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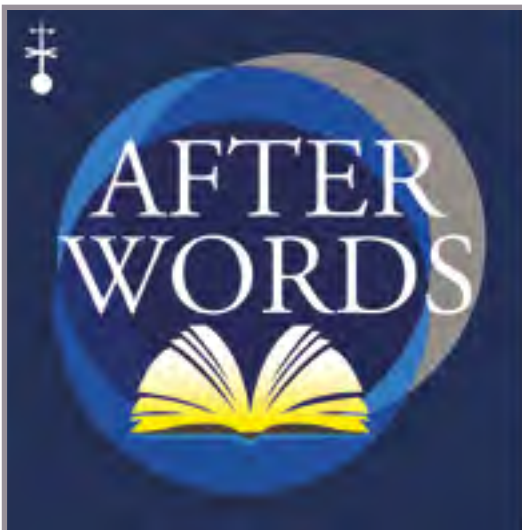
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We would like to give a special mention to our Gold subscribers—Michael Hurleigh, Anand Choudhury, Malik Dahlan, Anuj Ghai, Anna Marcom, Tuesday Williams, Lawrence Tucker & Kristian Ulrichsen—for their continued support.

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## Subscribe to our podcast, AfterWords

AfterWords brings you lively discussions between Hurst authors and leading experts who explore the stories behind remarkable books. Since launching in early 2020, this podcast has reached the top of book podcast charts across the world.

In our new season, investigate corruption in America with Sarah Chayes, discover North East England and its people with Dan Jackson, and learn how North Korea became a nuclear power and why we'll have to live with it from Ankit Panda. Hear the untold story of African Europeans from Olivette Otele, explore the growing rivalry between America and China with Nigel Jackson, and find out about reform and repression in MBS' Saudi Arabia from Mawlawi Al-Rasheed.

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**JAN MATTI DOLLBAUM,  
MORVAN LALLOUET  
& BEN NOBLE**

## Navalny

### Putin's Nemesis, Russia's Future?

Who is Alexei Navalny? Poisoned in August 2020 and evacuated to Germany, the 44-year-old returned to Russia in January 2021 in the full glare of the world media. His immediate detention at passport control set the stage for an explosive showdown with Vladimir Putin.

But Navalny means very different things to different people. To some, he is a democratic hero. To others, he is betraying the Motherland. To others still, he is a nationalist and a racist. This biography, the first to be published in English, makes sense of this divisive character, revealing the contradictions of a man who is now the second most important political figure in Russia—even when behind bars.

Why did Navalny return to Russia? Is Putin genuinely afraid of Navalny, or simply intolerant of real opposition? Who supports Navalny? What does Navalny's story tell us about the nature of Russian politics, and the future of the opposition?

This book explores the many dimensions of Navalny's political life, from his pioneering anti-corruption investigations to his ideas and leadership of a political movement. It also analyses how his activities and the Kremlin have shaped one another. In order to understand modern Russia, you need to understand Alexei Navalny.

**Jan Matti Dollbaum** is a postdoctoral researcher at Bremen University, specialised in Russian activism and civil society. **Morvan Lallouet** is a PhD candidate at the University of Kent, researching Navalny's political position. **Ben Noble** is Lecturer in Russian Politics at University College London and an associate fellow at Chatham House.



August 2021  
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Current Affairs / Politics / Russia  
World English rights

**The fascinating life of the dissident facing up to the Kremlin: a one-man embodiment of politics in Putin's Russia.**

ELLE HARDY

# BEYOND BELIEF

HOW PENTECOSTAL CHRISTIANITY  
IS TAKING OVER THE WORLD





ELLE HARDY

# Beyond Belief

## How Pentecostal Christianity Is Taking Over the World

November 2021  
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How has a Christian movement, founded at the turn of the twentieth century by the son of freed slaves, become the fastest-growing religion on Earth?

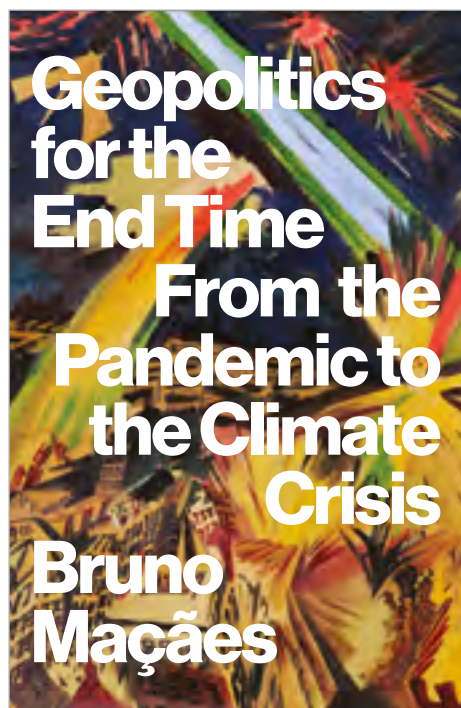
Neo-Charismatic Pentecostalism has some 600 million followers worldwide, and by 2050 their numbers will grow to 1 billion: that's one in ten people. This is the religion of the Holy Spirit, with believers gaining direct experience of God and all that comes with it: success for the mind, body, spirit and wallet. But Pentecostalism is also a cultural movement. It speaks to the most impoverished people in Africa and Latin America, and inspires anti-establishment leaders from Europe to Australia, South Korea to Brazil. It throws itself into culture wars and online activism, offering meaning and community to rootless Westerners adrift in a fragmenting world.

*Beyond Belief* is the first journalistic investigation into this revolution exploding across the globe. Visiting twelve countries and eight American states, Elle Hardy exposes a timeless tale of miracles, money and power, set in our volatile age of extremes. She exposes the Pentecostalist agenda: not just saving souls, but transforming societies. These modern prophets, quietly embedded in our institutions, have the cash and the influence to do it.

**Elle Hardy** is a journalist and foreign correspondent who has reported from the United States, the former USSR and North Korea, among a long list of places. Her work has appeared in *GQ*, *Lonely Planet*, *Foreign Policy* and *Business Insider*, and on ABC Australia.

A fascinating exposé  
of the global revolution  
you've never heard of: a  
deep-pocketed, tech-savvy  
Christian movement  
reshaping our societies  
from within.





September 2021

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A sharp vision of our  
changing world order  
as Covid and climate  
breakdown usher in a new  
'survival of the fittest'.

BRUNO MAÇÃES

## Geopolitics for the End Time

### From the Pandemic to the Climate Crisis

As we approach catastrophe, everything changes. *Geopolitics for the End Time* explores how Covid-19 has already transformed the global system, and how it serves as a prelude to a planet afflicted by climate change. What are the lessons from the pandemic? How well have different cultures and societies responded to the challenge, and can the current moment become a turning point in the flow of history?

Before Covid struck, we could already see a new competition arising between alternative geopolitical models—but it wasn't clear what the background for this competition would be. If the clash took place within the existing global trade and financial system, the United States would feel confident of decisive victory. But what if it takes place on neutral ground? What if it takes place in a state of nature, with few or no political rules, amid quickly evolving chaos? If the greatest threat to national security is no longer other states, but the environment itself, which countries might now rise to the top?

This book is one of the first to see the pandemic in history, and to anticipate the profound ways in which it has ushered in a new and surprising world-political landscape.



**Bruno Maçães** is a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute and the Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies, and a former politician in Portugal. The author of *Belt and Road*, *History Has*

*Begun*; and *The Dawn of Eurasia*, he advises some of the world's leading companies on geopolitics and technology.

TOBY GREEN

# The Covid Consensus

## The New Politics of Global Inequality

During the pandemic, the Left has agreed that 'following the science' with hard lockdowns is the best way to preserve life; only irresponsible right-wing populists oppose them. But social science shows that while the rich have got richer, those suffering most under lockdown are the already disadvantaged: the poor, the young, and—most overlooked of all—the Global South. The UN is predicting tens of millions of deaths from hunger and warning that decades of development are being reversed. Equally, why have conservatives backed lockdowns and other major interventions, creating the big state that they usually abhor?

These contradictions within the great consensus of Western pandemic response are part of a broader crisis in Western thought. Toby Green peels back the policy paradoxes to reveal irreconcilable beliefs in our societies. These deep divisions are now bursting into the open, with devastating consequences for the global poor.



**Toby Green** is Professor of Precolonial and Lusophone African History and Culture at King's College London. His book *A Fistful of Shells* won the British Academy's Nayef Al-Rodhan Prize for Global Cultural Understanding,

the American Historical Association's Jerry Bentley Prize in World History and the Historical Writers' Association Non-Fiction Crown.



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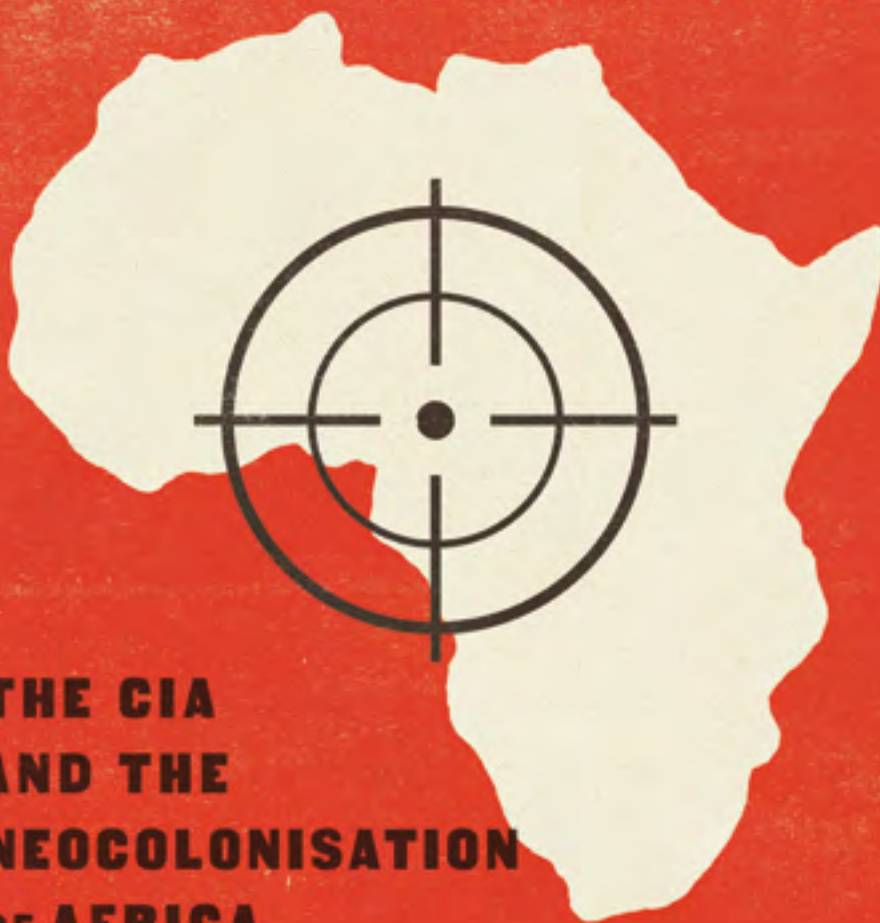
Current Affairs / Politics

World English rights

Why does Western pandemic policy have support across the political spectrum, when its social impacts conflict with ideology on both Right and Left?

# WHITE

**SUSAN WILLIAMS**



**THE CIA  
AND THE  
NEOCOLONISATION  
OF AFRICA**

# MALICE



SUSAN WILLIAMS

# White Malice

## The CIA and the Neocolonisation of Africa

Accra, 1958. Africa's liberation leaders have gathered for a conference, full of strength, purpose and vision. Newly independent Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah and Congo's Patrice Lumumba strike up a powerful alliance. Everything seems possible. But, within less than a decade, both men will have been targeted by the CIA, and their dream of true African autonomy destroyed.

The US intelligence agency, watching the Europeans withdraw from Africa in the middle of the Cold War, was determined to take control. Pan-Africanism was inspiring African Americans in their fight for civil rights; the threat of Soviet influence loomed over new African governments; and the idea of an atomic reactor in black hands was unacceptable. The conclusion was simple: the US had to 'recapture' Africa from the shadows, by any means necessary.

In *White Malice*, renowned historian Susan Williams dives into the archives, revealing new, shocking details of America's covert programme to undermine African independence. The CIA crawled over the continent, poisoning the hopes of 1958 with secret agents, informants and surveillance; surreptitious lobbying at the UN; cultural infiltration and bribery; assassinations and coups. As the colonisers moved out, the Americans swept in—with bitter consequences that reverberate in Africa to this day.

**Susan Williams** is a senior research fellow at the School of Advanced Study, University of London. Her previous books include *Colour Bar*, adapted into major film *A United Kingdom*; and *Spies in the Congo* and *Who Killed Hammarskjöld?*, both published by Hurst. The latter triggered a UN inquiry that is ongoing.

