations. China is in the Indian Ocean for the long haul, and the entry of big-power politics into this sensitive maritime region will shape its future for decades to come.



Bertil Lintner writes for the *Asia Times* and the Swedish daily *Svenska Dagbladet*. He is a recognised expert on Burmese issues as well as ethnic minorities, insurgencies and narcotics in South and Southeast Asia. He has numerous books to his credit, most recently *China's India War: Collision Course on the Roof of the World*.

Hardback
9781849049962
£25.00 / 288pp
October 2018
216mm x 138mm
Politics / Asia



Paperback / 9781787380288

August 2018 / £15.99

320pp / 216mm x 138mm

MYRA MACDONALD

New in paperback

Defeat is an Orphan

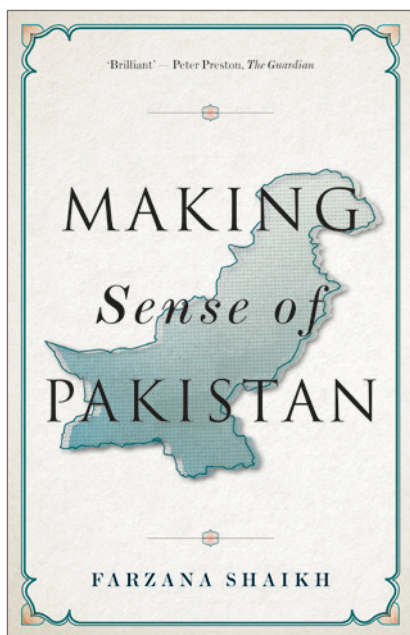
How Pakistan Lost the Great South Asian War

‘A slashing indictment of Pakistani strategy by a journalist who has covered South Asia for decades.’

— Andrew J. Nathan, *Foreign Affairs*

‘Lucidly explains how strategic choices since the country’s nuclear tests in 1998 contributed to growing political instability at home and isolation overseas.’ — *CHOICE*

‘A compelling narrative about the way in which Pakistan’s relations with its giant neighbour have always been defined by the quixotic desire for parity.’ — Faisal Devji, author of *Muslim Zion: Pakistan as a Political Idea*



Paperback / 9781787380325

August 2018 / £15.99

312pp / 216mm x 138mm

FARZANA SHAIKH

New edition

Making Sense of Pakistan

‘A work of genuine scholarship on one of the most complicated countries on earth. If you have ever wondered why Pakistan’s problems are so deep, then Farzana Shaikh has the answers.’ — Owen Bennett Jones, BBC World Service

‘Shaikh’s knowledge is encyclopedic, her methods of analysis simple but intense, her writing beautifully lucid.’ — Ahmed Rashid, author of *Descent into Chaos*

‘Intellectually acute, impressively researched, and strongly argued.’ — Anatol Lieven, *The American Prospect*

‘Brilliant.’ — Peter Preston, *The Guardian*

T. C. A. RAGHAVAN

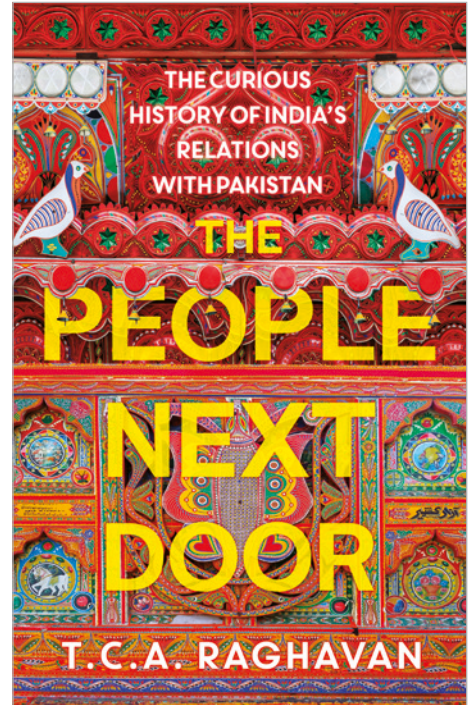
The People Next Door

The Curious History of India's Relations with Pakistan

'This excellent book brings home the necessary truth that in India–Pakistan ties, you must keep inhaling the voices of the past to deal with the present.' — *The Hindu*

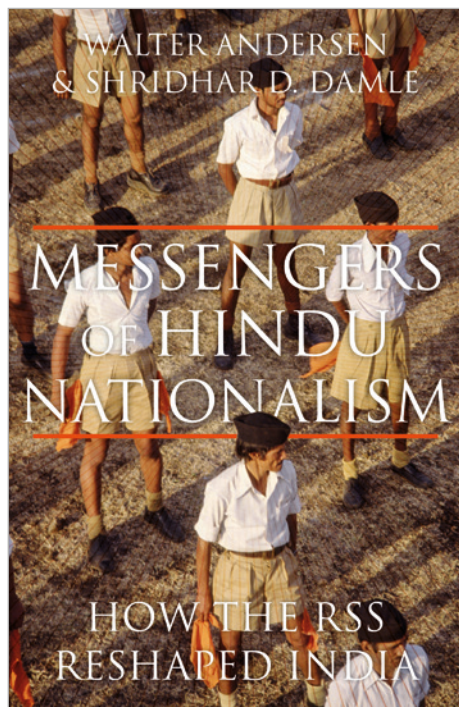
This book traces the seven decades of the India–Pakistan relationship since the bloody partition of the subcontinent in 1947. Events, anecdotes and personalities drive its narrative to illustrate the cocktail of hostility, nationalism and nostalgia that defines every facet of Indo–Pakistani relations. T. C. A. Raghavan illuminates the main events of this tumultuous dynamic through the eyes and words of key players and contemporary observers. He exposes how, in both countries, this shared past is seen through radically different prisms; how history keeps resurfacing, with unavoidable resonance, to this day.

The People Next Door digs beneath the obvious political, military and security issues, evoking other perspectives: divided families and unwavering friendships; peacemakers, war-mongers, and contrarian thinkers; intellectual and cultural associations; the footprint of Bollywood; cricket and literature—all are an intrinsic part of this most profoundly tangled of relationships.



T. C. A. Raghavan is a former Indian High Commissioner to Pakistan and Singapore. He has a PhD in History from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi and is the author of *Attendant Lords: Bairam Khan and Abdur Rahim, Courtiers and Poets in Mughal India*.

Hardback
9781787380196
£20.00 / 256pp
September 2018
216mm x 138mm
Politics / South Asia



WALTER ANDERSEN & SHRIDHAR D. DAMLE

Messengers of Hindu Nationalism

How the RSS Reshaped India

Charts the inexorable, long-term political objectives of the world's largest nationalist organisation, and its desire to re-engineer Indian society.

Walter Andersen is Professor of South Asia Studies at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. He previously served as chief of the US State Department's South Asia Division in the Office of Analysis for the Near East and South Asia.

