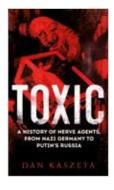


#### **ABOUT HURST**

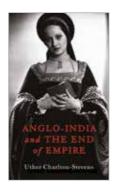
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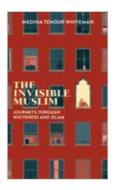
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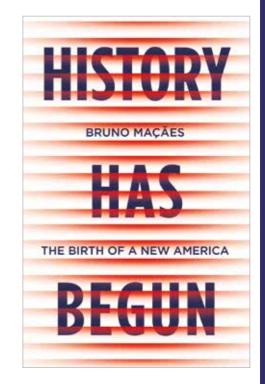
#### BRUNO MAÇÃES

#### **History Has Begun**

#### The Birth of a New America

We are accustomed to the idea that the arc of American history traces a rising curve throughout the nineteenth century, reaches its apex after the Second World War, and has lately entered a gradual decline. But is this received wisdom true? Civilisations in the past were always measured in much longer periods, and for all its colossal military and economic power, the United States was overshadowed in its first 200 years by Europe's political and cultural influence. What if this isn't the end? What if America is only just getting started?

Bruno Maçães offers an alternative view, both unnerving and fascinating, of where America is heading. After discussing the early American republic, he turns to recent decades and the turbulent present, when, he contends, America will finally forge its own path. Though this may be seen as a retreat from liberalism, it is better understood as the creation of a new and distinctively American worldview. Today's debates on guns, religion, culture wars, President Trump and US foreign policy are explored in this light. What is this new American civilisation about? What values does it hold? And what explains this new America, whose history has just begun?



March 2020
9781787383012
216mm x 138mm • 208pp
£16.99 Hardback
Politics
World rights, excluding
North America & the Chinese languages

By the same author:



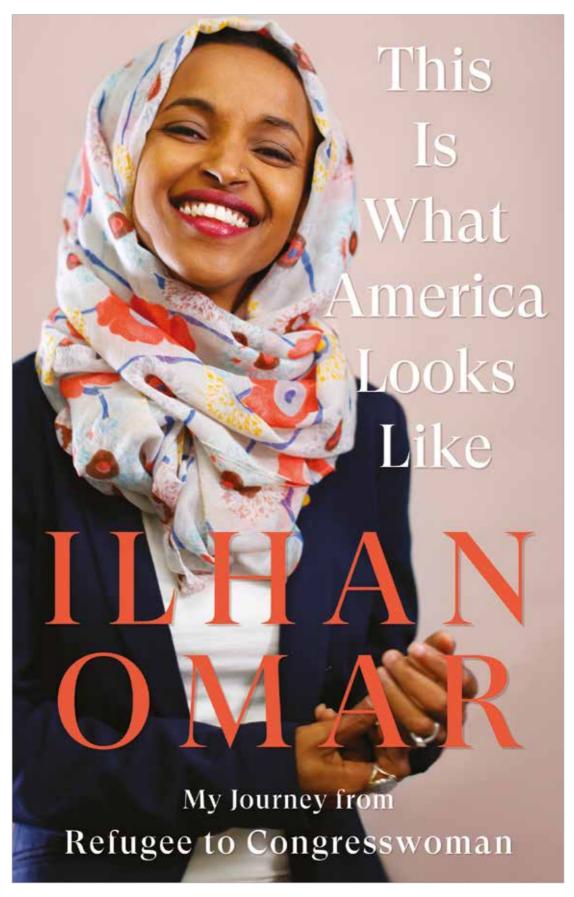
9781787380028 £20.00 hb



Bruno Maçães is a non-resident senior fellow at the Hudson Institute and Portugal's former Europe minister. He is the author of *Belt and Road*, also

published by Hurst, and *The Dawn of Eurasia*, and a regular commentator for CNN, the BBC, Al Jazeera, the *Financial Times*, *The Guardian* and *Foreign Affairs*.

Conventional wisdom suggests the US has already reached its peak. But what if it is only now starting to forge its own path forward?



#### ILHAN OMAR

#### This Is What America Looks Like

#### My Journey from Refugee to Congresswoman

Ilhan Omar's career is a collection of historic firsts: she is the first refugee, the first Somali-American and one of the first two Muslim women to serve in the United States Congress. Against a xenophobic and divisive administration, she calls for equality and inclusivity, and has risen to global fame as a powerful voice in the Democratic Party's new progressive chorus of congresswomen of colour.

This Is What America Looks Like is a tale of the aspirations, disappointments, successes and surprises in the life of an immigrant and Muslim in the US today. This is Omar's story told on her own terms: from a childhood in Mogadishu and four long years at a Kenyan refugee camp, to her arrival in America penniless and speaking only Somali through her triumphant election to the US House of Representatives and her journey beyond.

In the face of merciless slander and constant attacks from opponents in both parties, Omar has maintained her signature wit, grace and charm all the while speaking up for her beliefs. Courageous, hopeful and defiant, her memoir is marked by her strength and irrepressible spirit, even in the darkest of times.

June 2020 9781787383418 216mm x 138mm • 320pp £20.00 Hardback Politics/Memoir UK and Commonwealth rights

'I am America's hope and the president's nightmare.'

Ilhan Omar became the United States' first Somali-American legislator in 2016 when she was elected to the Minnesota House of Representatives. Two years later she was elected to Congress as the Representative for Minnesota's 5th district. She is a mother of three and tweets as @IlhanMN.



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March 2020 9781787383043 216mm x 138mm • 216pp £14.99 Paperback Politics World English rights

#### IYAD EL-BAGHDADI & AHMED GATNASH

#### The Middle East Crisis Factory

## Tyranny, Resilience and Resistance

Why is the Middle East a crisis factory, and how can it be fixed? What does the future look like for its 500 million people? Should the West strongarm it towards democracy, or leave it alone to its tyrants and terrorists?

Iyad El-Baghdadi and Ahmed Gatnash explore the entrenchment of tyranny, terrorism and foreign intervention in the Middle East, showing how these systems of oppression superficially feed off each other, even as they battle each other. They assess the region's prospects in light of demographic, economic and social trends, painting a picture that is both alarming and hopeful. Finally, they present an ambitious and thoughtful manifesto to fix the crisis factory, without resorting either to aggressive military intervention or to non-interventionist wishful thinking.

This is a book about the failures of Arab history, the reality of its horizons, and the reasons for hope. Written by children of the region, whose lives have been shaped by its turmoil and who care deeply about its future, *The Middle East Crisis Factory* offers a bold vision for those seeking peace and democracy in the Middle East.

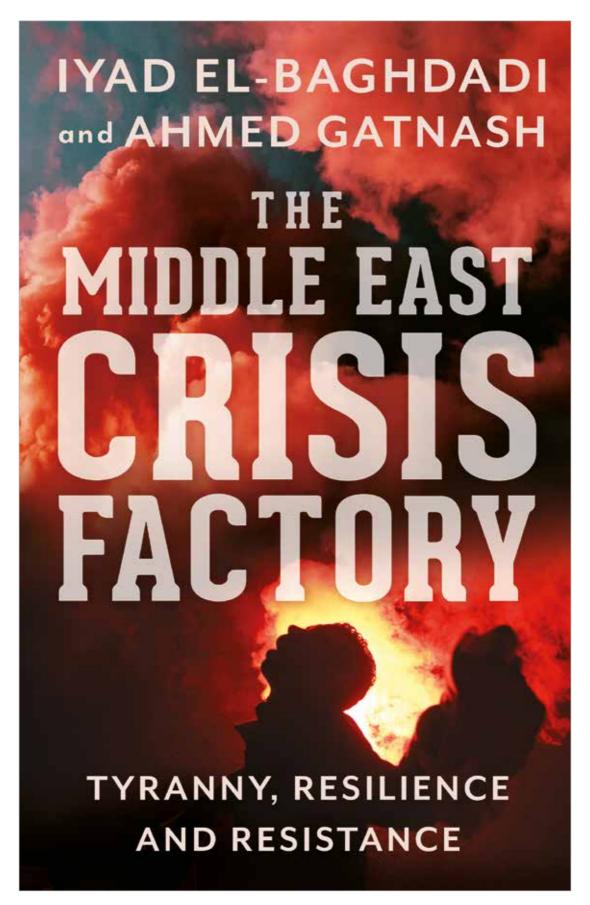
Has autocracy won out in the Middle East? Two Arab dissidents explain how tyrants rule, and explore the region's horizons of change.

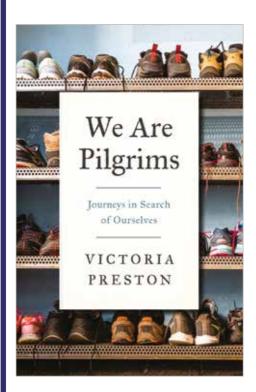


Iyad El-Baghdadi is an Arab writer, activist and entrepreneur, and founder/ President of the Kawaakibi Foundation and its website The Arab Tyrant Manual. He tweets as @iyad\_elbaghdadi.



Ahmed Gatnash is a British-Libyan intellectual, activist and entrepreneur, and co-founder of the Kawaakibi Foundation, hosting its *Arab Tyrant Manual* podcast. He tweets as @gatnash.





April 2020 9781787383036 216mm x 138mm 280pp, 8pp b&w illus £14.99 Paperback Sociology/Travel Writing World rights

A beguiling exploration of our primal urge towards journeys of purpose, from faith and wonder to liberation and discovery.