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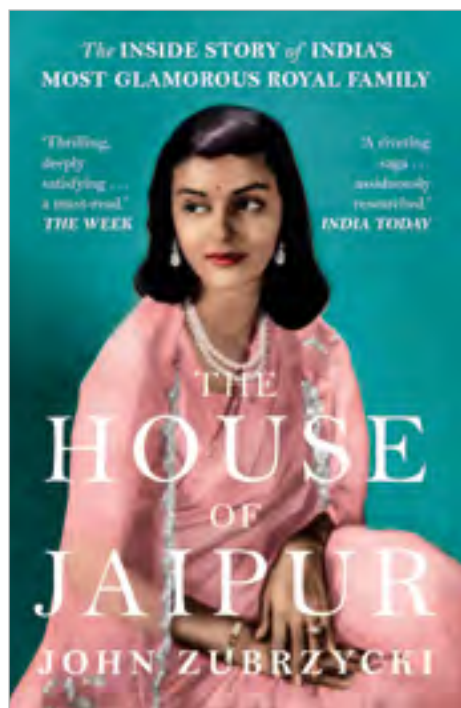
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**The shocking, untold story of how African independence was strangled at birth by the systematic interference of one nation: the US.**





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A gripping royal saga  
adorned with characters  
whose charmed lives  
were often marred by  
misfortune and tragedy.

JOHN ZUBRZYCKI

# The House of Jaipur

## The Inside Story of India's Most Glamorous Royal Family

Today, Jaipur is synonymous with the romance and valour of princely India. This book shares the extraordinary life of Gayatri Devi and Man Singh, the royal couple at the heart of Jaipur's story in the twentieth century.

Jai and Ayesha, as they were known in their own circles, entertained their Western friends as lavishly in London, New York and Paris as in their magnificent palaces, forts and hunting lodges in Rajasthan. Jaipur was not India's foremost princely state, but it was the most evocative, the most romantic, the most glamorous. 'There is no other place quite like it,' wrote Rosita Forbes in the 1930s.

*Life* and *Vogue* ranked Ayesha one of the world's most beautiful women, 'a dream in sari and jewels'. She and Jai were the only Indians invited to Truman Capote's 1966 Black & White Ball at New York's Plaza Hotel—and Ayesha was the only woman allowed to break the dress code, arriving in a gold sari and a necklace of emeralds. Her friends among the guests included the Duke of Windsor and Frank Sinatra.

The Jaipurs were India's mid-century golden couple; its answer to the Kennedys, or Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip. This is their story.



**John Zubrzycki** has worked in India as a diplomat, consultant, tour guide and *Australian* correspondent, with a doctorate from the University of New South Wales and background in South Asian history and

Hindi. William Dalrymple chose his *Empire of Enchantment*, also published by Hurst, as a Book of the Year.

SHASHI THAROOR

# The Struggle for India's Soul

## Nationalism and the Fate of Democracy

There are over a billion Indians alive today. But are some more Indian than others? To answer this question, one that is central to the identity of all who belong to modern India, Shashi Tharoor explores hotly contested ideas of nationalism, patriotism, citizenship and belonging.

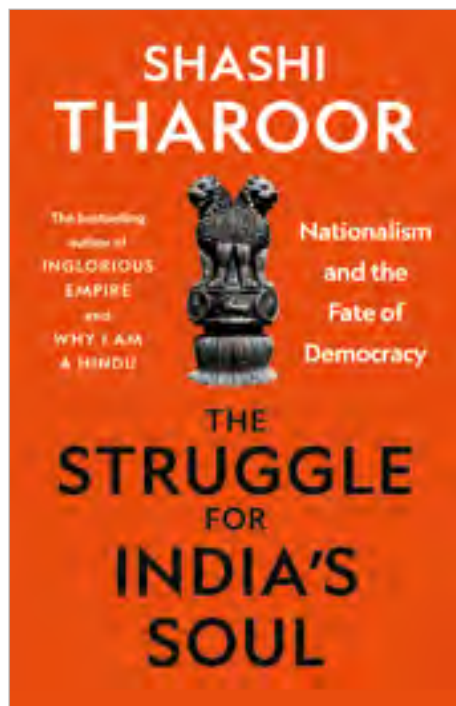
A contest has emerged between two opposing ideas of India: ethno-religious nationalism, versus civic nationalism. The struggle for India's soul has heightened, deepened and broadened, threatening to hollow out and destroy the remarkable concepts of pluralism, secularism and inclusive nationhood that were bestowed upon the nation at Independence. The Constitution is under siege; institutions are being undermined; mythical pasts propagated; universities assailed; minorities demonised, and worse. Every passing month sees new attacks on the ideals that India has long been admired for, as authoritarian leaders and their supporters push the country towards a state of illiberalism and intolerance. If they succeed, millions will be stripped of their identity, and bogus theories of Indianness will take root in the soil of the subcontinent.

However, all is not yet lost. This erudite and lucid book shows what needs to be done to win the battle of belonging—to strengthen everything that is unique and valuable about India.



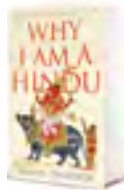
**Shashi Tharoor** is a former UN under-secretary-general, a Congress MP in India, the author of sixteen books, and the recipient of literary awards including a Commonwealth Writers' Prize. His

*Inglorious Empire: What the British Did to India* was a *Sunday Times* bestseller and a *Financial Times* Book of the Year.



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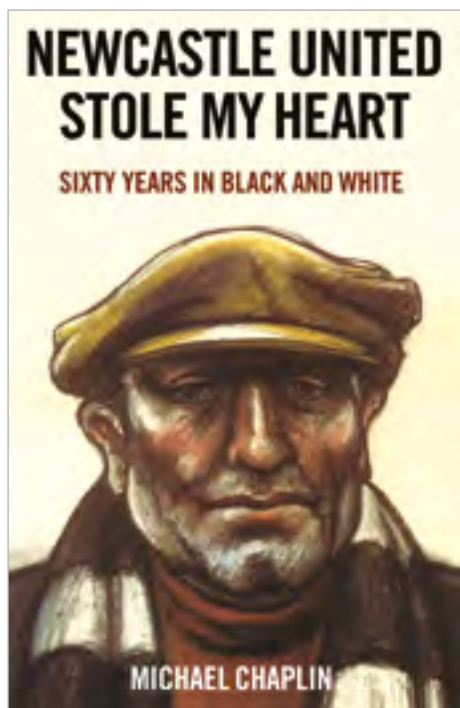
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**Tharoor dissects how competing, increasingly strident visions of India will shape its destiny for decades to come.**





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A writer's magnificent  
 lifelong obsession with his  
 city and its football club.

**MICHAEL CHAPLIN**

## Newcastle United Stole My Heart

### Sixty Years in Black and White

When the boy landed in a strange city of ships as a 5-year-old in the late 1950s, he looked in vain for something that would anchor him to it. Anything that might make him feel at home. Then, one Saturday afternoon, it came—with the roar of a distant crowd and a football team to support. Michael Chaplin became an avid fan of Newcastle United and has remained so for the next sixty years and more, if latterly a somewhat disenchanted one.

In this football memoir with a difference, the celebrated playwright and screenwriter tells the story of his six-decade love affair with the club in eleven chapters, each one recreating an iconic Newcastle match: the players who graced the game, the managers in the dug-out, and the backdrop outside the stadium—both the changing face of Newcastle, and the ups and downs of Michael's own life and career.

This vivid, thoughtful and entertaining book is an absolute must for all Newcastle United supporters, and indeed—given that the club is often described as everyone's second favourite—for football fans everywhere...



**Michael Chaplin** is a playwright; a radio, television and non-fiction writer; and a former producer and executive at London Weekend Television and ITV. His writing credits include the highly successful

television series *Grafters*, *Drovers Gold* and *Monarch of the Glen*, and dozens of plays for BBC Radio.

DAN JACKSON

# The Northumbrians

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A *Sunday Times* History Book of the Year

A *New Statesman* Book of the Year, chosen by Tom Holland

'[Captures] the distinctive flavour of Northumbria, a land that pre-dates England itself ... a fascinating nugget of information on every page.' — *The Sunday Times*

'The most enjoyable book on a region of Britain that I have ever read. Often very moving, often very funny, it is written with a deep and learned love for Newcastle and its environs.' — *New Statesman*

'Newcastle is a city with a global reach. [From Dan Jackson] you get a real sense of that, going back many centuries.' — David Olusoga

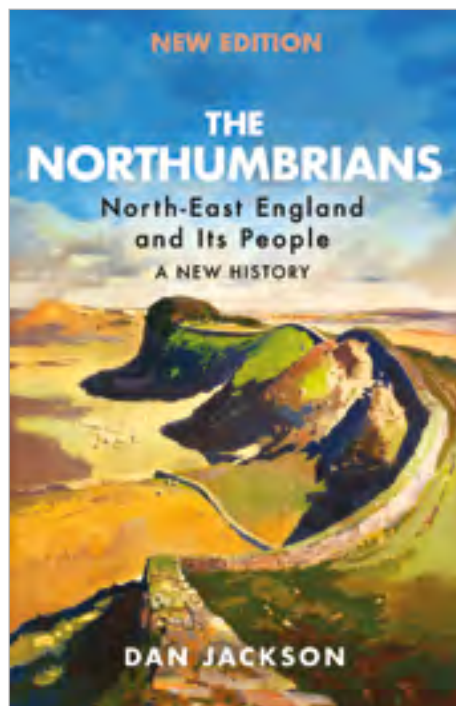
'Both an education and an entertainment.' — *The Telegraph*

'Dan Jackson was born and bred here, and his roots go deep, back generations. This book is a celebration of his land and ancestors ... I heartily recommend *The Northumbrians*.' — *The Mail on Sunday*



**Dan Jackson** is a founding member of the Northumbria WW1 Commemoration Project, which received the Queen's Award for Voluntary Service. Author of *Popular Opposition to Irish Home Rule in*

*Edwardian Britain*, he has written for the *New Statesman* and appeared on the BBC's *Making History* and *Who Do You Think You Are?*.



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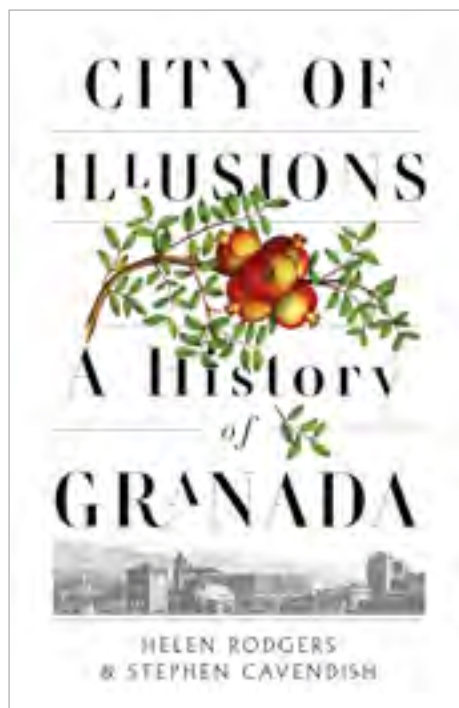
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**What makes North-Eastern England so distinctive? Where do the stereotypes come from, and what's the real story?**



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**A scintillating history  
of one of Europe's most  
alluring cities.**

**HELEN RODGERS &  
STEPHEN CAVENDISH**

# City of Illusions

## A History of Granada

Granada is a deceptive city, concealing a layered past and a complex character. The last Muslim capital in Western Europe, over the centuries it has captured the hearts and imagination of its inhabitants, and featured in countless myths and legends. Yet historical evidence reveals real tales from Granada that are even more fascinating: a romantic epic of secrets and follies, victory and failure, poetry and art.

*City of Illusions* brings together Granada's many stories—the archaeological forger, the renegade French general, the garrotted liberal heroine, and the Jewish poet and right hand of two Muslim rulers. From the founding dynasty to the building of the Alhambra, to the Reconquista, French occupation and Spanish Civil War, this is the history of Granada from its eleventh-century origins to the present day.

Granada's historical narrative has long been fought over, recreated, idealised or buried. Elegant and deeply researched, this book sets the record straight, delving into the true story of a beautiful city, with all its quirks, mysteries, intrigues and triumphs.

**Helen Rodgers** is an Arabist, whose fascination for the history of the Arab world has led to over two decades of historical research across the Mediterranean region. **Stephen Cavendish** is a writer, editor and historian with a passion for the medieval and modern history of Europe and the Middle East.



PADDY DOCHERTY

# Blood and Bronze

## The British Empire and the Sack of Benin

The famous Benin Bronzes are among the most prized possessions of the British Museum. Celebrated for their great beauty, they embody the history, myth and artistry of the ancient Kingdom of Benin, once the most powerful in West Africa and now part of Nigeria. But despite their renown, little has been written about the brutal act of imperial violence through which the Bronzes were plundered. This incisive new history tells that neglected story: the 1897 British invasion of Benin.