Shridhar D. Damle is a scholar of Indian politics based in the USA.

The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) is a Hindu nationalist volunteer organisation. It is also the parent of India's ruling Bharatiya Janata Party. Prime Minister Modi was himself a career RSS office-holder, or *pracharak*. This book explores how the RSS and its affiliates have benefitted from India's economic development and concurrent social dislocation, with rapid modernisation creating a sense of rootlessness, disrupting traditional hierarchies, and attracting many upwardly mobile groups to the organisation.

India seems more willing than ever to accept the RSS's narrative of Hindu nationalism—one that seeks to assimilate Hindus into a common identity representing true 'Indianness'. Yet the RSS has also come to resemble 'the Congress system', with a socially diverse membership containing a distinct left, right and centre. The organisation's most significant dilemma is how to reconcile the assault from its far right on cultural issues like cow protection with condemnations of globalisation from the left flank.

Andersen and Damle offer an essential account of the RSS's rapid rise in recent decades, tracing how it has evolved in response to economic liberalisation and assessing its long-term impact on Indian politics and society.

Hardback

9781787380257

£25.00 / 320pp

November 2018

216mm x 138mm

Politics / South Asia

RAY HARTLEY

Cyril Ramaphosa

The Path to Power in South Africa

A political biography of one of the great survivors of African politics, a major figure in the anti-apartheid struggle and close ally of Nelson Mandela.

For a long time, Cyril Ramaphosa was the nearly-man of South African politics. He was Nelson Mandela's preferred successor, but the ANC opted for his rival, Thabo Mbeki, as the second post-apartheid president. Ramaphosa had led South Africa's huge mineworkers' union against the apartheid regime and was the key architect of the much-praised 1996 'rainbow' constitution. He later prospered in business on the back of the first big empowerment deals with white-owned enterprises, before returning to politics and the ANC in 2012.

His eyes firmly on the prize, Ramaphosa played a long game as President Zuma became mired in scandal. In early 2018, Deputy President Ramaphosa persuaded the party to throw out Zuma and install him in his place. Announcing a 'new dawn', he has captivated the nation, but now faces his greatest challenge: fixing a broken economy, weeding out Zuma's corrupt minions and the legacy of 'state capture' by the Gupta brothers, and delivering on the promise of a better life for the poor.

This captivating biography outlines Ramaphosa's extraordinary political and business career. It tells the story of one of the greatest political comebacks of modern times.

CYRIL RAMAPHOSA

The Path to Power in South Africa

RAY HARTLEY



Ray Hartley is the editor of the *Rand Daily Mail*. A former anti-apartheid activist, he also worked as an administrator in the constitutional negotiations that ended apartheid. He has covered the new South Africa as a political correspondent, travelling extensively with Mandela and Mbeki, and as the editor of South Africa's largest newspaper, *The Sunday Times*, during the Zuma era.

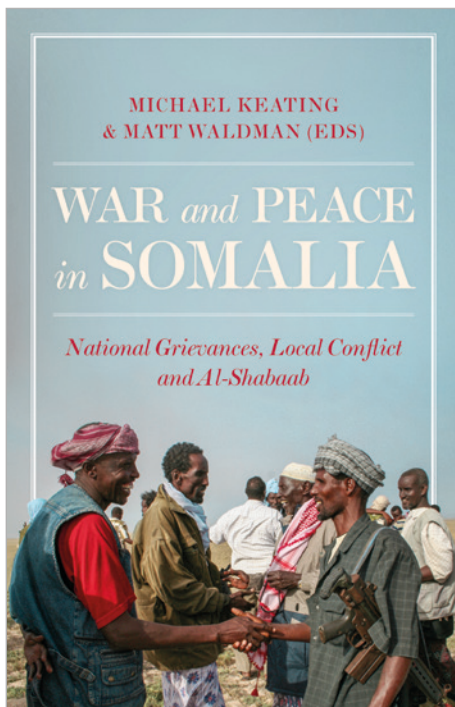
Paperback
9781787380158

£16.99 / 280pp

June 2018

216mm x 138mm

Biography / Africa



Michael Keating is the UN Special Representative for Somalia. Previously he was Associate Director of Chatham House, Deputy UN Special Representative for Afghanistan and Executive Director of the Africa Progress Panel.

Matt Waldman is Adviser to the UN Special Representative for Somalia. A conflict resolution specialist, he previously advised the UN Special Envoy for Syria, and the Special Representative for Afghanistan.

Paperback

9781787380189

£25.00 / 480pp

October 2018

216mm x 138mm

Politics / Africa

MICHAEL KEATING AND MATT WALDMAN (EDS)

War and Peace in Somalia

National Grievances,
Local Conflict and Al-Shabaab

A comprehensive account by global specialists
of how Somalia has confronted the challenges of
governance amid an Islamist insurgency.

For the last thirty years Somalia has experienced violence and upheaval. Today, the international effort to help Somalis build a federal state and achieve stability is challenged by deep-rooted grievances, local conflicts and a powerful insurgency led by Al-Shabaab.

Consisting of forty-four chapters by conflict resolution specialists and the world's leading experts on Somalia, this volume constitutes a unique compendium of insights into the insurgency and its impact. *War and Peace in Somalia* explores the legacies of past violence, especially impunity, illegitimacy and exclusion, and the need for national reconciliation. Drawing on decades of experience and months of field research, the contributors throw light on diverse forms of local conflict, its interrelated causes, and what can be done about it. They share original research on the role of women, men and youth in the conflict, and present new insight into Al-Shabaab—particularly the group's multi-dimensional strategy, the motivations of its fighters, their foreign links, and the prospects for engagement.

This groundbreaking volume illuminates the war in Somalia, and sets out what can and should be done to bring it to an end. For policymakers and researchers covering Somalia, East Africa, extremism or conflict resolution, this is a must-read.

STIG JARLE HANSEN

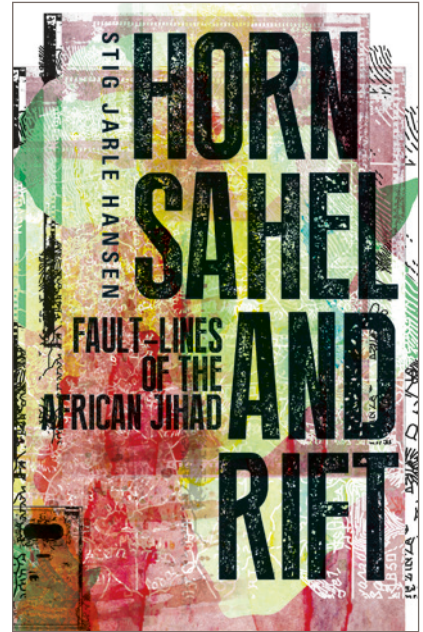
Reannouncing

Horn, Sahel and Rift

Fault-lines of the African Jihad

Profiles the spread of Islamist groups in Africa, and the growing links between them.