#### VICTORIA PRESTON

#### We Are Pilgrims

#### Journeys in Search of Ourselves

Like the migrating animals that our ancient ancestors once followed, we have been making planned long-distance journeys for millennia. What was first a matter of survival in time became a celebration of seasonal abundance even today, many pilgrim festivals remain tied to the solar-lunar cycle that guided small bands of hunter gatherers to come together at special times and places. The era when we were all nomads is long gone, but the impulse to undertake a ritual journey remains: each year, 200 million of us embark on a pilgrimage of some kind.

These journeys of purpose may involve great hardship, great danger, or half a lifetime of waiting just to begin. Ranging from the Stone Age pilgrims of Anatolia to the New Age pilgrims of California, We Are Pilgrims is a quest to understand what drives this rich and varied human behaviour, unbounded by time or space, faith or identity. Victoria Preston discovers that, whether we set forth in search of comfort or liberation, as an expression of gratitude or devotion, journeys of meaning and purpose are always a powerful reminder that we are each part of something much greater than ourselves.



Victoria Preston has roamed far and wide in her thirty years advising corporate and government clients in Africa, Asia, Europe, the Middle East and

the Americas. She is an associate fellow at the King's Centre for Strategic Communications, with an MSc in Development Studies from the London School of Economics.

#### MEDINA TENOUR WHITEMAN

#### The Invisible Muslim

# Journeys Through Whiteness and Islam

Who are Western Muslims? Are they nameless taxi drivers and shopkeepers, or celebrity bakers and athletes? Yemeni poor or Saudi rich? Marginalised or privileged? Are hijabi women ultra-made-up and bejewelled, or suffocatingly swathed and oppressed? The nymphomaniacs of Orientalist fantasies, or the sexually repressed puritans of tabloids?

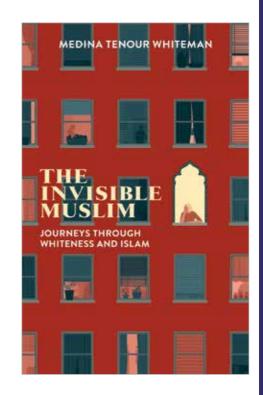
An Anglo-American born to Sufi converts, Medina Tenour Whiteman stands at the margins of whiteness and Islam. In *The Invisible Muslim*, she highlights the alienation that comes with feeling inwardly disconnected from majority-white cultures, while not outwardly appearing Muslim. Pushing the boundaries of thinking about Muslim identity, Whiteman explores what it can mean the world over; examines the pernicious effects of white Muslim privilege; and contemplates how multiple identities and backgrounds shape our relationships and sense of self.

Whether in lands of religious diversity or cultural insularity, from Andalusia, Bosnia and Turkey to Zanzibar, India and Iran, Whiteman's travels unearth experiences familiar to both Western Muslims and anyone of mixed heritage: a perennial search for belonging; the difficulties of balancing conflicting social norms in friendship, love and the everyday; and the joys and crises of inhabiting more than one identity.



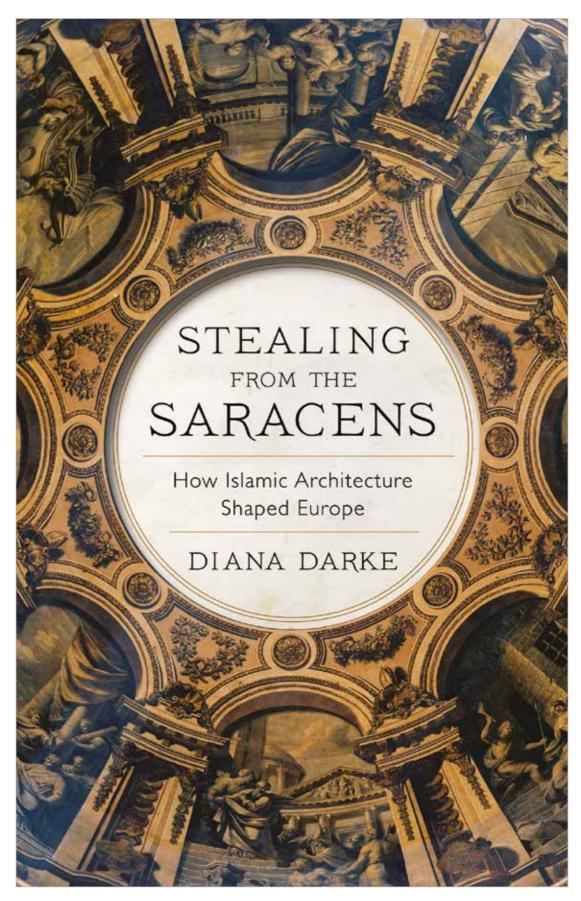
Medina Tenour Whiteman is a writer, poet, translator and musician. She is the author of a collection of poetry, Love is a Traveller and We

Are its Path, and Huma's Travel Guide to Islamic Spain. She lives near Granada, Spain, with her husband and three children.



February 2020 9781787383029 198mm x 130mm • 288pp £14.99 Hardback Sociology/Travel Writing World rights

A searching personal reflection on the hidden nuances of race and religious identity across the world.



#### DIANA DARKE

# Stealing from the Saracens

#### How Islamic Architecture Shaped Europe

Europeans are in denial. Against a backdrop of Islamophobia, they are increasingly distancing themselves from their cultural debt to the Muslim world. But while the legacy of Islam and the Middle East is in danger of being airbrushed out of Western history, its traces can still be detected in some of Europe's most recognisable monuments, from Notre-Dame to St Paul's Cathedral.

In this comprehensively illustrated book, Diana Darke sets out to redress the balance, revealing the Arab and Islamic roots of Europe's architectural heritage. She tracks the transmission of key innovations from the great capitals of Islam's early empires, Damascus and Baghdad, via Muslim Spain and Sicily into Europe. Medieval crusaders, pilgrims and merchants from Europe later encountered Arab Muslim culture in journeys to the Holy Land. In more recent centuries, that same route through modern-day Turkey connected Ottoman culture with the West, leading Sir Christopher Wren himself to believe that Gothic architecture should more rightly be called 'the Saracen style', because of its Islamic origins.

Recovering this overlooked story within the West's long history of borrowing from the Islamic world, Darke sheds new light on Europe's buildings and offers rich insights into the possibilities of cultural exchange.

**Diana Darke** is an Arabist and cultural expert who has lived and worked in the Middle East for over thirty years. She is the author of the acclaimed *My House in Damascus* and *The Merchant of Syria*. She tweets as @dianadarke.

June 2020 9781787383050 216mm x 138mm 328pp, 32pp colour illus £20.00 Hardback History/Architecture World rights

By the same author:



9781849049405 £20.00 hb

A revealing history of Islamic architecture's influence on Europe's cathedrals, palaces and public buildings.



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May 2020 9781787383067 216mm x 138mm • 408pp £25.00 Hardback History/Military History World rights

A dark and chilling story of the invention, proliferation and use of nerve agents.



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#### DAN KASZETA

#### **Toxic**

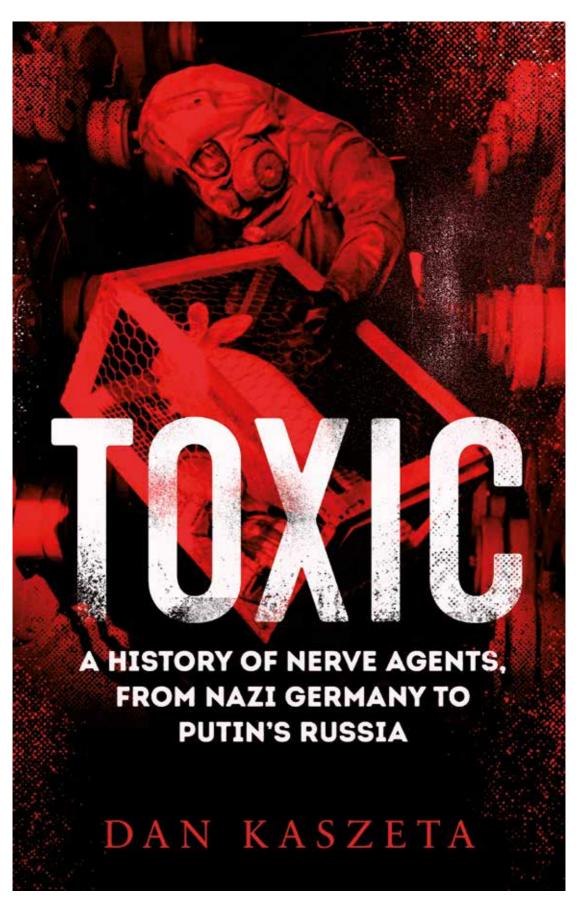
#### A History of Nerve Agents, From Nazi Germany to Putin's Russia

*Toxic* is the first comprehensive history of nerve agents, tracing the spread of these terrible weapons from their Nazi origins to Russia's 2018 deployment of Novichok in Britain. The deadliest means of chemical warfare yet developed, the first military-grade nerve agents were synthesised in Nazi Germany, with a massive industrial enterprise built for their manufacture yet, strangely, the Third Reich never used them. At the end of the Second World War, the victorious Allies were stunned to discover just how advanced and extensive the programme was. Exploiting the Nazis' knowledge, the Soviet Union and Western powers embarked on a new arms race: to develop their own nerve agents and munitions, amassing huge chemical arsenals.

Gradually, nerve agents spread elsewhere, first deployed in the Iran Iraq War and then by terrorists in Japan. Despite arms control efforts and disposal of national stockpiles, they have been used again, in the Syrian Civil War and by assassins in Malaysia and Salisbury. Yet as the powers developing them have learnt building, testing and disposing of nerve agents is itself an extremely difficult undertaking, with bitter consequences.