Diving into the archives, *Blood and Bronze* sets the assault on Benin in its late Victorian context. As Britain faced new commercial and strategic pressures on its power elsewhere, it ruthlessly expanded its rule in West Africa. Revealing both the extent of African resistance and previously concealed British outrages, this is a definitive account of the conquest and destruction of Benin. By laying bare the Empire's true motives and its violent means, Paddy Docherty demolishes any moral claim for Britain retaining the Bronzes, and makes a passionate case for their immediate repatriation to Nigeria.



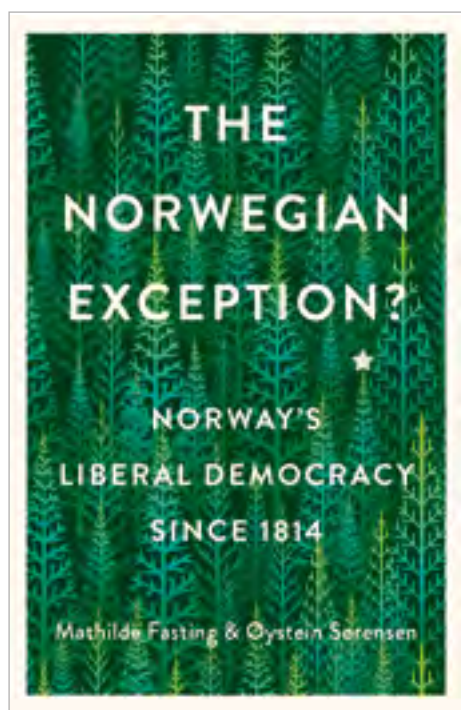
**Paddy Docherty** is a historian of empire, with a particular interest in the British Empire, anticolonial resistance, and the cultural impact of imperialism. He was educated at the University of Oxford

and is the author of *The Khyber Pass: A History of Empire and Invasion*.



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A searing account of Britain's conquest of the Kingdom of Benin and plunder of its fabled Bronzes.



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 on borrowed time, or has  
 the country prospered  
 by design?

MATHILDE FASTING & ØYSTEIN  
 SØRENSEN

## The Norwegian Exception?

Norway's Liberal Democracy  
 Since 1814

How did Norway become a highly successful liberal democracy? Will its prosperity and stability last, or has modern history been an exception? Is the Norwegian experience based on luck, or has a part been played by clever politicians and sound institutions, including a well-functioning rule of law? How does Norway combine social democracy with a market economy, and extensive foreign trade? Since the 1970s, Norway has become an oil-producing giant in Northern Europe—how can that role be reconciled with the realities of climate change, and increasing awareness of that crisis?

This highly engaging book introduces Norwegian political and economic history to a broad audience, offering a deeper understanding of a country always looked upon with great interest, but perhaps not profoundly understood. *The Norwegian Exception?* takes the reader back through 200 years of state-building to explain Norway's current position as a top-ranking nation, and to consider its chances of keeping that status in the twenty-first century. In particular, it unpacks how Norwegian politics and governance have shaped the country's world-famous oil fund and unique relationship with the European Union. Leading historians Mathilde Fasting and Øystein Sørensen skilfully draw back the curtain on the inner workings of the Norwegian 'utopia'.

**Mathilde Fasting**, of the think-tank Civita, is an economist, historian of ideas and author of books about Norwegian political and economic history, and on Francis Fukuyama (forthcoming). **Øystein Sørensen**, Professor of Modern History at the University of Oslo, has published on liberalism, nationalism, totalitarianism, Norwegian political culture and counterfactual history.

LUKASZ BEDNARSKI

# Lithium

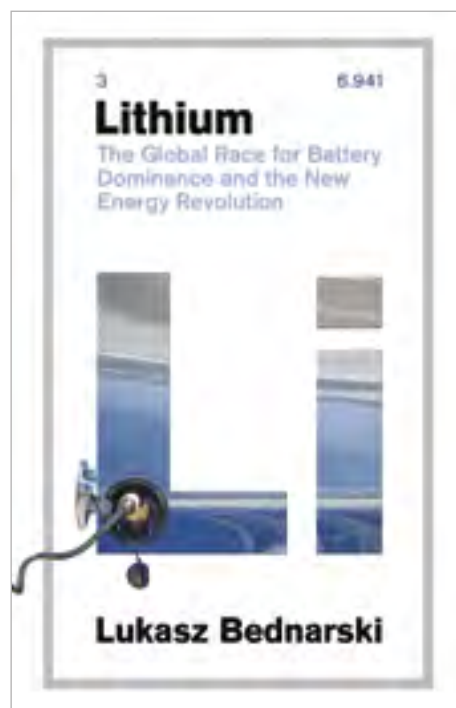
## The Global Race for Battery Dominance and the New Energy Revolution

A global energy revolution is unfolding before our eyes: ever-growing numbers of electric vehicles on our roads, laptops that last all day on a single charge, and solar panels on our roofs, all reliant on lithium-ion batteries. This revolution is happening at breath-taking speed, with the potential to completely transform key industries and the way we live.

For the first time in history, we can now actually store this green energy we talk so much about. Often referred to as ‘the new oil’, lithium allows large amounts of energy to be squeezed into a very small space. Demand is soaring, and the lithium business is full of drama: bitter rivalries, shady deals and exceptionally talented visionaries such as Elon Musk, who is building lithium battery giga-factories across the world.

This book travels from the salt lakes of the Tibetan plateau, where Chinese government-linked companies extract lithium, to Argentina, Chile and Bolivia, which hold the world’s biggest resources of the mineral. It reveals superpowers’ struggles to secure strategic supplies, and the astonishing efforts of lone-wolf inventors and entrepreneurs. *Lithium* also explores the environmental impact of lithium extraction, the limits to battery electrification, and lithium battery recycling as the way forward.

**Lukasz Bednarski** is Senior Battery Materials Analyst at IHS Markit, founder of the lithium industry portal Lithium Today and a former commodity trader.



July 2021

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How a little-known mineral will affect our jobs and daily lives as much as, if not more than, AI or Big Data have done.





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Presents the Libya conflict  
 as an ideal microcosm for  
 examining the collective  
 failures typical of our new  
 geopolitics.

**JASON PACK**

## Libya and the Global Enduring Disorder

We no longer inhabit a world governed by international coordination, a unified NATO bloc, or an American hegemon. Traditionally, the decline of one empire leads to a restoration in the balance of power, via a struggle among rival systems of order. Yet this dynamic is surprisingly absent today; instead, the superpowers have all, at times, sought to promote what Jason Pack terms the 'Enduring Disorder'.

He contends that Libya's ongoing conflict—more so than the civil wars in Yemen, Syria, Venezuela or Ukraine—constitutes the ideal microcosm in which to identify the salient features of this new era of geopolitics. The country's post-Qadhafi trajectory has been moulded by the stark absence of coherent international diplomacy; while Libya's incremental implosion has precipitated cross-border contagion, further corroding global institutions and international partnership.

Pack draws on over two decades of research in and on Libya and Syria to highlight the Kafkaesque aspects of today's global affairs. He shows how even the threats posed by the Arab Spring, and the Benghazi assassination of US Ambassador J. Christopher Stevens, couldn't occasion a unified Western response. Rather, they have further undercut global collaboration, demonstrating the self-reinforcing nature of the progressively collapsing world order.

**Jason Pack** is a non-resident fellow at the Middle East Institute, and the founder of Libya-Analysis LLC. His articles have appeared in *The New York Times*; *The Wall Street Journal*; *The Spectator*; the *Financial Times* and *Foreign Affairs*. In 2018 he won the World Championship of Doubles Backgammon.

KATHERINE HARVEY

# A Self-Fulfilling Prophecy

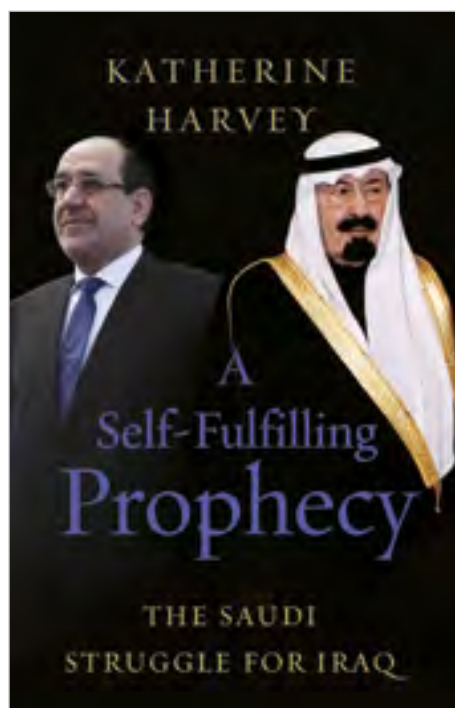
## The Saudi Struggle for Iraq

In recent years, the geopolitical rivalry between Saudi Arabia and Iran has dominated the headlines. Many have charted the polarisation between a Saudi-led Sunni camp and an Iranian-led Shia one, assuming that a predominantly Shia state like Iraq would automatically ally with Iran. In this compelling account, Katherine Harvey tells a different story: Iraq's current alignment with Iran was not a foregone conclusion. Rather, Saudi efforts to undermine Iran have paradoxically empowered it.

Harvey investigates why the Saudis refused to engage with Iraq's post-2003 Shia-led government, despite continual outreach by Iraq's new leaders and considerable pressure from the United States. She finds that certain deeply ingrained assumptions predisposed Saudi leaders to see a Shia-led Iraq as naturally beholden to Iran: the view that Iran is inherently expansionist, and the belief that Arab Shia tend to be loyal to it. This outlook was simplistic, even downright inaccurate; and, in refusing to engage, the Saudis created a self-fulfilling prophecy.

As Harvey demonstrates, members of Iraq's new government initially sought to establish a positive relationship with Saudi Arabia, and to pursue a course independent from Iran. But, isolated and rejected by Saudi King Abdullah, Iraq ultimately had nowhere else to turn.

**Katherine Harvey** is an independent scholar based in Washington, DC. She holds a PhD in Middle Eastern Studies from King's College London. Previously, she was an intelligence officer in the US Navy, with tours in the Middle East, Europe and at sea. She has also worked in political risk consulting.



September 2021  
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 216mm x 138mm  
 248pp  
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**How Saudi efforts to undermine Iranian influence paradoxically pushed Iraq into the Islamic Republic's arms.**



October 2021  
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Assesses how militaries go about attacking cyber networks, for what purposes, and under what circumstances.

DANIEL MOORE

# Offensive Cyber Operations

## Understanding Intangible Warfare

Cyber-warfare is often discussed, but rarely truly seen. When does an intrusion turn into an attack, and what does that entail? How do nations fold offensive cyber operations into their strategies? Operations against networks mostly occur to collect intelligence, in peacetime. Understanding the lifecycle and complexity of targeting adversary networks is key to doing so effectively in conflict.

Rather than discussing the spectre of cyber war, Daniel Moore seeks to observe the spectrum of cyber operations. By piecing together operational case studies, military strategy and technical analysis, he shows that modern cyber operations are neither altogether unique, nor entirely novel. Offensive cyber operations are the latest incarnation of intangible warfare—conflict waged through non-physical means, such as the information space or the electromagnetic spectrum.

Not all offensive operations are created equal. Some are slow-paced, clandestine infiltrations requiring discipline and patience for a big payoff; others are short-lived attacks meant to create temporary tactical disruptions. This book first seeks to understand the possibilities, before turning to look at some of the most prolific actors: the United States, Russia, China and Iran. Each has their own unique take, advantages and challenges when attacking networks for effect.

**Daniel Moore** has over fifteen years' experience in the intersection of technology, intelligence and cyber. He holds a PhD from King's College London and has held roles in the public and private sectors, including with the Israeli military, IBM, Accenture and Facebook. Daniel has published extensively on security issues.



DAVID H. UCKO

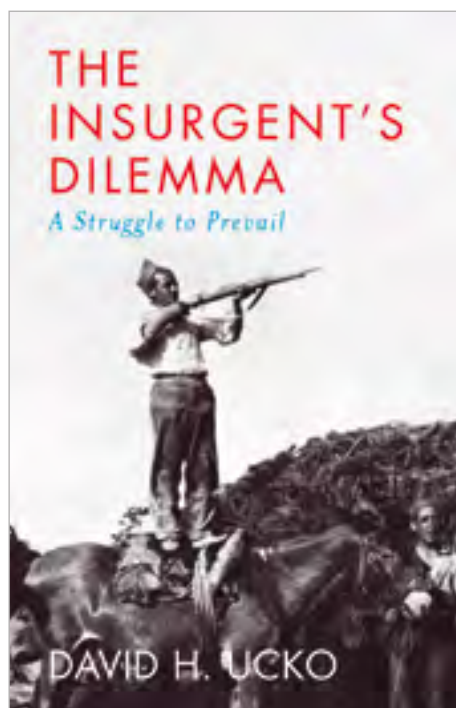
# The Insurgent's Dilemma

## A Struggle to Prevail

Despite attracting great hype and headlines, insurgents rarely win. Even when they successfully claim territory and usurp governmental prerogatives, they typically face a military backlash too powerful to withstand. States struggle with addressing the political roots of such insurgencies, and their military efforts mostly just 'mow the grass', yet for the insurgent the grass is nonetheless mowed—and the armed struggle must start over again.