Stig Jarle Hansen has been researching African radical violent Islamism for more than ten years and is well placed to explain how and why groups like Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, Harakat Al-Shabaab, and Boko Haram emerged, whether they manifest any specific traits compared with other violent Islamists, and what is likely to be their impact beyond the African continent. He also discusses the response of African and Western governments to this phenomenon.



Hardback / 9781849044141

October 2018 / £25.00

296pp / 216mm x 138mm

STEPHEN ELLIS

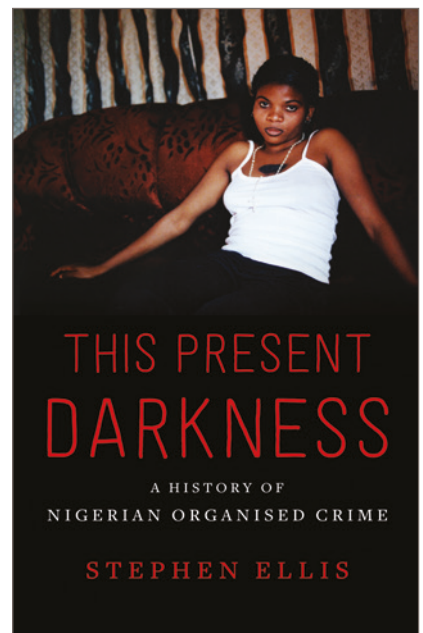
New in paperback

This Present Darkness

A History of Nigerian Organised Crime

'One of Britain's most accomplished Africanists provides a cautionary reminder of how much tougher the job is now, and how blurred the lines between officially sanctioned and illicit activity have become.'
— *Financial Times*

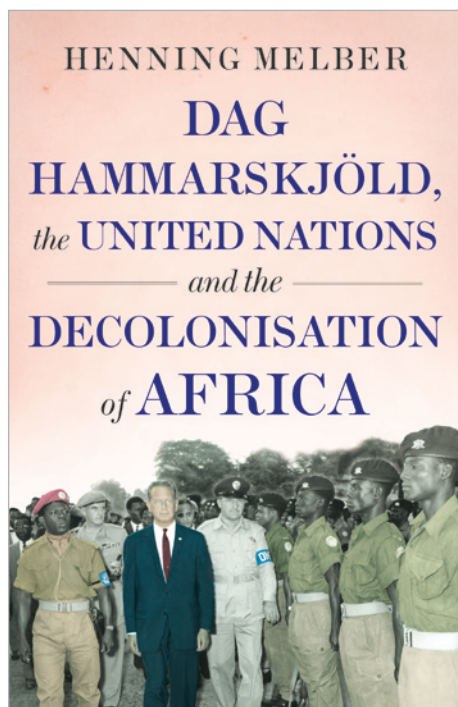
'For decades Nigeria has suffered a doubly dubious reputation: recognised as a kleptocracy and notorious for its armies of imaginative criminals, formed into organisations with international reach. ... This state of affairs is ably documented and explained in this excellent history.' — *The Economist*



Paperback / 9781787380271

September 2018 / £14.99

336pp / 216mm x 138mm



HENNING MELBER

Dag Hammarskjöld, the United Nations and the Decolonisation of Africa

A new investigation into Hammarskjöld's role in the decolonisation of Africa during the Cold War offers startling conclusions.

In 1953 Dag Hammarskjöld became the second Secretary-General of the United Nations—the highest international civil servant. Before his mission was cut short by a 1961 plane crash in then Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), he used his office to act on the basis of anti-hegemonic values, including solidarity and recognition of otherness. The dubious circumstances of Hammarskjöld's death have received much attention, including a new official investigation, but have perhaps overshadowed his diplomatic legacy—one that has often been hotly contested.

Henning Melber explores the years of African decolonisation during which Hammarskjöld was in office, investigating the scope and limits of his influence within the context of global governance. He paints a picture of a man with strong guiding principles, but limited room for manoeuvre, colliding with the essential interests of the big powers as the 'wind of change' blew over the African continent. His book is a critical contribution to the study of international politics and the role of the UN in the Cold War. It is also a tribute to the achievements of a cosmopolitan Swede.

Henning Melber is Director Emeritus of The Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation and Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London. He is also President of the European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes, and Extraordinary Professor at the University of Pretoria's Department of Political Sciences and at the University of the Free State's Centre for Africa Studies.

Hardback
9781787380042
£30.00 / 296pp
December 2018
216mm x 138mm
History / Africa

JACQUES SEMELIN

The Survival of the Jews in France

1940–44

A renowned historian of genocide reconsiders
French responses to the Nazis' attempts to
exterminate its Jewish population.

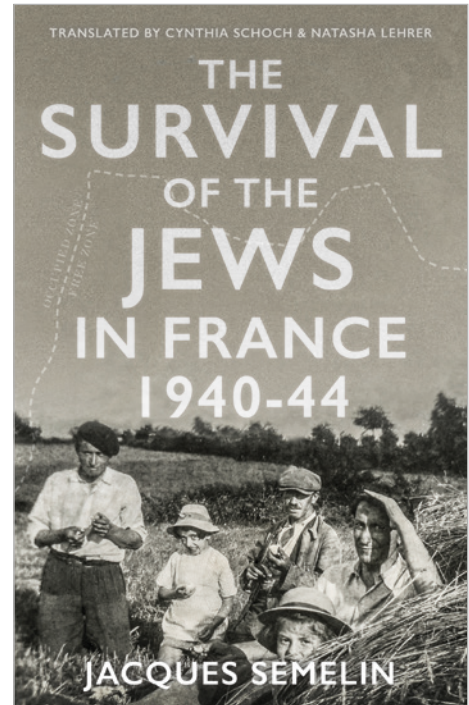
Between the French defeat in 1940 and liberation in 1944, the Nazis killed almost 80,000 of France's Jews, both French and foreign. Since that time, this tragedy has been well-documented. But there are other stories hidden within it—ones neglected by historians.

In 1940, the Jewish population stood at 300,000. In other words, 75 per cent of France's Jews escaped extermination. While 45 per cent of the Jews of Belgium perished, and in the Netherlands only 20 per cent survived, close to 90 per cent of Jewish French nationals outlived the war.

The Nazis were determined to destroy the Jews across Europe, and the Vichy regime collaborated in their deportation from France. So what is the meaning of this French exception?

Jacques Semelin sheds light on this 'French enigma', painting a radically unfamiliar view of occupied France. His is a rich, even-handed portrait of a complex and changing society, one where helping and informing on one's neighbours went hand in hand; and where small gestures of solidarity sat comfortably with broader anti-Semitism.

Without shying away from the horror of the Holocaust's crimes, this seminal work adds a fresh perspective to our history of the Second World War.