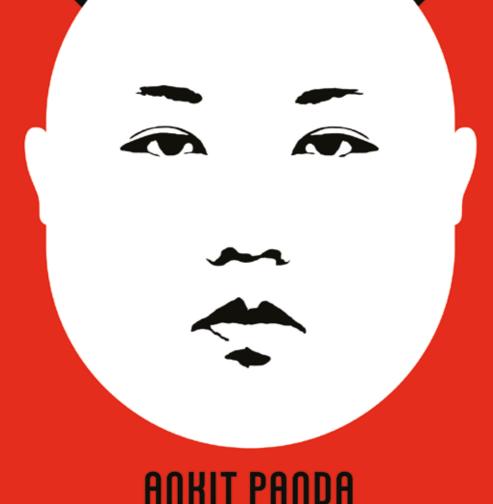
*Toxic* recounts the grisly history of these weapons of mass destruction: a deadly suite of invisible, odourless killers.

Dan Kaszeta lives in London, where he runs a firm specialising in counter-measures to chemical weapons attacks. He is also a church verger and expert on British beer. He previously worked for the Technical Security Division of the US Secret Service, attached to the White House.



# KIM JONG UN AND THE BOMB

SURVIVAL AND DETERRENCE IN NORTH KOREA



#### ANKIT PANDA

#### Kim Jong Un and the Bomb

#### Survival and Deterrence in North Korea

In 2017, North Korea shocked the world twice: by conducting the first test flight of a missile capable of ranging the US, and by exploding the most powerful nuclear device tested anywhere in a quarter century. By the end of the year, Kim Jong Un declared that his nuclear deterrent was complete.

Today, North Korea's growing nuclear weapons stockpile and ballistic missile arsenal represent one of the most serious challenges we face to international security. But for all that the global danger is real, Kim's programme means more to him than world glory. Internal regime propaganda calls it the country's 'treasured sword', a cherished element of national strategy and a guarantee of regime survival. Fiercely committed to self-reliance, Kim remains determined to avoid unilateral disarmament.

Kim Jong Un and the Bomb explores the history of North Korea's nuclear weapons development, its present capabilities, and the prospects of containing, if not disarming, Kim's arsenal. Ankit Panda argues that there is virtually no chance of total disarmament in the next decade, and that we'll have to learn to live with a nuclear-armed North Korea. His book confronts us head-on with the possible consequences for the US. South Korea and the world.

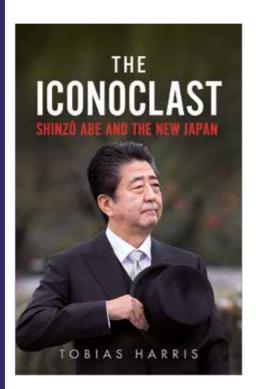
June 2020 9781787383074 216mm x 138mm • 392pp £25.00 Hardback Politics/Military History World rights excluding North and South America

The extraordinary story of how a poor, war-ravaged country persevered to build nuclear weapons from scratch—and why there's nothing we can do about it.

Ankit Panda is an award-winning writer and international security expert. He is Adjunct Senior Fellow in the Defense Posture Project at the Federation of American Scientists, and a senior editor at *The Diplomat*. He lives in New York.



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April 2020 9781787383104 216mm x 138mm • 392pp £20.00 Hardback Politics World rights excluding Japanese language

A profile of the kingmaker of Japanese politics, famed for his strategic acumen and lasting influence on the country.

#### TOBIAS HARRIS

#### The Iconoclast

#### Shinzō Abe and the New Japan

Heir to a conservative political dynasty, Shinzō Abe entered politics burdened by high expectations: that, in ruling Japan, he would change it fundamentally. In 2007, seemingly overwhelmed, he resigned only a year after becoming Japan's youngest postwar prime minister. Yet, after five years of reflection and reinvention, he masterfully regained the premiership in 2012, and now dominates Japanese democracy as no leader has done before.

Abe has inspired fierce loyalty among his followers. He has cowed Japan's left by pursuing an ambitious programme of reflating the economy and strengthening the armed forces and national security establishment. And, on the international stage, he has staked a leadership role for Japan in Asia, a region being rapidly transformed by the rise of China and India. Abe's stature has only grown in the age of 'America First': he has both taken steps to preserve an ironclad relationship with the mercurial US president, and has himself become an undisputed leader of the besieged world order.

In *The Iconoclast*, veteran Japan-watcher Tobias Harris tells the story of Abe's meteoric rise and stunning fall, his remarkable comeback, and his unlikely emergence as a global statesman struggling to lay the groundwork for Japan's survival in a turbulent century.



Tobias Harris
is Senior Vice
President of the
advisory firm Teneo,
covering Japan and
East Asia, and a
research fellow at
the Sasakawa Peace
Foundation USA.

In 2006 7, he worked for a Japanese legislator. He has written on Japanese politics for the *Financial Times*, the *Wall Street Journal* and *Foreign Affairs*.

#### JOHN CAMPBELL

#### Haldane

#### The Forgotten Statesman Who Shaped Modern Britain

Can you name the creator of the Territorial Army, the British Expeditionary Force, the Imperial General Staff and the Officers' Training Corps? The man who laid the foundation stones of MI5, MI6, the RAF, the LSE, Imperial College, the 'redbrick' universities and the Medical Research Council?

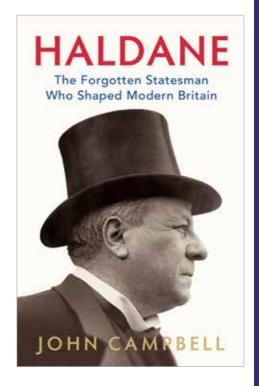
This book restores Richard Burdon Haldane to his rightful place among the greatest figures of British history. Serving as war minister in the 1905 Liberal government, his groundbreaking proposals on defence, education and government structure were astonishingly ahead of his time—the very building blocks of modern Britain. Even the Canadian Constitution, as now interpreted, is unthinkable without Haldane. His ubiquitous networks ranged from Wilde to Einstein, Churchill to Carnegie, King to Kaiser; his polymathic interests enabled pioneering cross-party, cross-sector cooperation. Yet in 1915 Haldane was ejected from the Lord Chancellorship, unjustly vilified by an ignorant press campaign as a German sympathiser.

John Campbell charts these ups and downs, reveals the intensely personal side of Haldane through previously unpublished private correspondence, and shows Haldane's enormous relevance in our search for just societies and states today. Amidst political and national instability, it is surely now right to reinstate Haldane as Britain's outstanding example of true statesmanship.



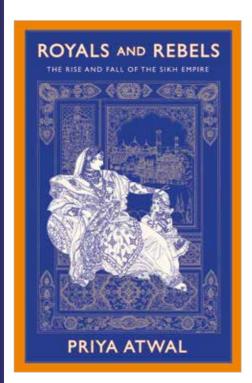
John Campbell
OBE is the cofounder and Chair of
Campbell Lutyens,
an international
private equity and
infrastructure
advisory house. He
read Economics

at the University of Cambridge and began his career in corporate finance at N M Rothschild. Married with three children, he has long been inspired by Lord Haldane's story.



May 2020 9781787383111 234mm x 156mm • 336pp £25.00 Hardback Biography/History World English rights excluding North America

A new biography of a towering figure in twentieth-century British politics, revealing his relevance for our contemporary crises.



June 2020 9781787383081 216mm x 138mm 408pp, 8pp colour illus £20.00 Hardback History World rights

The incredible history of the Sikh dynasty that rose between the waning Mughals and the encroaching British, and of the women, men and boys who forged its legacy.

#### PRIYA ATWAL

#### Royals and Rebels

# The Rise and Fall of the Sikh Empire

In late-eighteenth-century India, the glory of the once formidable Mughal emperors was fading. Building on the ruins of their kingdom, a whole host of ambitious newcomers seized power, changing the political map of the subcontinent forever. Among them were the Sikhs of the Punjab, most importantly the dynasty of the legendary Maharajah Ranjit Singh his Sikh Empire stretched throughout north-western India into Afghanistan and Tibet.

Royals and Rebels is a fascinating, fresh look into the world of this long-lost kingdom. Priya Atwal looks beyond the dynasty's founding father and, for the first time, restores the perspectives and contributions of the dynasty's women and children to the history of this empire's spectacular rise and fall. She brings to life a self-made royal family seeking to secure and legitimise their new power, inventively fusing Sikh, Mughal and European ideas, and reveals an entirely new story about the gendered family politics that led to their eventual decline, with the Punjab controversially annexed by that other great emerging player in India: the British East India Company.

This is a highly original tale of family, royalty and the fluidity of power, set in a dramatic global era when new stars rose and upstart empires clashed.



Priya Atwal is a teaching fellow in Modern South Asian History at King's College London, holding a doctorate from the University of Oxford. Her research has been

featured in collaborative projects with Historic Royal Palaces, among others; and on BBC radio and television programmes, including BBC4's *The Stolen Maharajah*.

#### SARAH LEFANU

# Something of Themselves

# Kipling, Kingsley, Conan Doyle and the Anglo-Boer War

In early 1900, the paths of three English writers Rudyard Kipling, Mary Kingsley and Arthur Conan Doyle crossed in South Africa, during what's become known as Britain's last imperial war. Each of the three had pressing personal reasons to leave England behind, but they were also motivated by notions of patriotism, duty, service and, in the case of Kipling, what was called jingoism.

In this compelling biography, Sarah LeFanu opens an unexplored chapter of these writers' lives, at a turning point for Britain and its imperial ambitions. She brings together many anecdotes and voices, including the stories of anti-war activist Olive Schreiner in the Cape, future ANC founder Solomon Plaatje, and Conan Doyle's assistant Charles Blasson, one of the thousands who fell victim to typhoid.