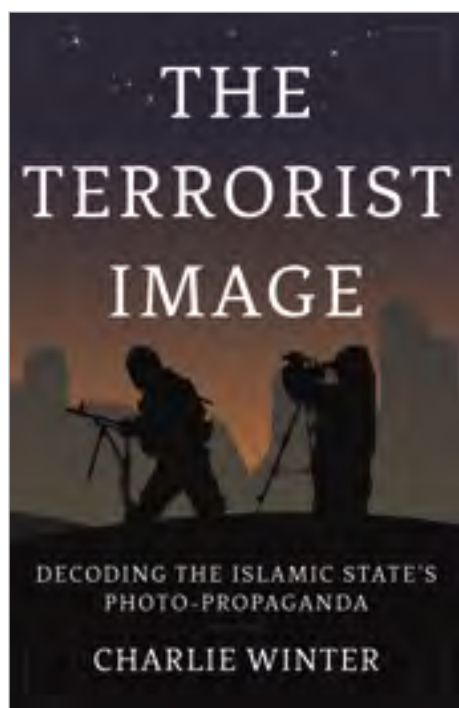
This is the insurgent's dilemma: the difficulty of asserting oneself as a start-up, of violently challenging authority, and of establishing oneself sustainably as the new source of power, without suffering devastation along the way. In the face of this challenge, some insurgents are learning new ways to ply their trade. As a result, while all states lament the poor track record of recent counterinsurgency campaigns, even greater trouble may still lie ahead. Insurgency is being reinvented—tailored to the vulnerabilities of our times, and with new strategic salience for tomorrow. As successful approaches are copied, refined and repurposed, what we think of as counterinsurgency will also need to change. *The Insurgent's Dilemma* explores three emerging insurgent strategies that will force a new response, along with fresh thinking about political violence in the twenty-first century.

**David H. Ucko** is Professor and Department Chair at the College of International Security Affairs (CISA), National Defense University, Washington DC. He is also an adjunct professor at Johns Hopkins University and a senior visiting research fellow in the Department of War Studies, King's College London. He tweets as @DavidUcko.



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Considers why, when most insurgencies fail, some nonetheless work—and why they work so well.



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Explores how the  
 Islamic State shook the  
 foundations of modern  
 war photography.

CHARLIE WINTER

## The Terrorist Image

### Decoding the Islamic State's Photo-Propaganda

The summer of 2014—when the Islamic State seized Mosul, Iraq's second city; captured vast swathes of eastern Syria; and declared itself a latter-day Caliphate—marked a turning point in the history of photography, one that pushed its already contested relationship with reality to its very limits.

Uniquely obsessed with narrative, image management and branding, the Islamic State used cameras as weapons in its formative years as a Caliphate. The tens of thousands of propaganda photographs captured during this time were used to denote policy, to navigate through defeat and, perhaps most importantly, to construct an impossible reality: a totalising image-world of Salafi-Jihadist symbols and myths.

Between 2015 and 2017, Charlie Winter collected over 20,000 of these photographs from the Islamic State's covert networks. Based on their deep examination, this book explores the process by which the Caliphate shook the foundations of modern war photography. Winter identifies the implicit value systems that underpinned its ideological appeal, and evaluates its uniquely malign contribution to the history of the photographic image. *The Terrorist Image* travels to the heart of what made the Islamic State tick during its prime, providing unique insights into its global appeal and mobilisation successes.

**Charlie Winter** is a senior research fellow at the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation, King's College London. His PhD research, which was funded by Facebook, explored how violent extremists articulate meaning through visual propaganda. He also holds degrees in Arabic and Middle East Studies.

STEFAN DERCON

# Gambling on Development

## Why Some Countries Win and Others Lose

In the last thirty years, the developing world has undergone tremendous changes. Overall, poverty has fallen, people live longer and healthier lives, and economies have been transformed. And yet many countries have simply missed the boat. Why have some countries prospered, while others have failed?

Stefan Dercon argues that the answer lies not in a specific set of policies, but rather in a key 'development bargain', whereby a country's elites shift from protecting their own positions to gambling on a growth-based future. Despite the imperfections of such bargains, China is among the most striking recent success stories, along with Indonesia and more unlikely places, such as Bangladesh, Ghana and Ethiopia. *Gambling on Development* is about these winning efforts, in contrast to countries stuck in elite bargains leading nowhere.

Building on three decades' experience across forty-odd countries, Dercon winds his narrative through Ebola in Sierra Leone, scandals in Malawi, beer factories in the DRC, mobile phone licences in Mozambique, and relief programmes behind enemy lines in South Sudan. Weaving together conversations with prime ministers, civil servants and ordinary people, this is a probing look at how development has been achieved across the world, and how to assist such successes.

**Stefan Dercon** is Professor of Economic Policy and Director of the Centre for the Study of African Economies at the University of Oxford. Combining an academic career with long experience in international development policy, he is a former DFID chief economist and a policy advisor to the UK foreign secretary.



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**How do countries achieve development? According to a leading economist, success arises when elites bet on growth.**





September 2021  
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 Politics / History / Africa  
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A fascinating history of ideas about independent Africa's political future, from liberation leaders, African American allies and towering postcolonial writers to present-day debates.

STEPHEN CHAN

# African Political Thought

## An Intellectual History of the Quest for Freedom

African liberation is often seen in terms of heroism, but seldom in terms of thought. Even Sartre, in his preface to Frantz Fanon's seminal *The Wretched of the Earth*, wrote of the 'native' with his coiled muscles about to explode into rebellion. The African and the black person are denied the condition of philosophy, apparently driven only by frustration and anger.

Stephen Chan's new book charts the long history of African political thought, from the years of North American slavery, through the development of modern African nationalism and the difficulties of governing new states, to Africa's political philosophy today, taking on the world as an equal. He dwells at length on major figures from Marcus Garvey and Kwame Nkrumah's postcolonial generation to Biko, Mandela and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. He shows their leadership to be inseparable from their ideas, and from those of literary giants including Fanon, W.E.B. Du Bois and Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o.

This is no hagiography: Chan critically examines his thinkers, who also include Mugabe and Mobutu, and expresses concern for the future of Pan-Africanism. But his fascinating account reveals a thoughtful continent that has made complex, significant contributions to the world's intellectual commons—yet continues to seek freedom.

**Stephen Chan** OBE is Professor of World Politics at SOAS University of London. He has advised governments, opposition leaders and liberation movements in many parts of Africa, and negotiated on the African side of delegations to Beijing. His many books include *Spear to the West*, also published by Hurst.

MORTEN BØÅS

## Sahel

## The Perfect Storm

The Sahel is the borderland of 3 million square kilometres between the Sahara Desert and the African savannah and forest lands further south. Much of this huge area is inhospitable. Insurgencies are common, as are migration and smuggling, jobs being as rare here as effective government intervention—state power extends only fitfully, and the region resists attempts to subdue militants, people-traffickers, nomadic herders or anyone excluded from power.

The Western Sahel's fragile states face growing popular discontent, complicated by both climate change and military intervention by France and other powers. Mali is the epicentre of the Sahel crisis: Morten Bøås charts the history of Mali and its fragile neighbours, identifying their current frailty as unsettled states, without legitimate social contracts or political consensus. This in turn has generated competing identities and economic interests, which spill over into resource conflicts over grazing, water, mineral reserves or smuggling routes. Such local contests have been manipulated by elites intent on their own preservation, and appropriated by jihadi insurgents eager to integrate into local communities.

What will happen if all the ingredients of this perfect storm coalesce? What are the ramifications for the Sahel, its neighbours, Europe and the wider world?

**Morten Bøås** is a research professor at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI), specialising in Africa and the Sahel.



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A revealing account  
of Africa's ecological  
and historical frontier  
zone, now plagued by  
interlocking insurgencies  
and climate change.

# / AFRICAN / ARGUMENTS

**African Arguments** is a series of short books about contemporary Africa and the critical issues and debates surrounding the continent. The books are scholarly and engaged, substantive and topical.

The series is owned by the International African Institute and published in association with the Royal African Society, and the World Peace Foundation at Tufts University. In 2005–20, more than 30 books were published in the series, on topics including questions of justice, rights and citizenship; politics, protests and revolutions; the environment, land, oil and other resources; health and disease; economy: growth, aid, taxation, debt and capital flight; and both Africa's international relations and country case studies.

We are delighted to announce that from 2021 the series will be published by Hurst, with titles co-published or distributed in North America by Oxford University Press. Where possible, co-editions with African publishers will also be arranged.

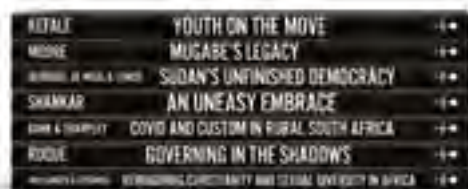


The International African Institute, hosted at SOAS University of London, promotes scholarly understanding of Africa, primarily through a publication programme, including the journals *Africa*, *Africa Bibliography* and the *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, and various book series. It publishes the blog *African Arguments* – *Debating Ideas* in association with the book series.

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SHOBANA SHANKAR

# An Uneasy Embrace

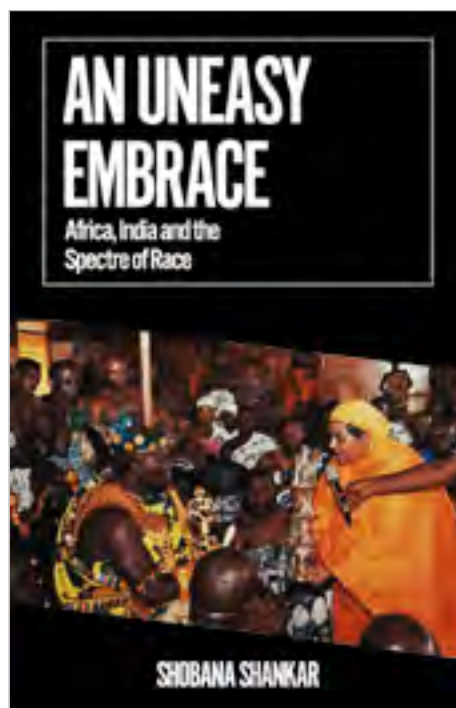
## Africa, India and the Spectre of Race

The entwined histories of Blacks and Indians defy easy explanation. From Black Lives Matter protests against Gandhi statues to Kamala Harris's historic election, this relationship—notwithstanding moments of common struggle—seethes with conflicts that reveal important lessons about race in the modern world.

Shobana Shankar's groundbreaking intellectual history tackles the controversial question of how Africans and Indians see their differences. Drawing on archival and oral sources from seven countries, she traces how economic tensions surrounding the Indian diaspora in East and Southern Africa collided with the twentieth century's widening Indian networks in West Africa and the Black Atlantic. Decolonisation brought a reckoning with Euro-American racial hierarchies, as well as discord over caste, religion, sex and skin colour, simmering beneath the rhetoric of Afro-Indian solidarity.

This book illuminates how postcolonial peoples remade race by reinvigorating cultural movements, from Pan-Africanism to popular devotionalism, in Africa, India and the United States. This new race consciousness was meant as a redemption from the moral dangers of economic rivalry. Yet rising wealth and nationalist amnesia now threaten this postcolonial ethos. Calls to dismantle statues, from Accra to Washington DC, are not merely symbolic. They seek to preserve dissenting histories, and the possibility of alternative futures.

**Shobana Shankar** is Associate Professor of History at Stony Brook University. She is the author of *Who Shall Enter Paradise? Christian Origins in Muslim Northern Nigeria, c. 1890–1975*; and co-editor of *Religions on the Move!* and *Transforming Africa's Religious Landscapes: The Sudan Interior Mission (SIM), Past and Present*.



July 2021

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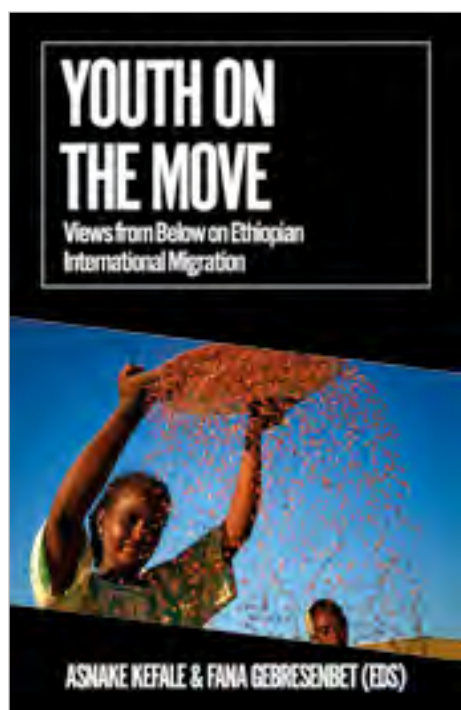
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History / Sociology

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A definitive cultural and political history of how race and racialisation have brought Africans and Indians together, yet also driven them apart.