Jacques Semelin is CNRS Research Professor Emeritus of History and Political Science at CERI Sciences Po, Paris, focusing on the Holocaust and mass violence, as well as civil resistance and rescue. He is the author of the classic *Unarmed Against Hitler: Civilian Resistance in Europe, 1939–1945*, and *Purify and Destroy: The Political Uses of Massacre and Genocide*.

SciencesPo 
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CHRISTOPHE JAFFRELOT (EDITOR)

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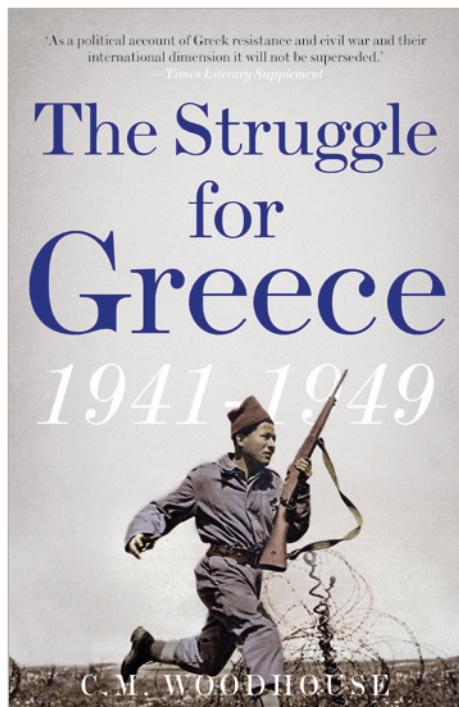
9781787380141

£30.00 / 360pp

December 2018

216mm x 138mm

History / Europe



C. M. Woodhouse (1917–2001) was the author of several classic works on modern Greek history.

Paperback
9781787380264
£16.99 / 368pp
August 2018
216mm x 138mm
History / Europe

C. M. WOODHOUSE

New edition

The Struggle for Greece

1941–1949

'As a political account of Greek resistance and civil war and their international dimension it will not be superseded.' — *Times Literary Supplement*

As commander of the Allied Military Mission to the Greek guerrillas in Greece in 1943–4, C. M. Woodhouse had to hold an uneasy balance between the communist and government sides. The struggle for Greece unfolded against a background of conflicting communist doctrine, shifting foreign alliances, territorial disputes and personality differences.

The first round began in 1941 with the German occupation of Greece when the National Liberation Front attempted to regain control of the country and overthrow the monarchy. In the second round, the communists tried to seize power at the end of the German occupation in December 1944 and were frustrated by the intervention of British forces. The third round (1946–9) was marked by US intervention, UN fact-finding missions, and the shift from guerrilla tactics to conventional warfare. The communists were weakened by internal feuding and overcome by the US forces.

Drawing on interviews with participants, documentary sources and Woodhouse's own experience, this new edition of a classic book analyses the characters, ideologies and events behind one of the longest and most bitter civil wars of modern times.

HENRIK MEINANDER

New in paperback

A History of Finland

'A thoughtful and eminently readable volume.

Meinander gives readers an opportunity to look back in an unusually nuanced and informed manner.'

— *English Historical Review*

'Excellent ... The author gives outstanding summaries of the events and issues during the Swedish and Russian dominions and provides an excellent account of the postindependence decades. ... Even-handed, thoughtful ... Written in a clear, concise style, the book contains numerous high-quality illustrations as well as a valuable bibliography. If a library can have only one book on modern Finnish history, this is the one.'

— *CHOICE*, Outstanding Academic Title



Paperback / 9781787380301

September 2018 / £16.99

248pp / 198mm x 130mm

NEIL KENT

New in paperback

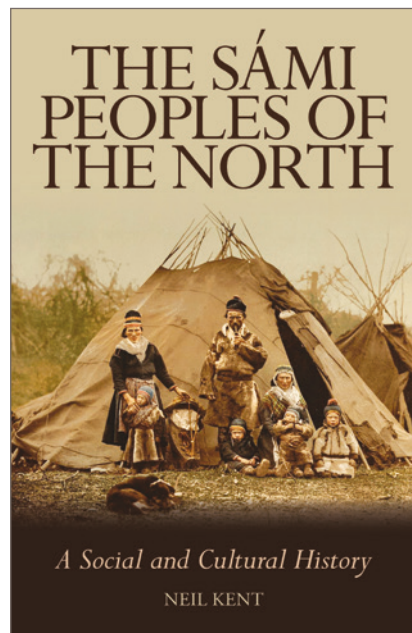
The Sámi Peoples of the North

A Social and Cultural History

'This detailed and comprehensive study of a people who have lived for thousands of years on Europe's northernmost margins reveals an astonishing diversity of language, culture and livelihoods.' — David Kirby, author of *A Concise History of Finland*

'Exhaustive, nuanced, and best of all, accessible. Neil Kent has done a valuable service for anyone thinking about the Sámi — or indigenous populations generally.'

— Nick McDonell, author of *The Civilization of Perpetual Movement: Nomadism in World Politics*



Paperback / 9781787380318

September 2018 / £18.99

344pp / 216mm x 138mm



Rana F. Sweis is a Jordanian journalist covering political, social and refugee issues in the Middle East, most often for the *New York Times*. She is also the founder and managing director of Wishbox Media, a provider of media training, research services and creative storytelling packages. She holds an MA from George Washington University's Graduate School of Political Management.

Paperback
9781787380134
£18.99 / 224pp
October 2018
216mm x 138mm
Sociology / Middle East

RANA F. SWEIS

Voices of Jordan

This intimate portrait of Jordan offers nuance and subtlety by dint of interviewees drawn from across the spectrum of society.

Jordan's diverse socioeconomic make-up encapsulates, like no other Middle Eastern state, both the array of pressing short-term problems facing the region, and the underlying challenges that Arab states will need to face once the current spate of civil conflicts is over: meaningful youth employment, female participation in politics, and integration of refugees into society.

This book tells the story of Jordan through the lives of ordinary people, including a political cartoonist, a Syrian refugee, a Jihadist and a female parliamentarian. The raw voices and everyday struggles of these people shine a fresh light on the politics, religion, and society of a culture coming to terms with the harsh reality of modernisation and urbanisation at a time of regional upheaval.

With her deep knowledge of Jordan's landscape, language and culture, Rana Sweis sketches an intimate portrait of the intricacies and complexities of life in the Middle East. Rather than focusing on how individuals are affected by events in the region, she reveals a cast of characters shaping their own lives and times. *Voices of Jordan* shares those stories in all of their rich detail, offering a living, breathing social and political history.