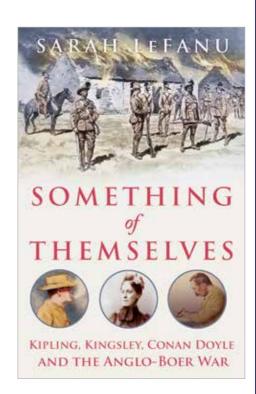
Was the South African War, as Kipling claimed, a dress rehearsal for the Armageddon of World War One? Or did it instead foreshadow the anticolonial guerrilla wars of the later twentieth century? Weaving a rich and varied narrative, LeFanu charts these writers' lives in the theatre of war, and explores how this crucial period shaped their cultural legacies, their shifting reputations, and their influence on colonial policy.



#### books include Rose Macaulay and S is for Samora. Formerly an editor at The Women's Press, and artistic director of the Bath Literature

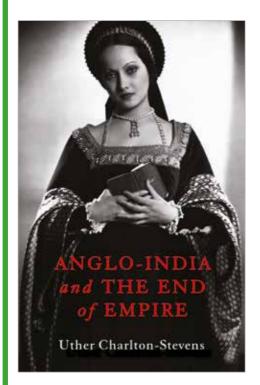
Sarah LeFanu's

Festival (2004 9), she regularly chairs events for the Bristol Festival of Ideas and Bristol Women's Literature Festival. She blogs at www.filmwatchingwomen. wordpress.com.



February 2020 9781787383098 234mm x 156mm 352pp, 16pp b&w illus £20.00 Hardback Biography/History World rights

A beautifully written book tracing the paths of three literary greats through a turbulent period in Britain's imperial history.



June 2020
9781787383128
216mm x 138mm
376pp, 8pp b&w illus
£25.00 Hardback
History
World rights excluding
Russian, Burmese & Chinese
languages

A startling new history of a community's struggle to be heard as Empire waned in India, with echoes for all those of mixed heritage.

#### UTHER CHARLTON-STEVENS

# Anglo-India and the End of Empire

The standard image of the Raj is of an aloof, pampered and prejudiced British elite lording it over an oppressed and hostile Indian subject population. Like most caricatures, this obscures as much truth as it reveals. The British had not always been so aloof. The earlier, more cosmopolitan period of East India Company rule saw abundant 'interracial' sex and occasional marriage, alongside greater cultural openness and exchange. The result was a large and growing 'mixed-race' community, known by the early twentieth century as Anglo-Indians.

Notwithstanding its faults, Empire could never have been maintained without the active, sometimes enthusiastic, support of many colonial subjects. These included Indian elites, professionals, civil servants, businesspeople and minority groups of all kinds, who flourished under the patronage of the imperial state, and could be used in a 'divide and rule' strategy to prolong colonial rule. Independence was profoundly unsettling to those destined to become minorities in the new nation, and the Anglo-Indians were no exception.

This refreshing account looks at the dramatic end of British rule in India through Anglo-Indian eyes, a perspective that is neither colonial apologia nor nationalist polemic. Its history resonates strikingly with the complex identity debates of the twenty-first century.

Uther Charlton-Stevens is Professor at Volgograd State University, a fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society, and the author of Anglo-Indians and Minority Politics in South Asia: Race, Boundary Making and Communal Nationalism. His father is an Anglo-Indian, born in British India, who came to England as a child.

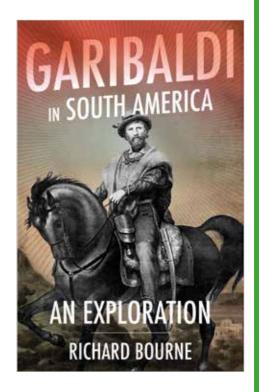
#### RICHARD BOURNE

#### Garibaldi in South America An Exploration

For over twelve years in the first half of the nineteenth century, Giuseppe Garibaldi, the hero of Italian unification, lived, learned and fought in South America. He was tortured, escaped death on countless occasions, and met his Brazilian wife, Anita, who eloped with him in 1839. From then on, she would share in Garibaldi's personal and political odyssey, first in the breakaway republic of Rio Grande do Sul in southern Brazil, and then as Montevideo's admiral and general in the Uruguayan civil war.

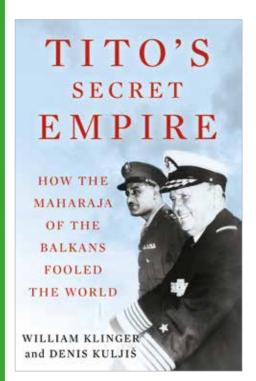
Richard Bourne breathes life and understanding South these spectacular American adventures, which also shed light on the creation of Italy. Garibaldi's Redshirts liberated Sicily and Naples wearing ponchos adopted by his Italian Legion in Montevideo. His ideas, his charismatic command of volunteers, and his naive dislike of politicking were all infused by his earlier experiences in South America. Bourne combines historical research with his travels in Uruguay and southern Brazil to explore contemporary awareness of and reflection on how the past can influence or be transformed by the needs of today. Now, at a time of narrow identity politics, Garibaldi's unifying zeal and advocacy for subjugated peoples everywhere offer an exemplary lesson in transnational political idealism.

Richard Bourne has been writing about South America since his *Political Leaders of Latin America* was published in 1969. He is a senior research fellow at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies and the author of many books, including *Lula of Brazil: The Story So Far*.



April 2020 9781787383135 216mm x 138mm • 232pp £25.00 Hardback History World rights

A revealing biography of Garibaldi's time in Latin America, and how it shaped his view of politics, liberty and the struggle against oppression.



June 2020 9781787383142 216mm x 138mm • 352pp £30.00 Hardback History/Politics World rights

This new biography situates Tito as an international revolutionary leader, suggesting his power and ambition were much wider than has previously been understood.

#### WILLIAM KLINGER & DENIS KULJIŠ

#### Tito's Secret Empire

# How the Maharaja of the Balkans Fooled the World

This groundbreaking biography of Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia presents many startling new revelations, among them his role as an international revolutionary leader and his relationship with Winston Churchill. It highlights his early years as a Comintern operative, the context for his later politics as a leader of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). The authors argue that in the 1940s, between the dissolution of the Comintern and the rise of NAM. Tito's influence and ambition were far wider than has been understood, extending to Italy, France, Greece and Spain via the international Communist networks established during the Spanish Civil War. Klinger and Kuljiš disclose for the first time the connection between Tito's expulsion from the Cominform and the Rome assassination attempt on the Italian Communist Party leader, Palmiro Togliatti the man who had plotted to overthrow Tito.

Tito's Secret Empire offers a pivotal contribution to our understanding of Tito as a figure of real, rather than imagined, global significance. This dazzlingly original book will reward all those who are interested in the history of international Communism, the Cold War and the Non-Aligned Movement, or in Tito the man one of the most significant leaders of the twentieth century.

The late William Klinger was a historian of the Balkans; he died in 2015. Denis Kuljiš was a renowned liberal Croatian journalist. With his partners, he founded Media Press, a company that launched the influential independent political weekly *Globus*. He died in August 2019.

#### ARIEL SALZMANN

#### The Exclusionary West

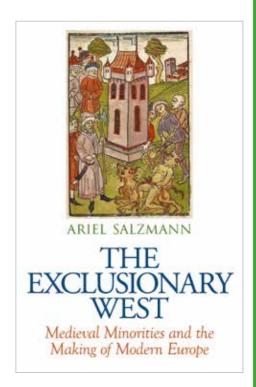
# Medieval Minorities and the Making of Modern Europe

Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia are on the rise in twenty-first-century Europe, but these notions of the malevolent, conspiring Jew or Muslim are a medieval trope. Over the last millennium, deep currents of exclusion have shaped not only modern relationships between majorities and minorities, but the distinctive Western relationship between state and society.

This volume asks an important question: why is it that, in a period when Europe's Islamic south and Catholic and Orthodox east remained home to religiously diverse communities, the Western fringes of Latin Christendom instead rid themselves of Jews and Muslims, through exploitation, mass murder, deportations and enslavement? Ariel Salzmann identifies the intersecting structural and sociological roots of this peculiarly Western approach, from rapid consolidation of secular polities and commercial markets in the Crusades era; to the ideology and practice of ritualised, politicised violence against minorities; to distinctive forms of economic protectionism arising from the use of minorities and their resources as bargaining chips.

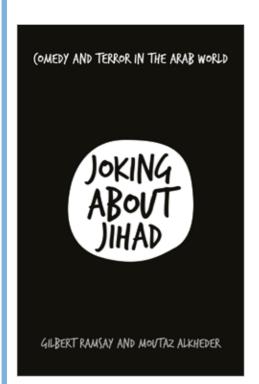
The Exclusionary West shows that the medieval exclusion of minorities is bound up with the very foundation of Western European nation-states, informing the basic rights of civil citizenship and shaping Western ideas of identity and belonging. These legacies retain their insidious but potent power today.

Ariel Salzmann is Associate Professor of Islamic and World History at Queen's University (Canada), specialised in comparative state formation, inter-faith relations and global currents of modern political thought. She is the author of *Tocqueville in the Ottoman Empire*, and important shorter studies on the Ottoman Empire and the early modern Mediterranean.



June 2020 9781787383159 216mm x 138mm • 256pp £25.00 Hardback History World rights

A timely study of the intrinsic connections between Western European nations and their non-Christian minorities in the age of state formation.



April 2020 9781787383166 216mm x 138mm • 296pp £25.00 Paperback War Studies/Sociology World rights

Satire and comedy are powerful tools in politics, both to convince and to ridicule. As this original and bleakly humorous book attests, global jihadism is no exception.