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**A refreshing study  
 of young Ethiopian  
 migrants, going beyond  
 the usual host-dominated  
 narratives surrounding  
 such upheaval to uncover  
 the motivations of  
 migrants themselves.**

**ASNAKE KEFALE &  
 FANA GEBRESENBET (eds)**

## Youth on the Move

### Views from Below on Ethiopian International Migration

At a time when policies are increasingly against it, international migration has become the subject of great public and academic attention. This book departs from the dominant approach of studying international migration at macro level, and from the perspective of destination countries. The contributors here seek to do more than ‘scratch the surface’ of the migration process, by foregrounding the voices and views of Ethiopian youth—potential migrants and returnees—and of their sending communities.

The volume focuses on the perspective and agency of these young people, both potential migrants and returnees, to better understand migration decision-making, experiences and outcomes. It brings together rarely documented cases of young men and women from several communities across Ethiopia, migrating to the Gulf and South Africa. Explaining the agency of local actors—prospective migrants, brokers and sending families—*Youth on the Move* illuminates the pervasive, persistent failure of state attempts to regulate migration. Moreover, it examines the financing of migration and the sharing of remittances, within a culturally situated moral economy. While accounts centred on economics and political violence are important, the contributors demonstrate compellingly that these factors alone cannot provide a full understanding of migration’s complexity, nor of its social realities.

**Asnage Kefale**, Associate Professor of Political Science and International Relations at Addis Ababa University, has published extensively on federalism, comparative politics, conflict and migration.

**Fana Gebresenbet**, Assistant Professor at Addis Ababa University’s Institute for Peace and Security Studies, has published on migration, state–society relations and the politics of development.

ADRIAAN VAN KLINKEN &  
EZRA CHITANDO

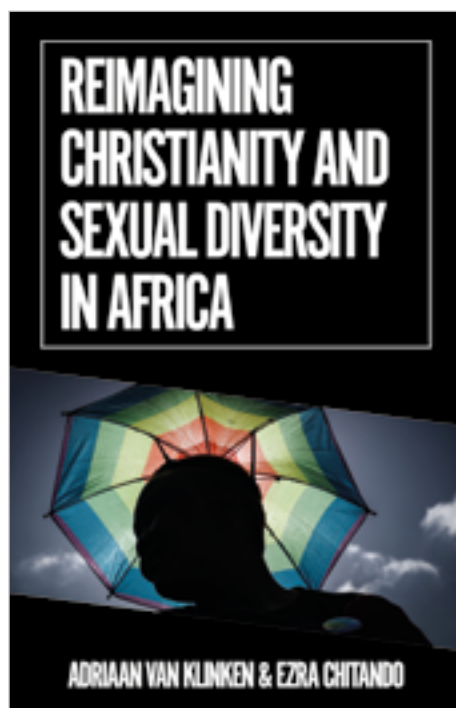
# Reimagining Christianity and Sexual Diversity in Africa

Religion is often seen as a conservative force in contemporary Africa. In particular, Christian beliefs and actors are usually depicted as driving the opposition to homosexuality and LGBTI rights in African societies. This book nuances that picture, by drawing attention to discourses emerging in Africa itself that engage with religion, specifically Christianity, in progressive and innovative ways—in support of sexual diversity and the quest for justice for LGBTI people.

The authors show not only that African Christian traditions harbour strong potential for countering conservative anti-LGBTI dynamics; but also that this potential has already begun to be realised, by various thinkers, activists and movements across the continent. The ten case studies document how leading African writers are reimagining Christian thought; how several Christian-inspired groups are transforming religious practice; and how African cultural production creatively appropriates Christian beliefs and symbols. In short, the book explores Christianity as a major resource for a liberating imagination and politics of sexuality and social justice in Africa today.

Foregrounding African agency and progressive religious thought, this highly original intervention counterbalances our knowledge of secular approaches to LGBTI rights in Africa, and powerfully decolonises queer theory, theology and politics.

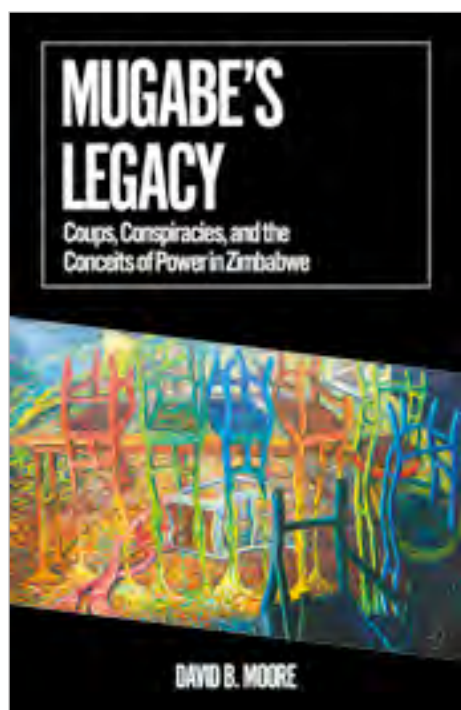
**Adriaan van Klinken** is Professor of Religion and African Studies at the University of Leeds, and Extraordinary Professor at the Desmond Tutu Centre for Religion and Social Justice. **Ezra Chitando** is Professor of Religious Studies at the University of Zimbabwe, and Theology Consultant on HIV/AIDS for the World Council of Churches.



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**A much-needed  
exploration of the queer-  
positive approaches  
emerging within African  
Christianity.**





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 Politics  
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An authoritative account  
 of Mugabe's destructive  
 hold on power, assessing  
 the challenges facing  
 Zimbabwe as it seeks to  
 emerge from the chaos.

DAVID B. MOORE

## Mugabe's Legacy

### Coups, Conspiracies, and the Conceits of Power in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe's party-internal 'coup' of 2017, and deposed president Robert Mugabe's death nearly two years later, demand careful, historically nuanced explanation. How did Mugabe gain and retain power over party and state for four decades? Did the suspected and nearly real 'coups', the conspiracies behind them, and their concurrent mythomaniacal conceits ultimately, ironically, spell his near-tragic end? Has Mugabe's particular mode of power reached a finality with his own downfall, as his successors struggle more to balance Zimbabwe's political contradictions? Will the phalanxes arrayed against Mugabe's control fray further, as Zimbabwe fades?

*Mugabe's Legacy* delves deeply into such questions, drawing on more than forty years of archival and interview-based research on Zimbabwe's political history and current precariousness. Starting with the mid-1970s, it traces how Machiavellian moves allowed Mugabe to reach the apex of the Zimbabwe African National Union's already slippery slopes, through the complexities of Cold War, regional, ideological, generational, inter- and intra-party tensions. The lessons learned by the president and the nascent ruling party then turned gradually inward, ultimately arriving at a near-collapse that may now pervade all of the country's political space. David B. Moore vividly charts this rise and fall, all the way to Zimbabwe's tenuous chaos today.

**David B. Moore** is Professor of Development Studies at the University of Johannesburg. He has been researching and writing on Zimbabwe's political history and political economy since the early 1980s. He has also pursued Marxist and Gramscian theories of development discourse and the political economy of Africa.

LESLIE BANK &amp; NELLY SHARPLEY

# Covid and Custom in Rural South Africa

## Culture, Healthcare and the State

This book explores the impact of Covid-19, and the associated state lockdown, on rural lives in a former homeland in South Africa. The 2020 Disaster Management Act saw the state sweep through rural areas, targeting funerals and other customary practices as potential 'super-spreader' events. This unprecedented clampdown produced widespread disruption, fear and anxiety. The authors build on path-breaking work concerning local responses to West Africa's Ebola epidemic, and examine the HIV/AIDS pandemic, to understand the impact of the Covid crisis on these communities, and on rural Africa more broadly.

To shed light on the role of custom and ritual in rural social change during the pandemic, *Covid and Custom in Rural South Africa* applies long-term historical and ethnographic research; theories of people's science, local knowledge and the human economy; and fieldwork conducted in ten rural South African communities during lockdown. The volume highlights differences between developments in Southern Africa and elsewhere on the continent, while exploring how the former apartheid homelands—commonly, yet problematically, represented as former 'labour reserves'—have since been reconstituted as new home-spaces. In short, it explains why rural people have been so angered by the state's assault on their cultural practices and institutions in the time of Covid.

**Leslie Bank**, Adjunct Professor of Social Anthropology at Walter Sisulu University, is in the South African Human Sciences Research Council's Inclusive Economic Development division. **Nelly Sharpley** is a medical sociologist. Formerly head of Social Sciences at Walter Sisulu University, she now leads Special Projects in the office of the vice-chancellor.



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Reveals how, in South Africa's villages, heavy-handed pandemic policies and governmental communication failures have clashed with culture and tradition.



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**Reveals the Angolan state's intrusion into citizens' lives in the name of security, in stark contrast with governmental neglect in addressing poverty and marginalisation.**

**PAULA CRISTINA ROQUE**

# Governing in the Shadows

## Angola's Securitised State

This book traces three decades of securitisation in Angola. As a governing strategy during war and peacetime, it muted the aspirations of those on opposing sides, distorted the state, emboldened elites and redefined the identity of Angolans. Through this lens, Paula Cristina Roque provides an original account of Angola's post-conflict state-building.

Securitisation protected the interests of President dos Santos, the ruling MPLA party and the elites supporting the regime. Angola's array of security forces and infrastructure provided an alternative to a fully functioning executive, at national, provincial and local levels. The intrusive way in which any form of dissent or activism was crushed allowed the presidency to control the direction and narrative of the post-war years. But the facade of democracy, development and stability hid a very different reality for the majority of Angolans, who remained poor, disenfranchised and marginalised.

Roque explores the inner workings of the intelligence services, army and presidential guard, explaining the trajectory of a survivalist and fearful regime presiding over scarcities and injustices. She shows that the survival of national security and governing elites was the highest priority. The 'shadows' held far more power than institutions, and weakened them—widening the gap between government and governed.

**Paula Cristina Roque** has been an independent analyst on Angola for two decades. She has worked for the Crisis Management Initiative established by Martti Ahtisaari; the South Sudan Centre for Strategic and Policy Studies, Juba; and the International Crisis Group, as senior analyst for Southern Africa (Angola and Mozambique).

WILLOW BERRIDGE,  
ALEX DE WAAL & JUSTIN LYNCH

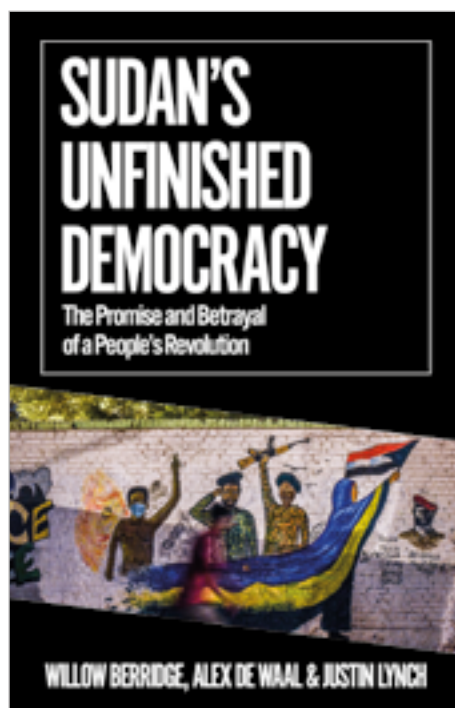
# Sudan's Unfinished Democracy

## The Promise and Betrayal of a People's Revolution

This book tells the story of the Sudanese revolution of 2019; of how it succeeded in bringing down the long-standing rule of President Omar al-Bashir; and of the troubled transitional civilian-led government that was installed in his place. It sets the scrupulously non-violent uprising in its historical context, showing how the protesters drew upon the precedents of earlier civic revolutions and adapted their practices to the challenges of the al-Bashir regime. The book also explores how that regime was brought to its knees through its inability to manage the intersecting economic and political crises caused by the secession of South Sudan and the loss of oil revenue, alongside the uncontrolled expansion of a sprawling security apparatus.

The civilian protesters called for—and expected—a total transformation of Sudanese politics, but they found themselves grappling with a still-dominant cabal of generals, who had powerful regional backers and a strong hold over the economy. Internally divided, and faced with a deepening economic crisis, the civilian government led by Prime Minister Abdalla Hamdok has found itself in office, but with less and less real power, unable to change the conduct of political business as usual.

**Willow Berridge** PhD is a lecturer in History at Newcastle University. **Alex de Waal** is Executive Director of the World Peace Foundation. **Justin Lynch** is a writer and researcher living in Sudan.