Reannouncing

ANDREW ARSAN

Lebanon

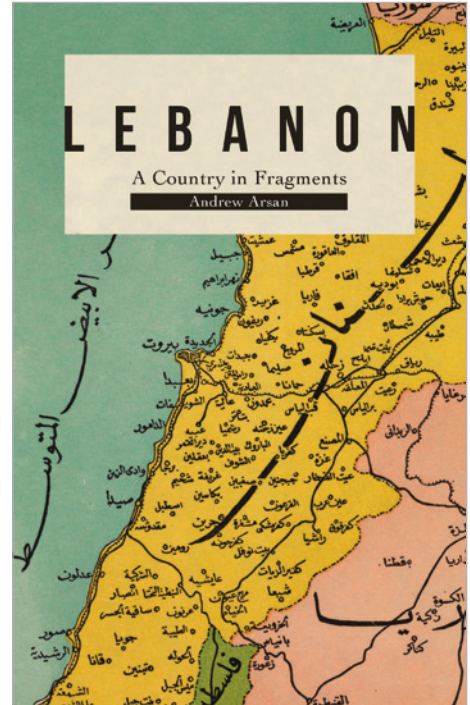
A Country in Fragments

A reflective examination of everyday life in
Lebanon, in times of precarity and political torpor.

Lebanon seems a country in the grip of permanent crisis. In recent years it has suffered blow after blow, from Rafiq Hariri's assassination in 2005, to the 2006 July War, to the current Syrian conflict, which has brought a million refugees streaming into the country.

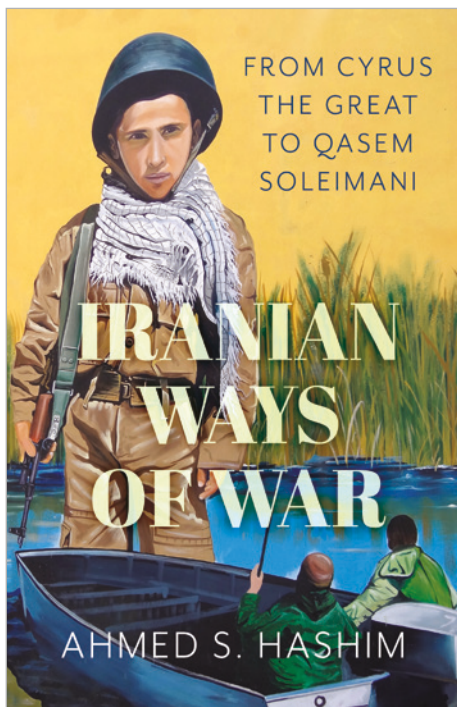
This is an account not just of Lebanon's high politics, with its endless rows, walk-outs, machinations and foreign alliances, but also of the politics of everyday life: all the stresses and strains the country's inhabitants face, from electricity black-outs and uncollected rubbish to stagnating wages and property bubbles. Andrew Arsan moves between parliament and the public squares where protesters gather, between luxury high-rises and refugee camps, and between expensive nightclubs and seafront promenades, providing a comprehensive view of Lebanon in the twenty-first century.

Where others have treated Lebanon's woes as exceptional, a by-product of its sectarianism and particular vulnerability to regional crises, Arsan argues that there is nothing exceptional about Lebanon's predicament. Rather, it is a country of the age—one of neoliberal economics, populist fervour, forced displacement, rising xenophobia, and public disillusion. Lebanon, in short, offers us a lens through which to look on our times.



Andrew Arsan is Senior Lecturer in Modern Middle Eastern History at the University of Cambridge and a fellow of St John's College, Cambridge. His first book, *Interlopers of Empire: The Lebanese Diaspora in Colonial French West Africa* was joint winner of the 2015 Royal Historical Society Gladstone Prize.

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Ahmed S. Hashim is Associate Professor of Strategic Studies at Nanyang Technological University's Rajaratnam School of International Studies, where he specialises in contemporary warfare issues, Middle Eastern security and counter-terrorism. He is the author of *Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Iraq* and *The Caliphate At War: The Ideological, Organisational and Military Innovations of Islamic State*.

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AHMED S. HASHIM

Iranian Ways of War

From Cyrus the Great
to Qasem Soleimani

From emperors to shahs to ayatollahs, Hashim explores how Iran has sought to defend itself and project power.

This book traces the long history of Iran's wars, and the evolution of the Islamic Republic's military trajectory since 1979. Ahmed Hashim draws on Farsi, Arabic and European sources to explore Iran's efforts to create modern armed forces, the devastating Iran–Iraq War (1980–8), and Tehran's evolving fighting capabilities in Syria and Iraq. This analysis offers clues as to how Iran may fare—directly or by proxy—in future confrontations with its enemies, including the US and Israel.

Above all, *Iranian Ways of War* addresses how Iran fights, and why. It offers a corrective to prevailing narratives about its bellicose character and alleged mischief-making throughout the Middle East and beyond. Hashim unpacks with nuance Iran's milestone agreement to curb its nuclear weapons development, within the context of an unstable regional environment, full of myriad enemies and complicating historical factors affecting Iranian decision-makers' psyches. A long history of confrontation with America, and perceived victimhood as a Shia entity in an overwhelmingly Sunni Middle East, have primed Iran for war.

PATRICK MILTON, MICHAEL AXWORTHY,
AND BRENDAN SIMMS

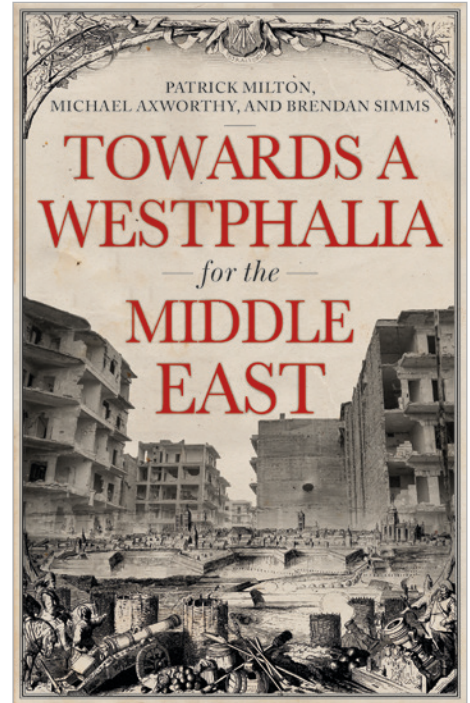
Towards A Westphalia for the Middle East

Drawing lessons from the Treaty of Westphalia,
the authors offer fresh thinking on how to treat
the legacies of the post-Ottoman state system.

It was the original forever war, fuelled by religious fanaticism, personal ambition, fear of hegemony, and communal suspicion. It dragged in all the neighbouring powers and went on interminably. It was punctuated by repeated failed ceasefires. It inflicted suffering beyond belief and generated waves of refugees. No, this is not Syria today, but the Thirty Years' War (1618–48), which turned Germany and much of central Europe into a disaster zone.

The Thirty Years' War is often cited as a parallel in discussions of the Middle East. The Peace of Westphalia, which ended the conflict in 1648, has featured strongly in such discussions, usually with the observation that recent events in some parts of the region have seen the collapse of ideas of state sovereignty—ideas that supposedly originated with the 1648 settlement.