#### GILBERT RAMSAY & MOUTAZ ALKHEDER

#### Joking About Jihad

## Comedy and Terror in the Arab World

Can laughter really be used to undermine the appeal of terrorist groups? And should it be? Is there any truth in the stereotypical notions of fanaticism as humourless, and of humour as the antithesis of fanaticism? What is the deeper significance of the jihadi's status as an object of mockery in Arabic popular culture?

Joking About Jihad explores this thicket of problems sprouting from one of the most basic and supposedly most innocent of human behaviours, and looks at how it has been applied to one of the least obviously laughable phenomena in the world today. Ramsay and Alkheder draw on original interviews and hitherto unexamined texts, combining insights from fields as diverse as politics, psychology, cultural studies, Islamic studies and humour research. Examining apparently spontaneous joking, professional comedy and even the jokes told by jihadis themselves, they show how Salafi jihad has been made laughable in the modern Arab world, and why it matters.

Gilbert Ramsay is a lecturer at the University of St Andrews Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence, and author of *Jihadi Culture on the World Wide Web*. Moutaz Alkheder is a PhD candidate at the Centre, working on anti-jihadist rhetoric in Arabic television comedy.

#### MICHAEL A. INNES

#### **Streets Without Joy**

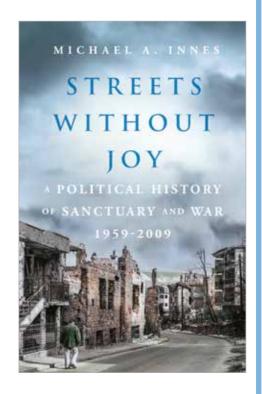
#### A Political History of Sanctuary and War, 1959 2009

America's wars after the g/II attacks were marked by a political obsession with terrorist 'sanctuaries' and 'safe havens'. From mountain redoubts in Afghanistan to the deserts of Iraq, Washington's policy-makers maintained an unwavering focus on finding and destroying the refuges, bases and citadels of modern guerrilla movements, and holding their sponsors to account.

This was a preoccupation embedded in nearly every official speech and document of the time, a corpus of material that offered a new logic for thinking about the world. As an exercise in political communication, it was a spectacular success. From 2001 to 2009, President George W. Bush and his closest advisors set terms of reference that cascaded down from the White House, through government and into the hearts and minds of Americans. 'Sanctuary' was the red thread running through all of it, permeating the decisions and discourses of the day.

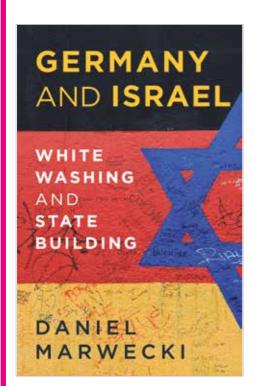
Where did this obsession come from? How did it become such an important feature of American political life? In this new political history, Michael A. Innes explores precedents, from Saigon to Baghdad, and traces how decision-makers and their advisors used ideas of sanctuary to redefine American foreign policy, national security, and enemies real and imagined.

Michael A. Innes (PhD, SOAS) is a Londonbased scholar and practitioner. Covering conflicts across Africa, Asia and the Middle East for twenty years, he has worked in Afghanistan, Bosnia Herzegovina, Côte d'Ivoire, Indonesia and Nigeria. In 2003 9, he was a civilian advisor with NATO in Belgium and the Balkans.



June 2020 9781787383173 216mm x 138mm • 336pp £30.00 Hardback Military History/Politics World rights

Blending historical research with policy analysis, Innes investigates how the concept of sanctuary shaped Washington's own understanding of how warfare should be conducted, against conventional and unconventional opponents alike.



April 2020 9781787383180 216mm x 138mm • 256pp £30.00 Hardback History/Politics World rights

A radical reinterpretation of the relationship between two states whose history has always been intertwined, particularly revisiting Germany's involvement in the Palestinian question.

#### DANIEL MARWECKI

#### Germany and Israel

# Whitewashing and Statebuilding

According to common perception, the Federal Republic of Germany supported the formation of the Israeli state for moral reasons—to atone for its Nazi past—but did not play a significant role in the Arab—Israeli conflict. However, the historical record does not sustain this narrative.

Marwecki's pathbreaking analysis deconstructs the myths surrounding the odd alliance between Israel and post-war democratic Germany. Thorough research shows how German policymakers often had disingenuous, cynical or even partly antisemitic motivations, seeking to whitewash their Nazi past by supporting the new Israeli state. This is the true context of West Germany's crucial backing of Israel in the 1950s and '60s. German economic and military support greatly contributed to Israel's early consolidation and eventual regional hegemony. This initial alliance has affected Germany's role in the Israeli Palestinian conflict to the present day.

Marwecki reassesses German foreign policymaking and identity-shaping, and raises difficult questions about German responsibility after the Holocaust, exploring the many ways in which the genocide of European Jews and the dispossession of the Palestinians have become tragically intertwined in the Middle East's international politics. This long overdue investigation sheds new light on a major episode in the history of the modern Middle East.

Daniel Marwecki is a teaching fellow in Politics & International Studies at SOAS University of London. He also teaches at the University of Leeds School of History. Formerly at the University of Leipzig, he is a co-editor of discorient, a German-language magazine on Europe and the Middle East.

ADHAM SAOULI (ed.)

# Unfulfilled Aspirations

# Middle Power Politics in the Middle East

The concepts and theories of what constitutes a 'Middle Power' have played a key part in explaining the identity, behaviour and foreign policy roles of many states in the international system, including the United Kingdom, France, Australia and Brazil. But, with a few exceptions, these frameworks have failed to travel to scholarship on the Middle East, despite the theoretical and empirical potential that they offer for understanding regional dynamics.

The first of its kind, this volume addresses that major gap by interrogating the conceptual, theoretical and empirical underpinnings of the concept of 'Middle Power' at a regional level. Composed of nine chapters, *Unfulfilled Aspirations* offers the conceptual and theoretical tools to examine 'Middle Powerhood' in the Middle East, as well as insightful empirical analyses of both 'traditional' Middle Powers in the region (Egypt, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Algeria) and new, aspiring ones (Qatar, the UAE). The contributors reveal that the Middle Powers of the Middle East have failed, despite their best efforts, to fulfil their regional aspirations.

UNFULFILLED ASPIRATIONS
MIDDLE POWER POLITICS IN THE MIDDLE EAST ADHAM SAOULI (ED.)

December 2019
9781787383197
216mm x 138mm • 320pp £25.00 Paperback
Politics
World rights

Offers a timely focus on 'Middle Powers' in a region where many crises and disputes are between Middle Eastern states themselves.

Adham Saouli is Senior Lecturer in International Relations at the University of St Andrews, focusing on the genesis, development and behaviour of Middle Eastern political actors. He is the author of *Hezbollah: Socialisation and its Tragic Ironies*; and *The Arab State: Dilemmas of Late Formation*.

Published in collaboration with

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

# MOBILITY AND FORCED DISPLACEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST ZAHRA BABAR (ED.)

December 2019
9781787383203
216mm x 138mm • 320pp
£25.00 Paperback
Politics/Sociology
World rights

Emphasises the diversity of the origins, consequences, and experiences of human mobility in the Middle East.

Published in collaboration with

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY Center for International and Regional Studies, School of Foreign Service in Qatar. ZAHRA BABAR (ed.)

# Mobility and Forced Displacement in the Middle East

Amid pervasive and toxic language, and equally ugly ideas, suggesting that migrants are invaders and human mobility is an aberration, one might imagine that human beings are naturally sedentary: that the desire to move from one's birthplace is abnormal. As the contributors to this volume attest, however, migration and human mobility are part and parcel of the world we live in, and the continuous flow of people and exchange of cultures are as old as the societies we have built together.

Together, the chapters in this volume emphasise the diversity of the origins, consequences and experiences of human mobility in the Middle East. From multidisciplinary perspectives and through case studies, the contributors offer the reader a deeper understanding of current as well as historical incidences of displacement and forced migration. In addition to offering insights on multiple root causes of displacement, the book also addresses the complex challenges of host refugee relations, migrants' integration and marginalisation, humanitarian agencies, and the role and responsibility of states. Cross-cutting themes bind several chapters together: the challenges of categories; the dynamics of control and contestation between migrants and states at borders; and the persistence of identity issues influencing regional patterns of migration.

**Zahra Babar** is Associate Director for Research at the Center for International and Regional Studies at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service in Qatar. She is the editor of, among others, *Arab Migrant Communities in the GCC*, also published by Hurst.

#### **AZMI BISHARA**

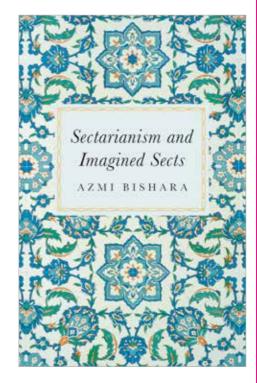
#### Sectarianism and Imagined Sects

This volume analyses the transformation of social sectarianism into political sectarianism across the Arab world. Using a framework of social theories and socio-historical analysis, the book distinguishes between ta'ifa, or 'sect', and modern ta'ifiyya, 'sectarianism', arguing that sectarianism itself produces 'imaginary sects'. It charts and explains the evolution of these phenomena and their development in Arab and Islamic history, as distinct from other concepts used to study religious groups within Western contexts.

Bishara documents the role played by internal and external factors and rivalries among political elites in the formulation of sectarian identity, citing both historical and contemporary models. He contends that sectarianism does not derive from sect, but rather that sectarianism resurrects the sect in the collective consciousness and reproduces it as an imagined community under modern political and historical conditions.