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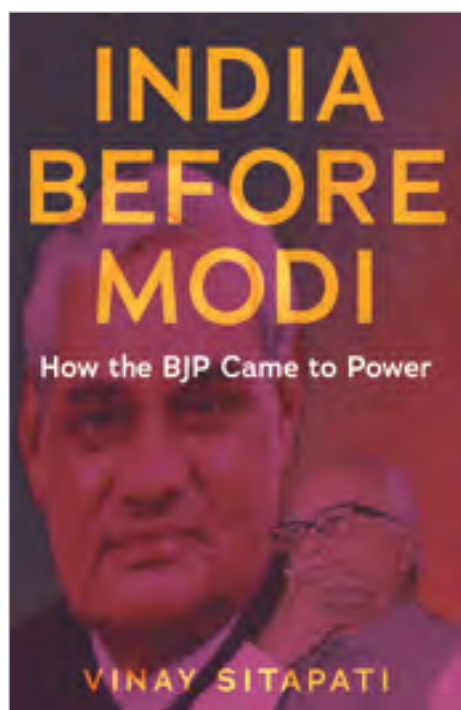
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Politics

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The historical background, key events and troubled aftermath of the Sudanese revolution: where can the democracy movement go from here?





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An engagingly written  
account of how India's  
political landscape has  
been reshaped by Hindu  
nationalism.

VINAY SITAPATI

# India Before Modi

## How the BJP Came to Power

Narendra Modi has been a hundred years in the making, and this book provides the backstory. It begins with the creation of Hindu nationalism, moves on to the 1980 formation of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), and ends with its first national administration, from 1998 to 2004. By revisiting these events, we can trace the Modi government's current dominance of Indian politics all the way back to its origins.

Vinay Sitapati follows this journey through the entangled lives of the party's founding fathers: Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Lal Krishna Advani. Over their six-decade-long relationship, Vajpayee and Advani worked as a team, despite differences in personality and beliefs. Bound together by RSS discipline and shared ambition—for a Hinduised Indian polity—their partnership explains the nature of the BJP before Modi, and why it won power.

In supporting roles are a colourful cast of characters, from the warden's wife who made room for Vajpayee in her family to the billionaire grandson of Pakistan's founder, who happened to be a major early BJP benefactor. Based on private papers, party documents, newspapers and over 200 interviews, this is a must-read for all those interested in the Hindu nationalist ideology that now rules India.

**Vinay Sitapati** is Assistant Professor of Political Science and Legal Studies at Ashoka University. He holds degrees from the National Law School Bangalore and Harvard, and a Politics PhD from Princeton. His first book, a bestselling biography of Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao, was an *Economist* Book of the Year.

PATRICK LAUDE

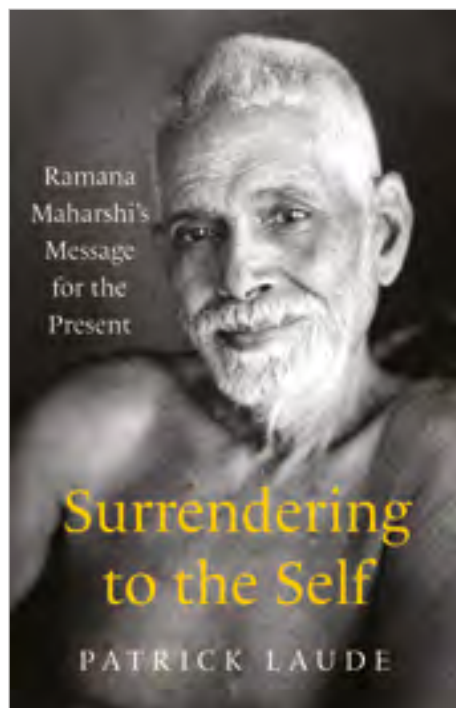
# Surrendering to the Self

## Ramana Maharshi's Message for the Present

The Indian sage Ramana Maharshi (1879–1950) is perhaps the most widely known Indian spiritual figure of the last century, second only to Gandhi. This new book offers a fresh introduction to the Maharshi's life and teachings, intending to situate him within the non-dualistic traditions of Hinduism. It also delves into themes and questions particularly relevant to the spiritual crisis and search for meaning that have characterised, in various ways, both the modern and postmodern outlooks.

While the Maharshi's background and frames of reference were traditional, the spiritual resonance of his teachings in today's world must also be recognised. The sage's message lies at the intersection of the contemporary search for Self-knowledge, and today's critical reflections on the foundations and limits of religion. Thus, the book comprises seven chapters that touch upon such central issues as the role of religion in Self-inquiry; the relationship between devotion and knowledge; the role and limitations of traditional forms; and the implications in our postmodern era of both the Maharshi's emphasis on surrender, and his basic question: 'Who am I?'

**Patrick Laude** is a professor at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service in Qatar, where he teaches Religious Studies. He studied at the Université Paris-Sorbonne, the Ecole Normale Supérieure and Indiana University, and is the author of over a dozen books on mysticism and esoteric religion.



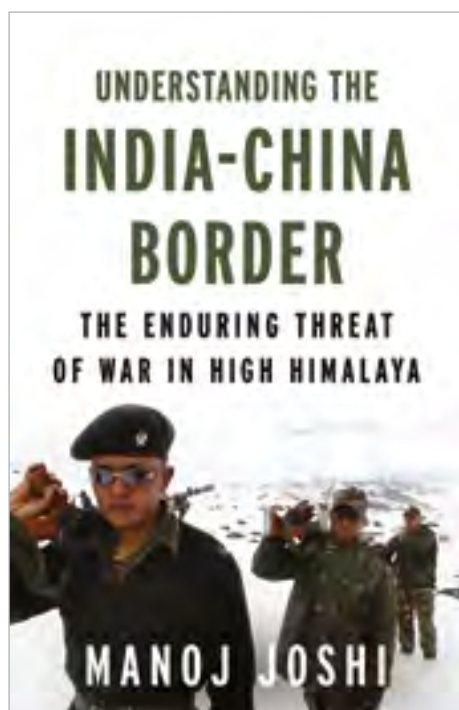
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**A close examination of how Ramana Maharshi conceived of religion in general and how he situated it within the framework of Hindu Self-knowledge.**

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**A revealing history of  
 six decades of mutual  
 suspicion, hostility and  
 military manoeuvring  
 along a cold and largely  
 inhospitable frontier.**

**MANOJ JOSHI**

# Understanding the India–China Border

## The Enduring Threat of War in High Himalaya

In the summer of 2020, China and India came near to war. The nuclear-armed adversaries both massed troops and equipment along their disputed border in eastern Ladakh. The two sides slugged it out with fists, stones and clubs, next to a fast-flowing Himalayan stream, resulting in dozens of deaths and injuries, many from hypothermia.

The entire 4,000-kilometre Sino-Indian boundary is disputed. In 1962, the two countries fought a short and vicious war that went badly for India, and from which Nehru never recovered. The border, called the Line of Actual Control, is not marked on any map agreed upon by the two sides; it runs through the largely unpopulated and inhospitable high mountains of the Himalayas. From the 1990s, as Beijing and New Delhi sought to resolve their seemingly intractable border dispute, an elaborate system of agreements kept the situation akin to a kettle on a slow boil.

But the kettle is now boiling over. The two rising Asian giants, both led by strongly nationalistic regimes, neither of which wishes to blink first, are seeking geopolitical and strategic advantage. This timely book explains what is happening on ‘the roof of the world’; and why that matters for us all.

**Manoj Joshi** is a distinguished fellow at the Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi, and the author of *The Lost Rebellion: Kashmir in the Nineties*. An Indian journalist who has reported and commented extensively on China, he also holds a PhD from Jawaharlal Nehru University.

AMISH RAJ MULMI

# All Roads Lead North

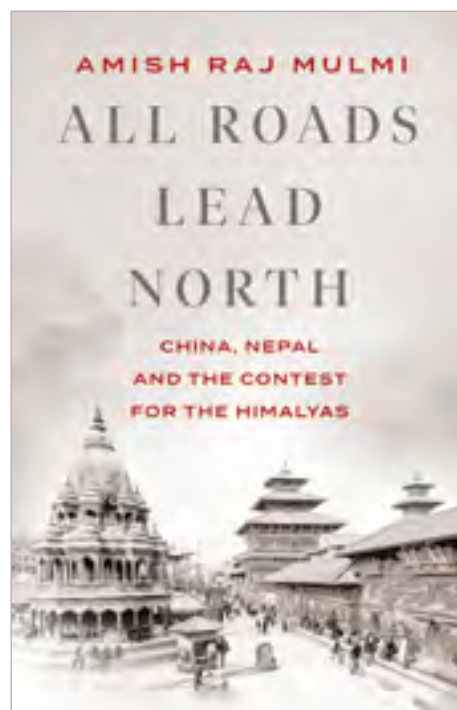
## China, Nepal and the Contest for the Himalayas

During the June 2020 territorial dispute over Kalapani, India blamed tensions on a newly assertive Nepal's deepening relations with China. But beyond the accusations and grandstanding, this reflects a new reality: the power equations in South Asia have been redrawn, to make space for China.

Nepal did not turn northwards overnight. Its ties with China have deep historical roots built on Buddhism, dating to the early first millennium. While India's unofficial 2015 blockade provided momentum to the rift with Delhi, Nepal has long wanted deeper ties with Beijing, to counteract India's oppressive intimacy. With China's growing South Asian and global ambitions, Nepal now has a new primary bilateral partner—and Nepalis are forging a path towards modernity with its help, both in the remote borderlands and in the cities.

*All Roads Lead North* offers a long view of Nepal's foreign relations, today underpinned by China's world-power status. Sharing never-before-told stories about Tibetan guerrilla fighters, failed coup leaders and trans-Himalayan traders, Nepal analyst Amish Raj Mulmi examines the histories binding mountain communities together across the Sino-Nepali border. Part history, part journalistic account, Mulmi's is a complex, compelling and rigorously researched study of a small country caught between two neighbourhood giants.

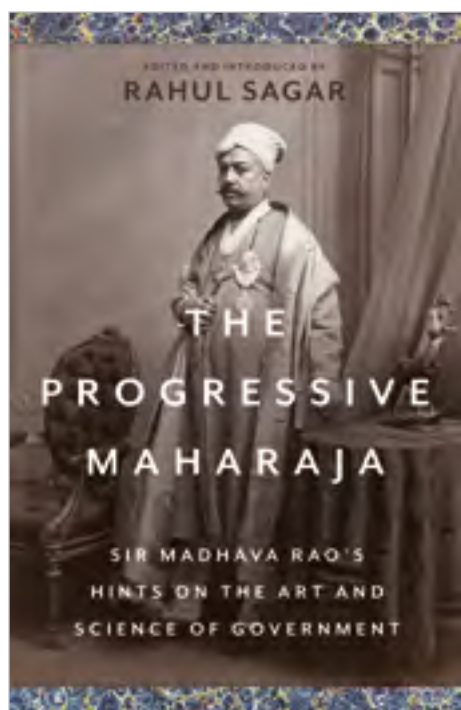
Amish Raj Mulmi's writings have been published in *The Himalayan Arc: Journeys East of South-east* and *The Best Asian Speculative Fiction* 2018; and by Al Jazeera; *Roads & Kingdoms*; *Himal Southasian*; *India Today*; *The Kathmandu Post* and *The Record*. He is from Pokhara in Nepal. This is his first book.



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A Nepali writer reflects  
on what the suffocating  
embrace of both India  
and China has done to his  
homeland.





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**A revelatory vernacular  
contribution to the history  
of Indian statecraft and  
political thought, written  
in opposition to the  
colonial order.**

**RAHUL SAGAR (ed.)**

# The Progressive Maharaja

## Sir Madhava Rao's Hints on the Art and Science of Government

*Hints on the Art and Science of Government* was the first treatise on statecraft produced in modern India. It consists of lectures that Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao delivered in 1881 to Sayaji Rao Gaekwad III, the young Maharaja of Baroda. Universally considered the foremost Indian statesman of the nineteenth century, Madhava Rao had served as *dewan* (or prime minister) in the native states of Travancore, Indore and Baroda. Under his command, Travancore and Baroda came to be seen as 'model states', whose progress demonstrated that Indians were capable of governing well.

Rao's lectures summarise the fundamental principles underlying his unprecedented success. He explains how and why a Maharaja ought to marry the classical Indian ideal of *raj dharma*, which enjoins rulers to govern dutifully, with the modern English ideal of limited sovereignty. This makes *Hints* an exceptionally important text: it shows how, outside the confines of British India, Indians consciously and creatively sought to revise and adapt ideals in the interests of progress.

This landmark edition contains both the newly rediscovered, original lecture manuscripts; and an authoritative introduction, outlining Rao's remarkable career, his complicated relationship with Sayaji Rao III, and the reasons why his lectures have been neglected—until now.

**Rahul Sagar** is Global Network Associate Professor of Political Science at New York University Abu Dhabi. He previously taught at Princeton University and Yale-NUS College. His first book, *Secrets and Leaks: The Dilemma of State Secrecy*, was awarded the Myres S. McDougal Prize and the Louis Brownlow Book Award.