Milton, Axworthy and Simms argue that the Westphalian treaties, far from enshrining state sovereignty, in fact reconfigured and strengthened a structure for legal resolution of disputes, and provided for intervention by outside guarantor powers to uphold the peace settlement. In their analysis the history of Westphalia may hold the key to resolving the new long wars in the Middle East today.

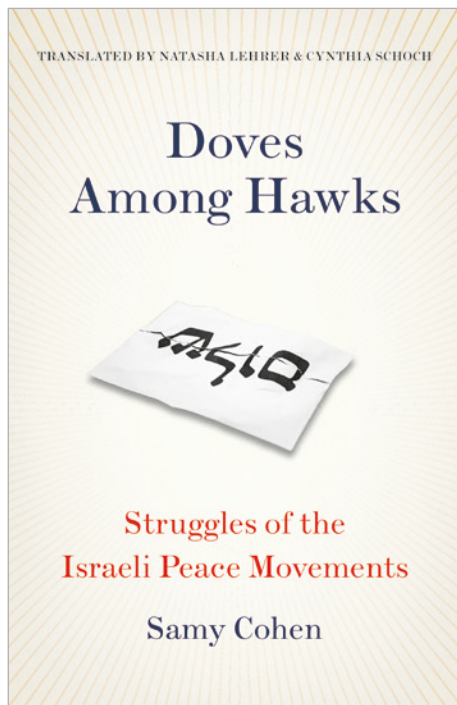


Patrick Milton is a postdoctoral research fellow at Freie Universität Berlin, working on early modern Europe.

Michael Axworthy is Senior Lecturer at the University of Exeter and author, inter alia, of *Revolutionary Iran*.

Brendan Simms is Professor in the History of International Relations, University of Cambridge and author, inter alia, of *Europe: The Struggle for Supremacy, 1453 to the Present*.

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Samy Cohen is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at CERI Sciences Po, Paris, specialising in foreign policy and defence studies. He is the author and editor of more than a dozen books, notably on French defence and foreign policymaking, the relationship between states and non-state actors, democracies' war on terrorism and Israel's war against terrorists.

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SAMY COHEN

Doves Among Hawks

Struggles of the Israeli Peace Movements

A telling and frank examination of the failure of Israel's peace movement to stem the country's lurch to the right.

What has become of Israel's peace movement? In the early 1980s, it was a major political force, bringing hundreds of thousands onto the streets; but since then, its importance has declined amid spiralling violence. Now, and especially since the second Intifada of 2000–5, the 'doves' of the Israel/Palestine conflict struggle to be heard over its 'hawks', and the days of mass mobilisation are over.

Doves Among Hawks charts the successes and failures of a beleaguered peace movement, from its formation after the Six-Day War to the current security-obsessed climate, where Israel's 'doves' seem to be fighting a lost and outdated battle. Samy Cohen's history of a peace process that once took on the Israeli settler movements exposes how that cause has been derailed and demoralised by suicide attacks.

But the peace movement isn't dead—it has simply transformed. From human rights monitors to lobbies of the bereaved, Cohen reveals a multitude of smaller, grassroots organisations that have emerged with unexpected energy. These lawyers, doctors, army reservists, former diplomats and senior security personnel are the unsung heroes of his story.

FIRAT ORUC (ED.)

Sites of Pluralism

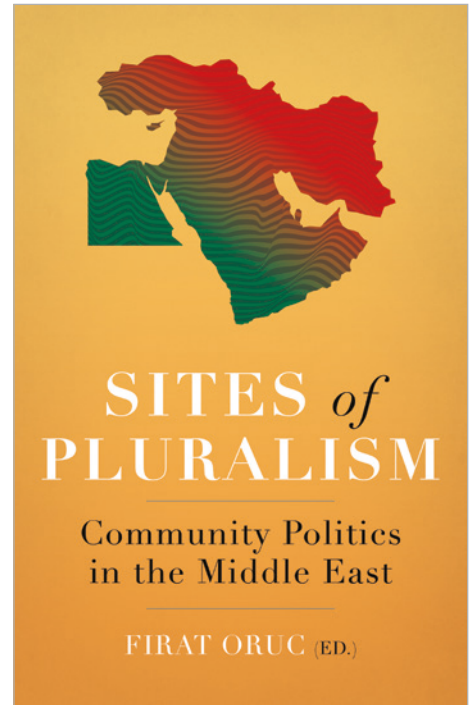
Community Politics in the Middle East

A critical examination of the concept
of pluralism in the Middle East.

Scholars and policymakers, struggling to make sense of the ongoing chaos in the Middle East, have focused on the possible causes of the escalation in both inter-state and intra-state conflict. But the Arab Spring has shown the urgent need for new ways to frame difference, both practically and theoretically.

For some, a fundamental incompatibility between different ethno-linguistic and religious communities lies at the root of these conflicts; these divisions are thought to impede any form of political resolution or social cohesion. But little work has been done to explore how these tensions manifest themselves in the communities of the Middle East.

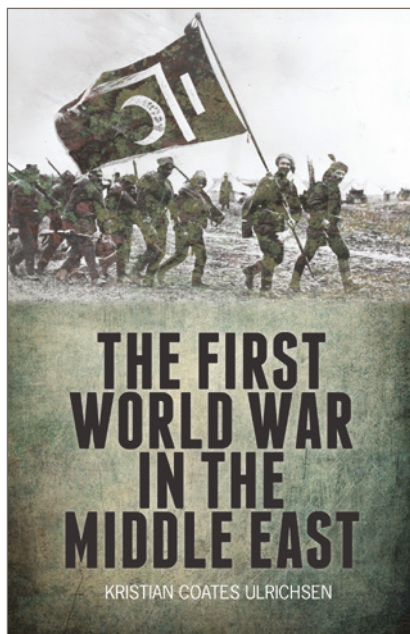
Sites of Pluralism fills this significant gap, going beyond a narrow focus on 'minorities' to examine the larger canvas of community politics in the Middle East. Through eight case studies from esteemed experts in law, education, history, architecture, anthropology and political science, this multi-disciplinary volume offers a critical view of the Middle East's diverse, pluralistic fabric: how it has evolved throughout history; how it influences current political, economic and social dynamics; and what possibilities it offers for the future.



Firat Oruc is Assistant Professor at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service in Qatar. He specialises in cultural studies of the Middle East, global literatures, and world cinema.