Sectarianism and Imagined Sects is a vital resource for engaging with the sectarian crisis in the Arab world. It provides a detailed historical background to the emergence of sect in the region, as well as a complex theoretical exploration of how social identities have assumed political significance in the struggle for power over the state.

Azmi Bishara is General Director of the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, and the author of numerous works on political thought, social theory and philosophy. His most influential in Arabic include *Civil Society: A Critical Contribution; The Arab Question*; and *Religion and Secularism in a Historical Context*.

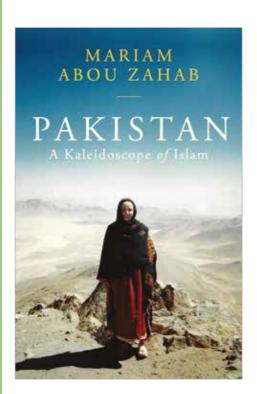


May 2020 9781787383210 216mm x 138mm • 320pp £40.00 Hardback Politics/Sociology World English rights

A rigorous exploration of the roots of sectarianism in the Middle East, analysing how the social category of sect has been reinvented as a basis for political identity.

Published in collaboration with

The Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies in Doha, Qatar.



February 2020 9781787383227 216mm x 138mm • 256pp £20.00 Paperback Sociology/Religion World rights

A remarkable collection of writings on Pakistan and Islam by the late Mariam Abou Zahab, a brilliant activist scholar whose astonishing life story almost defies description.

COMPARATIVE POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES SERIES

Christophe Jaffrelot (Editor)

#### MARIAM ABOU ZAHAB

#### **Pakistan**

#### A Kaleidoscope of Islam

This collection of essays brings together two sets of articles and book chapters by Mariam Abou Zahab, the extraordinary late scholar of Islam in South Asia. The first part of the volume examines Shia Sunni relations in Pakistan, while the second concerns violent Islamism in the country, covering both the Talibanisation of the Pashtun belt and the jihadi dimension of South Asian Salafism.

Throughout these texts, Abou Zahab explores the many reasons why Pakistan has been the crucible of political Islam. She offers a historical view of this development, factoring in the impact of colonialism and conflict, including the Soviet Afghan War and the post-9/II Western military operations in Afghanistan. While making clear the major importance of these external influences, from Saudi Arabia and Iran to the US, she also places Pakistan's political Islam in the context of local cultures, mobilising her anthropological erudition without ever indulging in culturalism. Finally, she emphasises the sociological determinants of sectarianism, Talibanism and jihadism, as well as the political economy of these ideologies.

Abou Zahab's knowledge is exhaustive, but in these papers she offers an elegant synthesis in which each word matters. This volume is indispensable for understanding the present dynamics of Pakistan.

Mariam Abou Zahab (1952–2017) first travelled to South Asia and Afghanistan in 1973, and was an eyewitness among the anti-Soviet mujahideen. Fluent in Hindi, Urdu, Arabic, Persian and Pashto, she was a specialist of South Asian Islam, particularly Shiism. Her expertise extended to the Pashtun belt and South Waziristan.

#### **ASMA FAIZ**

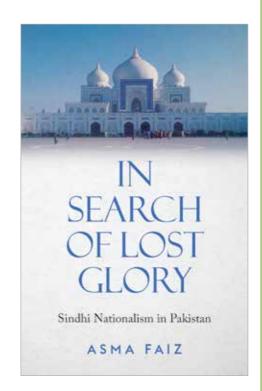
# In Search of Lost Glory

#### Sindhi Nationalism in Pakistan

Sindhi nationalism is one of the oldest yet least studied cases of identity politics in Pakistan. Ethnic discontent appeared in Sindh in opposition to the rule of the Bombay presidency; to the onslaught of Punjabi settlers in the wake of canal irrigation; and, most decisively, to the arrival of millions of Muhajirs (Urdu-speaking migrants) after Partition. Under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Benazir Bhutto and Asif Zardari, the Pakistan Peoples Party has upheld the Sindhi nationalist cause, even while playing the game of federalist politics. On the other side for half a century have been hardcore Sindhi nationalist groups, led by Marxists, provincial autonomists, landlord pirs and liberal intelligentsia in pursuit of ethnic outbidding.

This book narrates the story of the Bhutto dynasty, the Muhajir factor, nationalist ideologues, factional feuds amongst landed elites, and the role of violence as a maker and shaper of Sindhi nationalism. Moreover, it examines the role of the PPP as an ethnic entrepreneur through an analysis of its politics within the electoral arena and beyond. Bringing together extensive fieldwork and comparative studies of ethno-nationalism, both within and outside Pakistan, Asma Faiz uncovers the fascinating world of Sindhi nationalism.

Asma Faiz is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Lahore University of Management Sciences, Pakistan. She completed her PhD at Sciences Po, Paris and works on ethnicity, nationalism and party politics. She is the editor of Making Federation Work: Federalism in Pakistan After the 18th Amendment.

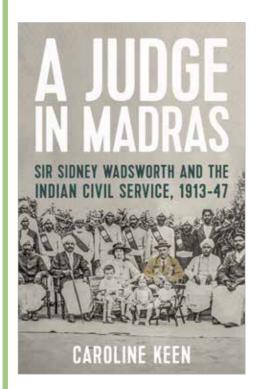


June 2020 9781787383234 216mm x 138mm • 288pp £30.00 Hardback History/Politics World rights

A political biography of Sindh, tracing its aspirations for greater autonomy and focusing on the PPP dynasty established by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

COMPARATIVE POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES SERIES

Christophe Jaffrelot (Editor)



April 2020 9781787383241 216mm x 138mm 320pp, 8pp b&w illus £30.00 Hardback History World rights

An enlightening reassessment of Britain's administration of colonial South India based on Sidney Wadsworth's unpublished memoir, revealing how absorbing he found his postings.

#### CAROLINE KEEN

#### A Judge in Madras

# Sir Sidney Wadsworth and the Indian Civil Service, 1913 47

The memoirs of Sidney Wadsworth are a vital source on Britain's colonial history during the first half of the twentieth century. Recounting his long and distinguished career in the Indian Civil Service, Wadsworth paints an entertaining picture of the many places in Madras province where he served, with illuminating portraits of the important British and Indian figures with whom he associated. Here we see through his eyes the growth of Indian nationalism and the rise of Gandhi, and the impact of the Second World War on Madras.

Reliving his journey from junior member of the ICS to High Court judge, Wadsworth displays a shrewd acumen and a keen eye for the ridiculous. By no means uncritical of British rule, he emerges from these pages as a conscientious, humane and reasonable official unlike some of his contemporaries and one able to accept the huge changes overtaking India. The physical and moral demands of his daily routine reveal the commitment of an administration that, for all its failings, steadily pursued the goal of good and impartial government. Also featuring excerpts from the memoirs of other civil servants then in the province, A Judge in *Madras* will interest anyone interested in the colonial encounter.

Caroline Keen is a historian, holding a PhD from SOAS University of London. Her previous books include *Princely India and the British: Political Development and the Operation* of Empire; and An Imperial Crisis in British India: The Manipur Uprising of 1891.

#### ROBERT IVERMEE

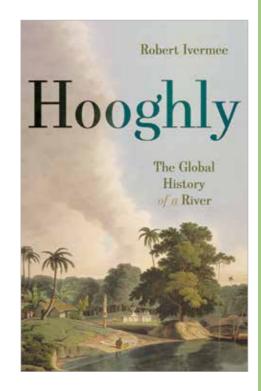
#### Hooghly

#### The Global History of a River

The Hooghly, a tributary of the Ganges flowing south to the Bay of Bengal, is now little known outside of India. Yet for centuries it was a river of truly global significance, attracting merchants. missionaries. mercenaries. statesmen, labourers and others from Europe, Asia and beyond. *Hooghly* seeks to restore the waterway to the heart of global history. Focusing in turn on the role of and competition between those who struggled to control the river the Portuguese, the Mughals, the Dutch, the French and finally the British, who built their imperial capital, Calcutta, on its banks the author considers how the Hooghly was integrated into global networks of encounter and exchange, and the dramatic consequences that ensued.

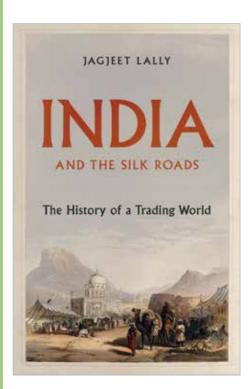
Travelling up and down the river, Robert Ivermee explores themes of enduring concern, among them the dynamics of modern capitalism and the power of large corporations; migration and human trafficking; the role of new technologies in revolutionising social relations; and the human impact on the natural world. The Hooghly's global history, he concludes, may offer lessons for India as it emerges as a world superpower.

Robert Ivermee is a global and imperial historian focused on colonialism in South Asia. He works in higher education management at SOAS University of London and teaches at the Catholic University of Paris.



April 2020 9781787383258 216mm x 138mm • 256pp £20.00 Hardback History/Geography World rights

A lyrical history of one of India's great rivers—the entry-point of maritime commercial colonialism, and the life-sustaining waterway of Bengal and its former capital, Calcutta.



June 2020 9781787383265 216mm x 138mm • 384pp £55.00 Hardback History World rights

A fresh portrait of a trading world within Eurasia's continental interior, charting the history of the caravan trade between North India, Afghanistan and Central Asia.