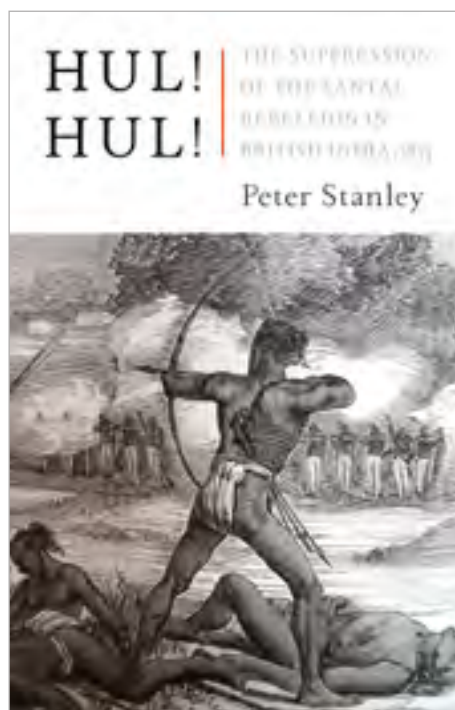
PETER STANLEY

**Hul! Hul!****The Suppression of the  
Santal Rebellion in  
British India, 1855**

If not for the famous Indian mutiny-rebellion of 1857, the Santal 'Hul' (rebellion) of 1855 would today be remembered as the most serious uprising that the East India Company ever faced. Instead, this rebellion—to which 10 per cent of the Bengal Army's infantry was committed and in which at least 10,000 Santals died—has been forgotten. While its memory lived among Santals, British officers published little about it, and most of the sepoys involved died in 1857. In the words of one British officer, the Hul was 'not war ... but execution', and perhaps thus was dismissed as unworthy of attention by military historians.

Drawing for the first time on the Bengal officers' voluminous reports on its suppression, Peter Stanley has produced the first comprehensive interpretation of the Hul, investigating why it occurred, how it was fought and why it ended as it did. Despite the Bengal Army virtually inventing counterinsurgency operations in the field (and the Santals improvising their first war), the Hul came to an end amid starvation and disease. But between its bloody outbreak, its protracted suppression and its far-reaching effects, Stanley demonstrates that the Hul was more than just 'execution'—it was indeed a war.

**Peter Stanley** is Professor of History at UNSW Canberra and has been a winner of the Prime Minister's Prize for Australian History. He has published over thirty-five books on Australian military-social history and on British India, including *White Mutiny: British Military Culture in India, 1825–75*, also published by Hurst.



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**A groundbreaking  
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against the British in the  
East India Company era.**



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The story of how India  
 came to embrace an  
 exclusionary form of  
 Hindu nationalism, from  
 one of the country's most  
 distinguished historians.

TANIKA SARKAR

## Hindu Nationalism in India

In the twenty-first century, there has been a seismic shift in Indian political, religious and social life. The country's guiding spirit was formerly a fusion of the anti-caste worldview of B.R. Ambedkar; the inclusive Hinduism of Mahatma Gandhi; and the agnostic secularism of Jawaharlal Nehru. Today, that fusion has given way to Hindutva.

This now-dominant version of Hinduism blends the militant nationalism of V.D. Savarkar; the Brahmanical anti-minorityism of M.S. Golwalkar; and the global Islamophobia of India's ruling regime. It requires deep cultural analysis and historical understanding, as only the sharpest and most profoundly informed historian can provide.

For two decades, Tanika Sarkar has forged a path through the alleys and byways of Hindutva. She has trawled through the writing and iconography of its organisations and institutions, including RSS schools and VHP temples. She has visited the offices and homes of Hindutva's votaries, interviewing men and women who believe fervently in their mission of Hinduising India. And she has contextualised this new ferment on the ground with her formidable archival knowledge of Hindutva's origins and development over 150 years, from Bankimchandra to the Babri mosque and beyond. This riveting book connects Hindu religious nationalism with the cultural politics of everyday India.

**Tanika Sarkar's** books include *Hindu Wife*, *Hindu Nation*, also published by Hurst, and *Rebels*, *Wives*, *Saints*. Prior to her retirement, she was professor of History at Jawaharlal Nehru University.

SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN

# The Prison Diaries

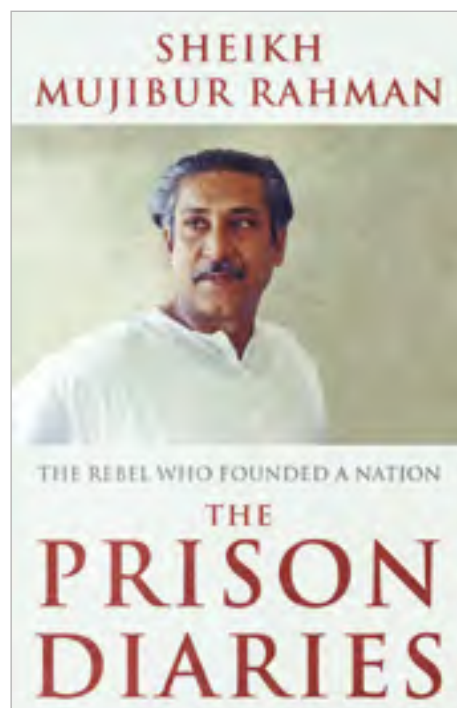
## The Rebel Who Founded a Nation

Translated by FAKRUL ALAM

Born in 1920, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman studied law. One of the founders of the Awami League in 1949, he later led his party to an absolute majority in the 1970 election, a key event in the emergence of Bangladesh. On 7 March 1971 he called for a non-cooperation movement, proclaiming: 'This struggle is the struggle for freedom; this struggle is the struggle for independence.' Later that month he issued a declaration of independence and was arrested by the Pakistan Army. Following the Bangladesh Liberation War of 1971, which occurred while he was still in jail in Pakistan, he became prime minister of Bangladesh in 1972 and president from 1975.

On 15 August that year, he and his family were brutally assassinated at home by a group of renegade Bangladesh Army officers. Soldiers ransacked the whole house, but—thinking that Mujib's notebooks were of no interest—left them behind. These revealing diaries, which Mujib had entitled 'A plate, a bowl and a blanket are the only things one gets in prison', were later found among the debris.

**Sheikh Mujibur Rahman** spent almost one fifth of his life in Pakistani jails, on five separate occasions. His diaries, covering the years of his incarceration from 1966 to 1968, constitute a significant addition to the history of Bangladesh and the genre of prison memoirs.



### REANNOUNCING

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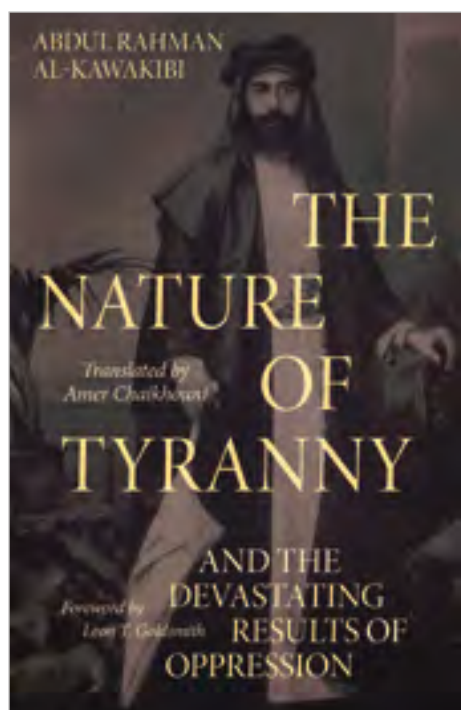
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An unflinching account of life in a Pakistani prison, by a founding leader and the first elected prime minister of Bangladesh.





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A pathbreaking analysis  
 of tyranny by one of  
 the nineteenth century's  
 most prominent Arab  
 intellectuals, now  
 published in English for  
 the first time.

ABDUL RAHMAN AL-KAWAKIBI

# The Nature of Tyranny

and the Devastating Results  
 of Oppression

Translated by AMER CHAIKHOUNI

Foreword by LEON T. GOLDSMITH

*The Nature of Tyranny* was written and published at the dawn of the twentieth century by Abdul Rahman Al-Kawakibi, one of the pioneering thinkers of the Arab world. More than a century later, another Arab awakening exploded, led by a new generation of youth who chanted Al-Kawakibi's words in revolutionary cries from Aleppo, his hometown, to Cairo's Tahrir Square.

Today this seminal text appears in English for the first time, with a foreword from Leon T. Goldsmith offering an overview of Al-Kawakibi's intellectual contributions. The first chapter of the text provides a definition of tyranny, presenting it as akin to a sickness or malaise that seeps into all classes of society, leaving behind decay. The following seven chapters apply this conception of tyranny to what Al-Kawakibi sees as society's crucial elements: religion, knowledge, honour, economy, ethics and progress. Having laid a theoretical framework for understanding the centrality of tyranny, its characteristics and its devastating effects, Al-Kawakibi concludes by setting forth a brief programme for remedying the 'disease' of tyranny. The final chapter outlines another book in which he had planned to elaborate upon his ideas—but, ultimately, his fate arrived too soon.

**Abdul Rahman Al-Kawakibi** was born in 1854 in Syria and had a traditional education, studying law and learning several languages. His writing on tyranny and injustice in the Ottoman Empire remains influential among reformists across the Arab and Muslim world today. He died in 1902 under mysterious circumstances.

MATTHEW HEDGES

# Reinventing the Sheikhdом

## Clan, Power and Patronage in the UAE

Though the Arab Spring has reverberated through the Middle East, largely leaving a path of destruction, the relative calm in the United Arab Emirates has offered a regional roadmap for stability. Domestic changes since 2000 have significantly altered the country's dynamics, firmly cementing power within Abu Dhabi. While Khalifa bin Zayed succeeded his father as emir of Abu Dhabi and UAE president in 2004, the Emirates' evolution has largely been accredited to Abu Dhabi's crown prince, Mohammed bin Zayed. His reign has been characterised by the rise of the security apparatus and a micromanaged approach to governance.

Mohammed bin Zayed's strategy of fortification has focused on pre-empting threats from the UAE's native population, rather than from expatriates or foreign actors. As a result, he has consolidated power, distributing its administration among his tribal and kinship allies. In essence, Mohammed bin Zayed has driven modernisation in order to strengthen his grasp on power.

This book explores Mohammed bin Zayed's regime security strategy, illustrating the network of alliances that seek to support his reign and that of his family. In an ever-turbulent region, the UAE remains critical to understanding the evolution of Middle Eastern authoritarian control.

**Matthew Hedges** is an academic focusing on authoritarian regimes, with an emphasis on the monarchies of the Arabian Peninsula. While conducting fieldwork research for his PhD in the UAE, he was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment under the charge of espionage. He was awarded his doctorate by Durham University.



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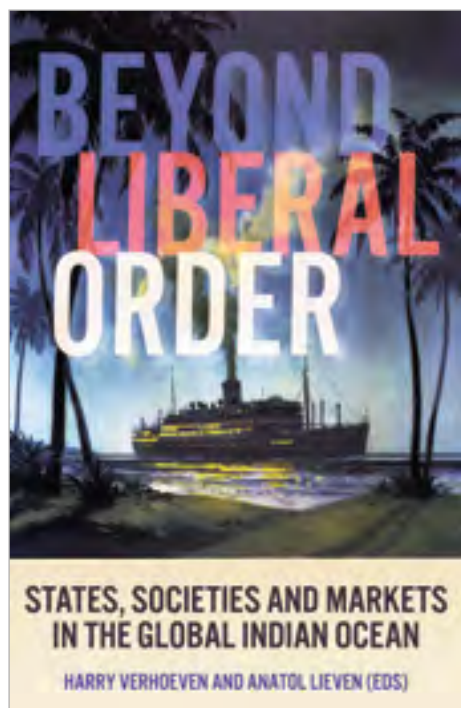
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**A compelling examination of how MBZ has exploited personal networks in his drive for power in the UAE.**



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**A sharp analysis of the many cultures, religions and political systems of the 'Global Indian Ocean', the world's most unpredictable macro-region.**

**HARRY VERHOEVEN**  
& **ANATOL LIEVEN** (eds)

## Beyond Liberal Order

### States, Societies and Markets in the Global Indian Ocean

What does liberal order actually amount to outside the West, where it has been most institutionalised? Contrary to the Atlantic or Pacific, liberal hegemony is thin in the Indian Ocean World; there are no equivalents of NATO, the EU or the US–Japan defence relationship.

Yet what this book calls the 'Global Indian Ocean' was the beating heart of earlier epochs of globalisation, where experiments in international order, market integration and cosmopolitanisms were pioneered. Moreover, it is in this macro-region that today's challenges will face their defining hour: climate change, pandemics, and the geopolitical contest pitting China and Pakistan against the USA and India. The Global Indian Ocean states represent the greatest range of political systems and ideologies in any region, from Hindu-nationalist India and nascent democracy in Indonesia and South Africa, to the Gulf's mixture of tribal monarchy and high modernism.

These essays by leading scholars examine key aspects of political order, and their roots in the colonial and pre-colonial past, through the lenses of state-building, nationalism, international security, religious identity and economic development. The emergent lessons are of great importance for the world, as the 'global' liberal order fades and new alternatives struggle to be born.