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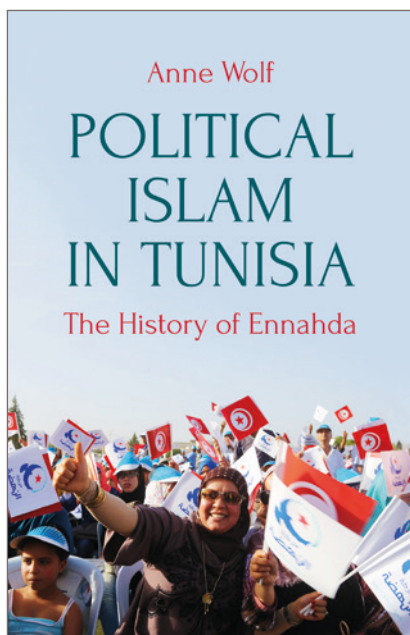
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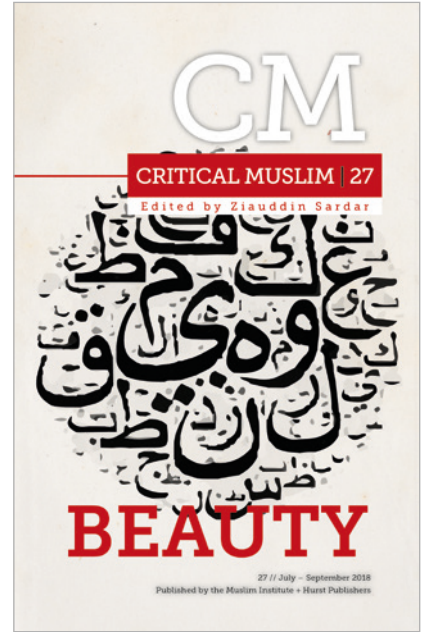
ZIAUDDIN SARDAR (ED.)

Critical Muslim 27

Beauty

How do we identify and judge beauty? Does it distract us from more pressing questions? Is beauty the handmaiden of privilege? Or can it be found in everyday, ordinary things? Do Muslims have an inkling of what beauty is and why it is significant? This issue of *Critical Muslim* looks at beauty from a number of perspectives—from beauty in the Qur'an and the Beautiful Divine Names to racism and the beauty industry, politics of fashion, calligraphy, plastic surgery, female wrestling, Muslim beauty contests and the male and female gaze.

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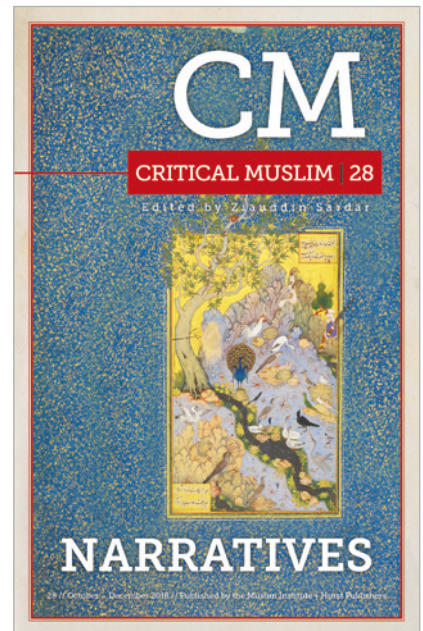
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Narratives

How do we communicate meaning in the age of fake news? What is the difference between narrative and information; between ideology and political narrative; between 'narrative fiction' and a story? Will the narration continue forever? What is history and what is propaganda? What shall we do tonight? What might we believe tomorrow? We look at the past, present and future of narratives and tell a few tall tales ourselves.