#### JAGJEET LALLY

# India and the Silk Roads

The History of a Trading World

This book brings to life the world of caravan trade constituting not only merchants, but also pilgrims, pastoralists, and mercenaries; flows not only of goods, credit and money, but also of ideas, secret intelligence and fighting power. Contrary to the view that the ages of sail and steam rendered obsolete these more 'archaic' forms of overland connectivity, Jagjeet Lally demonstrates how the annual transhumance between North India and the Central Asian steppe was critical to the production and exercise of political power into the nineteenth century.

Central to this narrative is the waning of the Mughal Empire and the emergence in the mid-eighteenth century of a new Afghan kingdom, whose leaders drew their power from the financial flows and force of arms moving through the networks of caravan trade, and who thus patronised the continued traffic between India and inland Eurasia.

India and the Silk Roads is a global history of a continental interior, the first to comprehensively examine the textual and material traces of caravan trade in the 'age of empires'. Lally tells a story resonating with our own times, as China's Belt and Road Initiative once again transforms life across Eurasia.

Jagjeet Lally is Lecturer in the History of Early Modern and Modern India at University College London, where he is also Co-Director of the Centre for the Study of South Asia and the Indian Ocean World.

#### LUIS MARTINEZ

# The State in North Africa

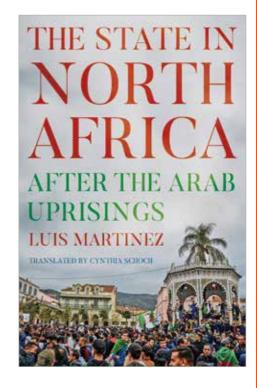
After the Arab Uprisings

Translated by CYNTHIA SCHOCH

Ever since independence, revolts and riots in North Africa have structured relations between society and the state. While the state has always managed to restore order, the unexpected outbreak of the Arab Spring revolts has presented a real challenge to state stability. Taking a long-term historical perspective, this book analyses how public authorities have implemented policies to manage the Maghreb's restive societies, viewed at first as 'retrograde' and then as 'radicalised'.

National cohesion has been a major concern for post-colonial leaders who aim to build strong states capable of controlling the population. Historically, North African nations found colonial oppression to be the very bond that united them, but what continues to hold these communities and nation-states together after independence? If public interest is not at the heart of the state's actions, how can national loyalties be maintained? Luis Martinez analyses how states approach these questions, showing that the fight against jihadist groups both helps to reconstruct essential ties of state belonging and also promotes the development of a border control policy. He highlights the challenges posed by fragile political communities and weak state instruments, and the response of leaders striving to build peaceful pluralistic nations in North Africa.

Luis Martinez is a senior research fellow at CERI Sciences Po, Paris. Formerly visiting professor at Columbia University (2000 1) and the University of Montréal (2007 8), he is the author of, inter alia, *The Algerian Civil War*, 1990–1998; *The Libyan Paradox*; and *The Violence of Petro-Dollar Regimes*, all published by Hurst.



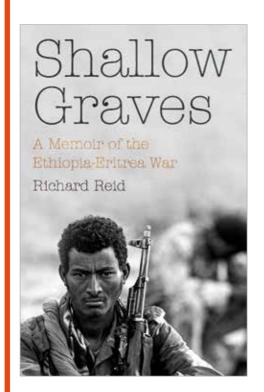
January 2020 9781787382961 216mm x 138mm • 248pp £30.00 Hardback Politics World rights excluding French language

A seasoned expert on the Maghreb offers a fine-grained analysis of the region's politics in a time of upheaval.

COMPARATIVE POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES SERIES Christophe Jaffrelot (Editor)







March 2020 9781787383289 190mm x 126mm • 296pp £25.00 Paperback Memoir/Military History World rights

A close observer's reflection on the nature and impact of a fratricidal war in the Horn of Africa.

#### RICHARD REID

#### **Shallow Graves**

#### A Memoir of the Ethiopia Eritrea War

This is a personal account of the war between Eritrea and Ethiopia, fought between May 1998 and June 2000, as well as of the periods immediately preceding and following the conflict. *Shallow Graves* traces shifting local perceptions of time, the nation and the region, beginning in the mid-1990s and concluding with the peace agreement signed between the two governments in 2018.

Richard Reid is a historian who was based in Eritrea during the war, and who continued to visit both that country and Ethiopia for several years afterwards. This personal perspective offers a more vivid, intimate portrait of the experience of the war than can normally be offered by putatively 'objective' academic accounts. As well as providing first-hand reportage and analysis, Reid problematises the role of the historian and specifically the foreign historian as the supposedly impartial observer of events. His eloquent narrative, constructed around conversations interactions with a range of local witnesses, friends and colleagues, explores the impact of prolonged war and its aftermath both on private and public memory, and on the nature of history itself.

Richard Reid is Professor of African History at the University of Oxford, currently focusing on histories of war on the continent in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He is the author of A History of Modern Uganda.

#### SAMSON BEZABEH

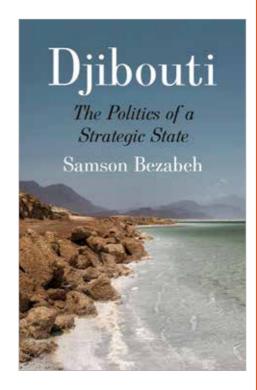
## Djibouti

## The Politics of a Strategic State

Djibouti, the small Horn of Africa state, has great geopolitical significance as a result of its location, positioned along the Bab el-Mandeb strait and the Gulf of Aden, where the maritime trade routes of three continents converge: Europe, Asia and Africa. Djibouti has become instrumental in controlling the trans-shipment of goods, particularly oil. It is also where world powers vie for control as demonstrated by the military presence of multiple global powers, four of which (China, France, the USA and Japan) have established military bases in the country.

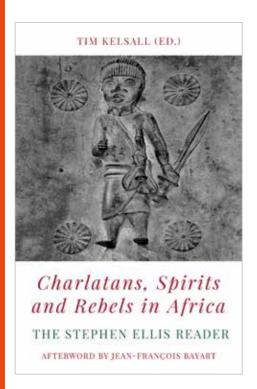
Despite its global importance, the political history of Djibouti remains undocumented. The last English-language book on the subject came out in 1968, before the country won its independence from France in 1977. Over half a century later, *Djibouti: The Politics of a Strategic State* details the country's political trajectory since independence. Samson Bezabeh examines how the idealism of the struggle for an independent state ended in tragedy for the country's people, allowing elites the opportunity to enrich themselves aided and abetted by the international powers seeking to control Djibouti through their political proxies.

Samson Bezabeh is a research fellow at the Makerere Institute of Social Research (MISR), Uganda, and a permanent fellow of the African Studies Centre, Leiden University. His previous publications include Subjects of Empires/Citizens of States: Yemenis in Djibouti and Ethiopia (2016).



May 2020 9781787383296 216mm x 138mm • 264pp £45.00 Hardback Politics World rights

Essential reading if you want to know why Djibouti, the gateway to the Red Sea, is the epicentre of a new global struggle for control of its strategic location.



May 2020 9781787383302 216mm x 138mm • 368pp £25.00 Paperback History/Politics World rights

An engrossing collection of the late Stephen Ellis' key writings on African politics and history, gathered together for the first time. TIM KELSALL (ed.)

## Charlatans, Spirits and Rebels in Africa

#### The Stephen Ellis Reader

When Stephen Ellis died in July 2015, African Studies lost one of its most prolific, provocative and celebrated scholars. Given the scale and uniqueness of his contribution, it is perhaps surprising that a collection of his writings did not appear during his lifetime. It is now possible to bring such a volume to the public.

With an introduction by Tim Kelsall and an afterword by Jean-François Bayart, this collection aims to provide scholars and students with an introduction to the main themes in Ellis' work. These revolved around the roles of religion, criminality and violence in African society and politics preoccupations that also informed his interpretation of African rebellions and resistance movements. The volume spans more than three decades of scholarship; case studies from six countries; highly-cited and lesser-known articles; and a sampling of works intended for public engagement as well as an academic audience. It will serve as a reader for African Politics and History, and as an invitation to students to delve deeper into Stephen Ellis' oeuvre.

Tim Kelsall is a senior research fellow at London's Overseas Development Institute. Specialising in political anthropology and political economy analysis, he has taught at Newcastle University and the University of Oxford. Between 2002 and 2006, he edited *African Affairs*, the Royal African Society's journal, with Stephen Ellis.

#### MULUGETA GEBREHIWOT BERHE

## Laying the Past to Rest

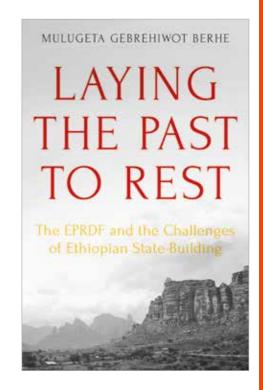
## The EPRDF and the Challenges of Ethiopian State-Building

The Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), founded as a small guerrilla movement in 1974, became the leading party in the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). After decades of civil war, the EPRDF defeated the government in 1991, and has been the dominant party in Ethiopia ever since. Its political agenda of federalism, revolutionary democracy and a developmental state has been unique and controversial.

Drawing on his own experience as a senior member of the TPLF/EPRDF leadership, and his unparalleled access to internal documentation, Mulugeta Gebrehiwot Berhe identifies the organisational, political and sociocultural factors that contributed to victory in the revolutionary war, particularly the Front's capacity for intellectual leadership. Charting its challenges and limitations, he analyses how the EPRDF managed the complex transition from a liberation movement into an established government. Finally, he evaluates the fate of the organisation's revolutionary goals over its subsequent quarter-century in power, assessing the strengths and weaknesses the party has bequeathed to the country.

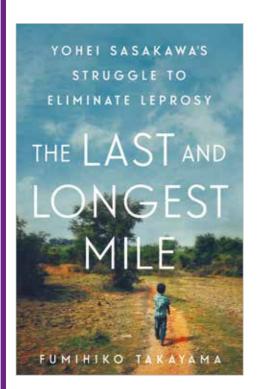
Laying the Past to Rest is a comprehensive and balanced analysis of the genesis, successes and failings of the EPRDF's state-building project in contemporary Ethiopia, from a uniquely authoritative observer.

Mulugeta Gebrehiwot Berhe is a senior fellow at the World Peace Foundation. A veteran of the TPLF/EPRDF-led armed struggle, he headed the EPRDF's Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration programme during its first decade in government. He was a founder and director of Addis Ababa University's Institute for Peace and Security Studies.



December 2019
9781787382916
216mm x 138mm
• 376pp
£55.00 Hardback
History/Politics
World rights

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The inspiring story of one man's global campaign to eradicate leprosy from all corners of the earth, and end the discrimination suffered by its victims.

#### **FUMIHIKO TAKAYAMA**

# The Last and Longest Mile

#### Yohei Sasakawa's Struggle to Eliminate Leprosy

Translated by WAKU MILLER

This book offers a compelling account of the two-pronged fight against both leprosy and the discrimination that comes with it. Leprosy is generally weak against the immune system, yet it persists in populations with inadequate nutrition and weak resistance, due to poverty or lack of disease control measures. Thus the battle against leprosy has involved a highly effective multidrug therapy, and getting it to communities in need.

The Last and Longest Mile tells the story of the WHO's offering of this cure, free of charge across the world, in 1995 9, through vital funding from the Nippon Foundation; and of how the Foundation has continued pursuing elimination of leprosy in the years since. Yohei Sasakawa, the organisation's chairman, has personally travelled the world to lead the struggle against the disease, and particularly to combat discrimination against leprosy patients or ex-patients and their families—an effort that has lagged behind the campaign to eradicate the disease itself.

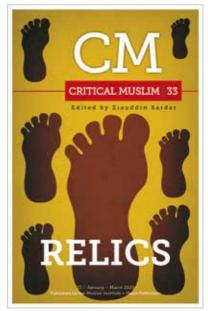
Award-winning writer Fumihiko Takayama accompanied Sasakawa on his seven-year global crusade from 2009. Here he recounts the milestones of their journey, explores the important advances and setbacks experienced along the way, and reveals the personal sense of mission that drives the tireless Yohei Sasakawa.

Fumihiko Takayama is a prominent writer of fiction and non-fiction. *Fireworks*, his critical biography of the author Tamio Hojo, who succumbed to leprosy aged 23, won the prestigious Oya Soichi Nonfiction Prize and Kodansha Nonfiction Award. *The Last and Longest Mile* is Takayama's first book to appear in English translation.

#### ZIAUDDIN SARDAR (ed.)

# Critical Muslim 33 Relics

The sacred and the revered, the divine and the musealised, relics have long been integral to Islamic practice. Wahhabisation has cast a modernist spectre over celebrated traditions such as the visiting of shrines and pilgrimages to the birthplaces of beloved religious figures, yet these rituals continue to thrive. In this issue of *Critical Muslim*, we look at footprints ascribed to the Prophet Muhammad, to Adam and to Jesus. We pay our respects to Sufi saints, who may or may not be Islamicised versions of the Buddha, and we ask whether tradition is nothing more than a relic of times gone by.

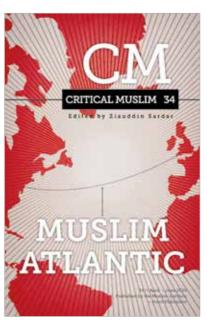


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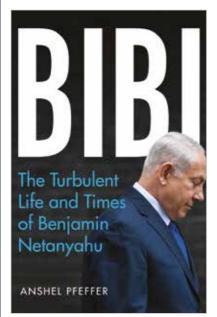
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# Critical Muslim 34 Muslim Atlantic

This issue of *Critical Muslim* explores the idea of a 'Muslim Atlantic' by looking at transatlantic connections between Muslim communities in the US and the UK. Based on and inspired by Paul Gilroy's work on the Black Atlantic, we hope to reframe his theory in terms of faith as well as race. Through essays and reportage, we will consider issues such as gender, race, leadership and popular culture, as we ask in what ways Muslim communities on both sides of the pond have shared experiences, and where their trajectories sharply contrast.



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**Anshel Pfeffer** is a senior correspondent and columnist for *Haaretz* and Israel correspondent for *The Economist*.

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Cedric Delves joined the Army in 1966, was commissioned into the Devonshire and Dorset Regiment and later joined the SAS, which he commanded at every level. He also led the Special Forces before becoming Commander of the Field Army.

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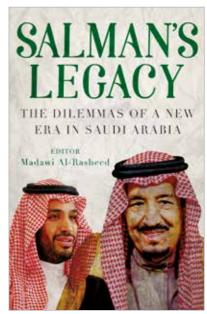
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Madawi Al-Rasheed is Visiting Professor at the Middle East Centre, London School of Economics. In 2016, she was visiting research professor at the Middle East Institute, National University of Singapore. She is the author of several books on Saudi Arabia, including Muted Modernists: The Struggle Over Divine Politics in Saudi Arabia, also published by Hurst.



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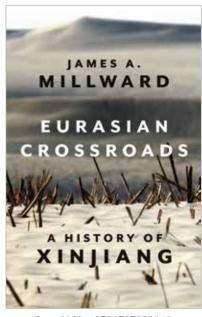
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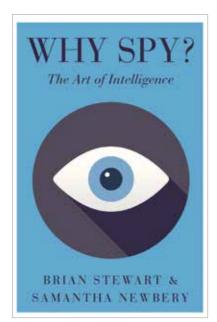
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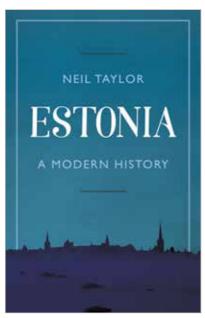
James A. Millward is Professor of Intersocietal History at Georgetown University's Walsh School of Foreign Service. The author of Beyond the Pass: Economy, Ethnicity, and Empire in Qing Central Asia, 1759–1864, he writes on contemporary China in The New York Times, the Los Angeles Review of Books and the New York Review of Books.



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Brian Stewart MC, CMG (1922 2015) was a British soldier, colonial official, diplomat and the second most senior officer in the British Secret Intelligence Service. Samantha Newbery is Programme Leader of the MA Terrorism and Security at the University of Salford.

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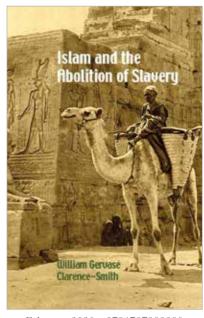
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William Gervase Clarence-Smith is Professor of the Economic History of Asia and Africa at SOAS University of London, and teaches a course on Islamic reform in Southeast Asia. He has written widely on slavery, colonialism, entrepreneurial diasporas, and tropical agriculture. He edited *The Economics of the Indian Ocean Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century*.



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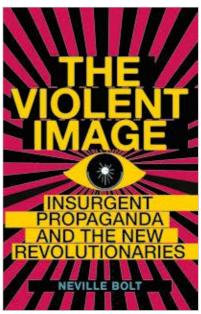
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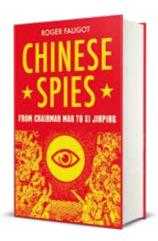
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Neville Bolt has worked as a producer director with the BBC, ITV, Channel 4 and CBC Canada, and in political communications for the UK Labour Party, Amnesty International, the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the African National Congress (ANC). He is Director of the King's College London Centre for Strategic Communications.



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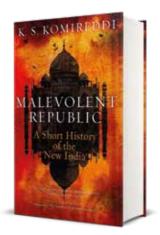
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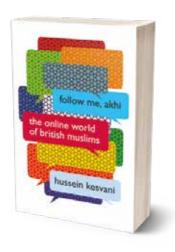
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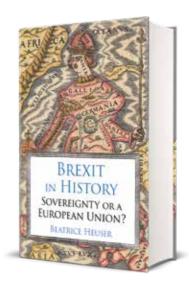
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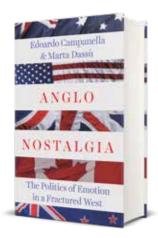
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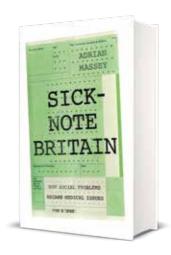
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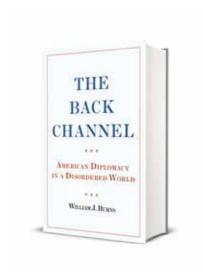
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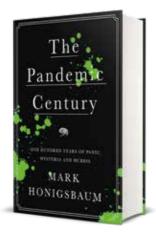
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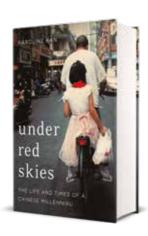
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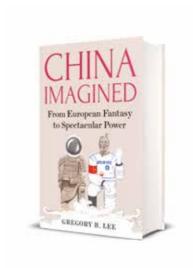
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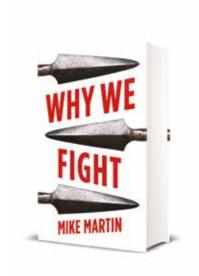
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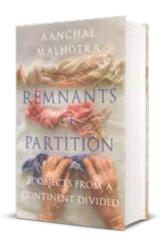
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