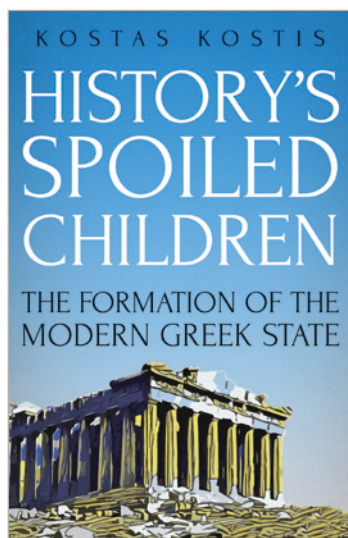
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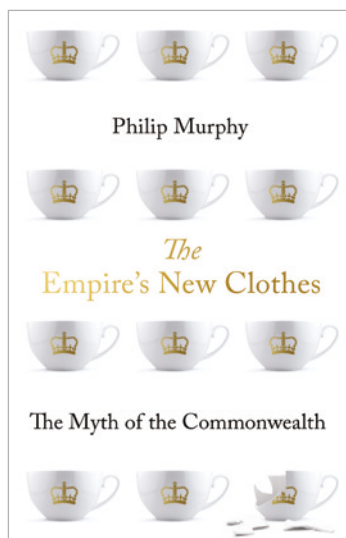
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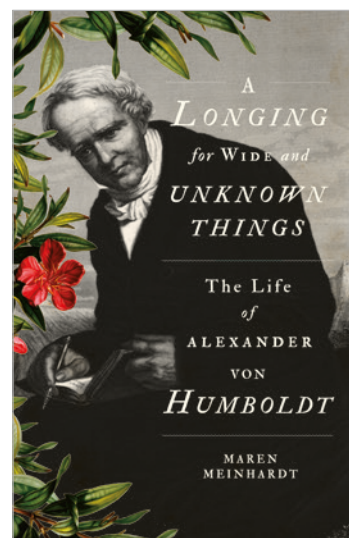
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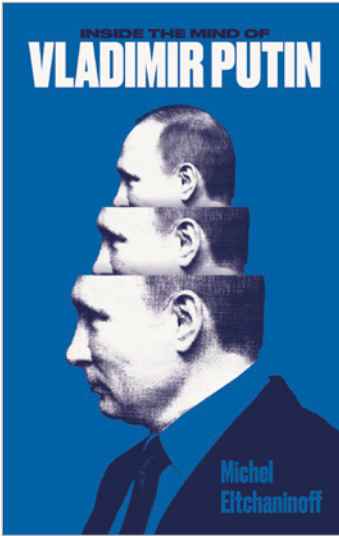
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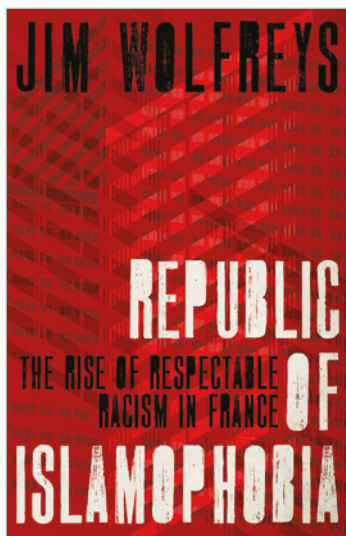
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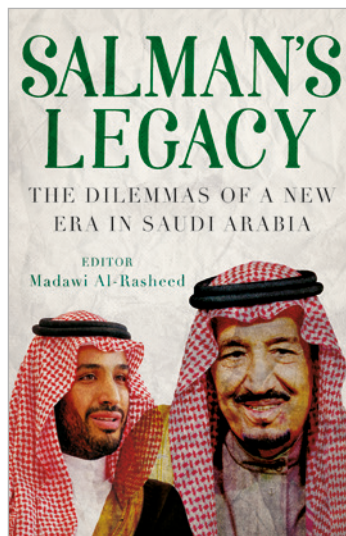
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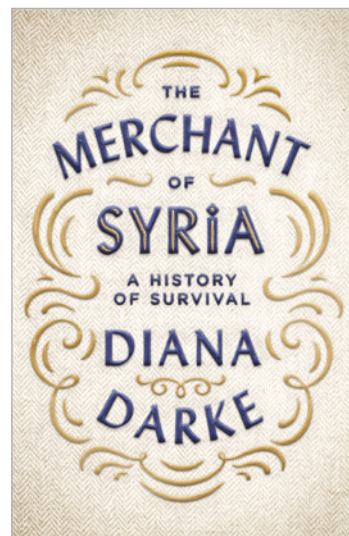
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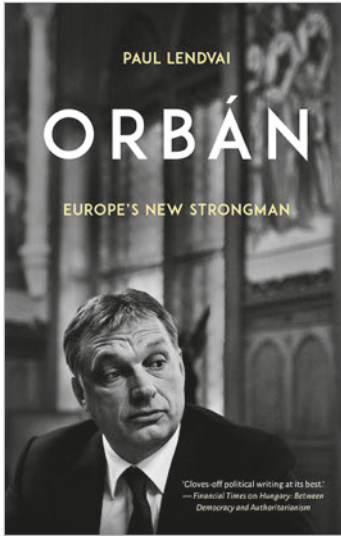
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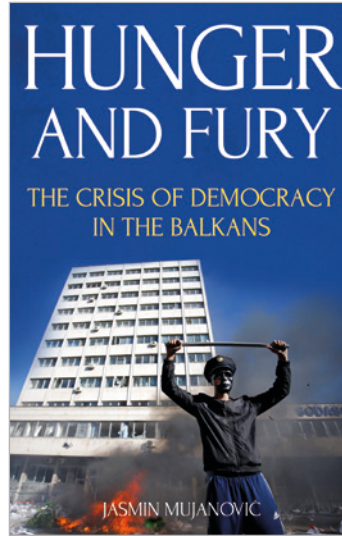
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Al-Rasheed, Madawi	42	<i>Inside the Mind of Le Pen</i>	41	<i>Salman's Legacy</i>	42
Anas, Abdullah	18	<i>Inside the Mind of Putin</i>	41	<i>Sámi Peoples of the North, The</i>	31
Andersen, Walter	24	<i>Inside the Mind of Xi Jinping</i>	6	Sardar, Ziauddin	4,39
Arsan, Andrew	33	<i>Iranian Ways of War</i>	34	<i>Savage Frontier</i>	12
Axworthy, Michael	35	<i>Jerusalem on the Amstel</i>	8	<i>Scripts of Terror</i>	19
Baldwin, Tom	1	Keating, Michael	26	Sémelin, Jacques	29
<i>Belt and Road</i>	16	Kent, Neil	31	Shah, Alpa	11
<i>Bibi</i>	7	<i>Kingdoms of Faith</i>	9	Shaikh, Farzana	22
Black, Jeremy	2	Klaas, Brian	41	Simms, Brendan	35
Bougon, François	6	Komireddi, K. S.	10	<i>Singapore, Singapura</i>	17
Carlstrom, Gregg	43	Kostis, Kostas	40	<i>Sites of Pluralism</i>	37
Carr, Matthew	12	<i>Lebanon</i>	33	<i>Struggle for Greece, The</i>	30
Catlos, Brian A.	9	Lee, Gregory B.	20	<i>Survival of the Jews in France</i>	29
<i>China Imagined</i>	20	Lendvai, Paul	43	<i>Sweden's Dark Soul</i>	14
Cohen, Samy	36	Lilla, Mark	3	Sweis, Rana F.	32
<i>Cold War in the Islamic World</i>	15	Lintner, Bertil	21	Tharoor, Shashi	5
<i>Costliest Pearl, The</i>	21	<i>Longing for Wide & Unknown</i>	40	<i>This Present Darkness</i>	27
<i>Critical Muslim</i>	39	Maçães, Bruno	16	<i>To The Mountains</i>	18
<i>CtrlAlt Del</i>	1	MacDonald, Myra	22	<i>Towards a New Westphalia</i>	35
<i>Cyril Ramaphosa</i>	25	<i>Making Sense of Pakistan</i>	22	Ulrichsen, Kristian Coates	38
<i>Dag Hammarskjöld, the UN</i>	28	<i>Malevolent Republic, The</i>	10	<i>Voices of Jordan</i>	32
Damle, Shridhar D.	24	Meinander, Henrik	31	Waldman, Matt	26
Darke, Diana	42	Meinhardt, Maren	40	Walton, Nicholas	17
<i>Defeat is an Orphan</i>	22	Melber, Henning	28	<i>War and Peace in Somalia</i>	26
<i>Despot's Apprentice, The</i>	41	<i>Merchant of Syria, The</i>	42	<i>Why I Am a Hindu</i>	5
<i>Doves Among Hawks</i>	36	<i>Messengers of Hindu Nationalism</i>	24	Wilkinson, Benedict	19
Ellis, Stephen	27	Milton, Patrick	35	Wolf, Anne	39
Eltchaninoff, Michel	41	Mujanovic, Jasmin	43	Wolfreys, Jim	42
<i>Empire's New Clothes, The</i>	40	Murphy, Philip	40	Woodhouse, C. M.	30
<i>English Nationalism</i>	2	<i>Nightmarch</i>	11		
<i>First World War in the ME</i>	38	Norman, Kajsa	14		
Hansen, Stig Jarle	27	<i>Once and Future Liberal, The</i>	3		
Hartley, Ray	25	Orbán	43		
Hashim, Ahmed S.	34	Oruc, Firat	37		
Hatton, Barry	13	<i>Person of Pakistani Origins, A</i>	4		
Hiro, Dilip	15	Pelham, Lipika	8		
<i>History of Finland, A</i>	31	<i>People Next Door, The</i>	23		
<i>History's Spoiled Children</i>	40	Pfeffer, Anshel	7		
<i>Horn, Sahel and Rift</i>	27	<i>Political Islam in Tunisia</i>	38		
<i>How Long Will Israel Survive?</i>	43	<i>Queen of the Sea</i>	13		
<i>Hunger and Fury</i>	43	Raghavan, T. C. A.	23		
Hussein, Tam	18	<i>Republic of Islamophobia</i>	42		

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SALES REPRESENTATIVES

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Kathleen May
kathleen@hurstpub.co.uk

EIRE & NORTHERN IRELAND

Andrew Russell
russellbooks2004@eircom.net

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Michael Geoghegan
michael.geoghegan@btinternet.com

DENMARK, FINLAND, ICELAND, NORWAY, SWEDEN

Ben Greig
ben.greig@dial.pipex.com

GREECE & CYPRUS

Charles Gibbes
charles.gibbes@wanadoo.fr

SPAIN & PORTUGAL

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