**Harry Verhoeven** is a senior advisor at the European Institute of Peace, and the founder and Convenor of the Oxford University China–Africa Network. He holds a DPhil from Oxford. **Anatol Lieven** is a British author, Orwell Prize-winning journalist and policy analyst, and a professor at Georgetown University, Qatar.

LEONIE B. JACKSON

# The Monstrous and the Vulnerable

## Framing British Jihadi Brides

In June 2014, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi declared an Islamic State in Iraq and Syria and called for Muslims around the world to migrate there. Over the next five years, around 150 women left the UK to heed this invitation, and the so-called 'jihadi brides' were rarely out of the news. This book traces the media fascination with those who joined the 'caliphate', including Sally Jones, Aqsa Mahmood and Shamima Begum.

Through an analysis of the media that presented the 'brides' for public consumption, Leonie B. Jackson reveals the gendered dualistic construction of IS women as either monstrous or vulnerable. Just as the monstrous woman was sensationalised as irredeemably evil, the vulnerable girl was represented as groomed and naïve. Both subjects were constructed in such a way that women's involvement in jihadism was detached from men's, scrutinised more closely, and explained through gender stereotypes that both erased the agency of female extremists and neglected their stated motivations.

As Jackson demonstrates, these media representations also contributed to the development of new norms for dealing with the 'brides', including targeted killing and the revocation of citizenship. While the vulnerable girl was potentially redeemable, the monstrous woman was increasingly considered expendable.

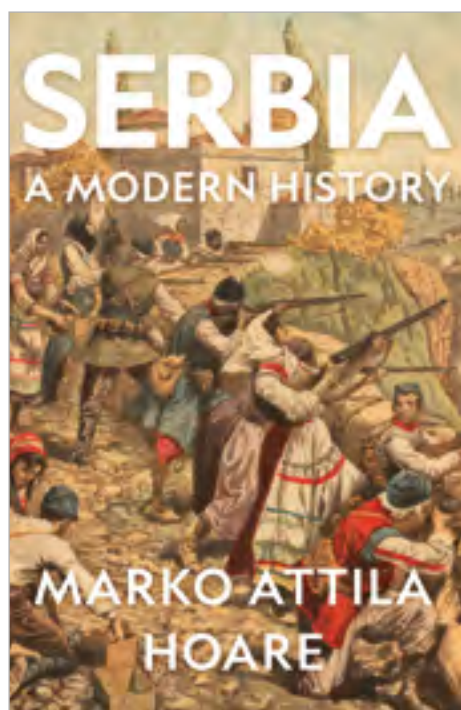
**Leonie B. Jackson** is Senior Lecturer in International Relations at Northumbria University. She is the author of *Islamophobia in Britain: The Making of a Muslim Enemy* and serves on the editorial board of the journal *Critical Studies on Terrorism*.



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**A perceptive examination  
of how the media reduces  
British jihadi brides to  
dualistic stereotypes.**





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A definitive account of  
 a fiercely independent  
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 was long shaped by the  
 Great Powers.

MARKO ATTILA HOARE

## Serbia

### A Modern History

This is the first in-depth, English-language history of modern Serbia in nearly half a century. It covers the period from the Serbian state's revolutionary rebirth in the early nineteenth century, under the rebel leaders Karađorđe Petrović and Miloš Obrenović; its turbulent history of wars, uprisings and dynastic rivalries; the triumph of Yugoslav unification in 1918; and the catastrophe of occupation by Nazi Germany in 1941. It shows how the birth of the modern nation-state involved the creation of a new elite—dynasty, army and bureaucracy—whose rule over the peasantry generated a popular resistance that would ultimately take form in Nikola Pašić's mighty People's Radical Party. The resulting struggle between elitist Westernisers and pro-Russian populists became entwined with the struggle for pan-Serb and Yugoslav liberation and unification. These causes came together with the Sarajevo assassination of 1914, which triggered the First World War.

Existing histories of the Yugoslav kingdom that emerged from that war focus on the national conflict between Serbs, Croats, Bosnian Muslims and others, but Marko Attila Hoare challenges this narrative. He shows how the new kingdom's politics continued to be dominated by the ongoing internal Serbian power struggle, bringing renewed disaster to Yugoslavia and its peoples.

**Marko Attila Hoare** is Professor of History at the Sarajevo School of Science and Technology. He studied at Cambridge and Yale and has been researching the history of the former Yugoslavia since the early 1990s. His books include *The Bosnian Muslims in the Second World War*, also published by Hurst.

JO ROBERTSON

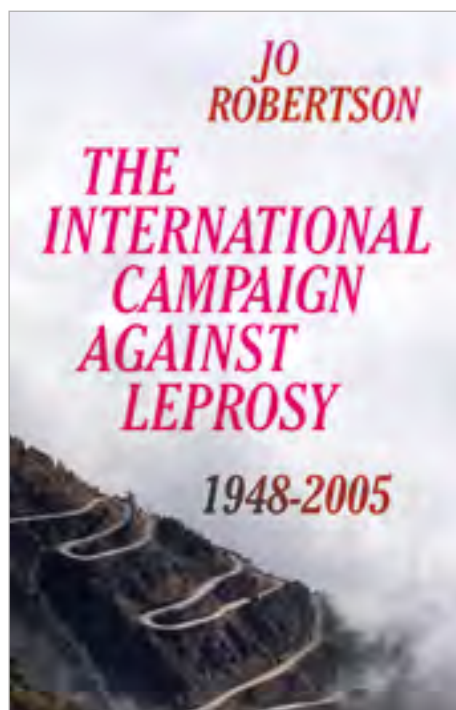
# The International Campaign Against Leprosy 1948–2005

This book may offer a cautionary tale in the age of Covid-19. The narratives we shape around disease in society are so often about politics, and the competing versions of leprosy eradication's story are no exception.

In one telling, the extra-budgetary funding for anti-leprosy work came with unwarranted interference in the WHO programme, resulting in an over-hasty, acrimonious and ultimately unsuccessful elimination campaign. In another interpretation, a great work of twentieth-century disease control was accomplished, through extraordinary philanthropy, visionary courageousness, and wily and pragmatic diplomacy. In yet another, experienced, self-sacrificing anti-leprosy experts refused to abdicate their professional responsibilities to populist campaigns more concerned with statistics than people, which were risking patients' health with under-trialled drug therapies and irresponsibly entrusting medication to patients without supervision.

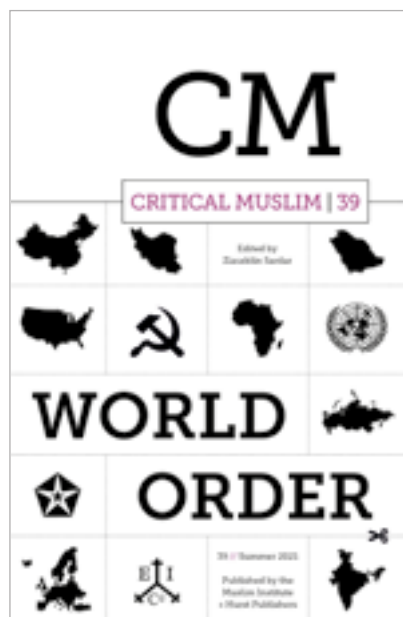
None of these bureaucratic, triumphalist or elitist narratives exists independently of the others. None is without credit, and none is to the complete credit of all involved. These competing stories offer uncanny resonances in the ongoing politics of public health, which have only intensified since both the emergence of *M. Leprae* millennia ago, and the concerted campaign against it in the last seventy years. What could the 'stories of leprosy' tell us about our pandemic response?

A University of Queensland graduate, **Jo Robertson** has worked on the International Leprosy Association's Global Project on the History of Leprosy at the University of Oxford, and conducted research into the WHO leprosy archives while based at the University of Geneva. She most recently published on immigration, leprosy and nation.



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**Examines how humanity has responded to the disease in the crucial second half of the twentieth century.**



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ZIAUDDIN SARDAR (ed.)

## Critical Muslim 39: World Order

It is a tragedy that we only appreciate what has already been lost—this is where the concept of a ‘world order’ first arises in historical memory. The ordering of the world has been a notion observed by historians and thinkers throughout the ages and around the globe. Rises and falls have provided incentives for the categorisation of civilisations, and other forms of global ordering. The West’s control of history, its power over the present, and its attempts to colonise the future are coming to an end, and a new narrative is about to emerge. Amidst environmental apocalypse, the end of Western dominance and unbridled technological advancement, this issue of *Critical Muslim* analyses the terms of world order, exposing its problems and limitations, and asks what will define it next, as the world begs for something truly new.



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ZIAUDDIN SARDAR (ed.)

## Critical Muslim 40: Biography

As *Critical Muslim* celebrates ten years of insight and thought, the theme of biography fittingly challenges its readers: to reflect on our past, our memories and our stories, and to look ahead towards what we may leave behind for the stories yet to be told. Stories have always been an essential aspect of human society—from the cave paintings in Sulawesi, dating back over 43,000 years, and oral tales conveyed from bard to audience, to the written word, and now the projected image, on screens large and small. As memory and history become increasingly important for a deeper understanding of the present and our emerging futures, this issue explores how biography allows for something more personal—for the myths and fables of childhood to come to life—and offers snapshots of history to be opened up. We explore a rich historical tradition of biography in Islamic societies, and explore the ways biographies have influenced Muslim thought and culture. Through biography, we can learn much about ourselves, by stepping out of our own worlds and taking on the lives of others.

WILLIAM J. BURNS

# The Back Channel

## American Diplomacy in a Disordered World

A *New Statesman* Book of the Year, chosen by Ivan Krastev

‘A masterful diplomatic memoir.’ — *The Washington Post*

‘Burns ranks among the foremost American diplomats of his generation, serving five presidents and 10 secretaries of state. His memoir is a plain-spoken defence of an unfashionable craft ... refreshingly candid.’ — *Financial Times*

‘Bill Burns is a treasure of American diplomacy who provides another great act of public service by giving us a smart, plain-spoken account of America’s changing role in the world and the power and purpose of American diplomacy at its best.’ — Hillary Clinton

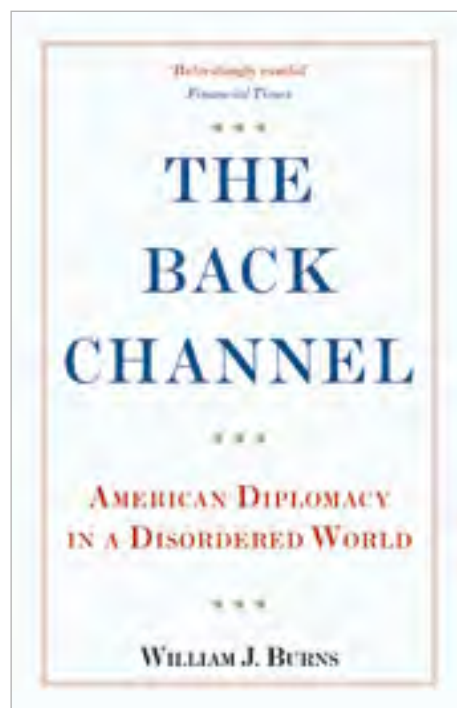
‘One of those rare intelligent and clearly written books that makes you believe that diplomacy ... is still critical for our survival.’ — *New Statesman*

‘[Burns’] beautifully written book, rich in pen portraits, anecdote and description, is also a meticulous record of three and a half decades of diplomatic history.’ — *The Irish Times*



**Ambassador William J. Burns**, known as America’s ‘secret diplomatic weapon’, has been central to the past four decades’ most consequential foreign policy episodes. He later served as president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and in 2021 was

nominated Director of the Central Intelligence Agency by President Joe Biden.



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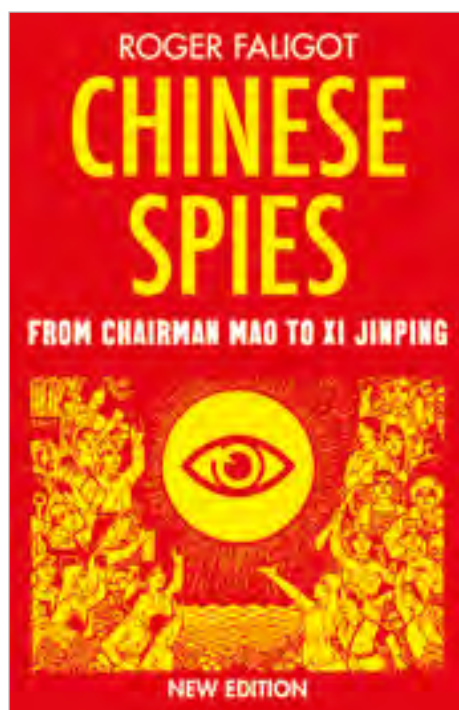
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A powerful case for the enduring value of diplomacy from one of America’s most distinguished statesmen.





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Are the Chinese secret  
 services now the most  
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ROGER FALIGOT

## Chinese Spies

From Chairman Mao to  
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Translated by NATASHA LEHRER

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‘Faligot has an encyclopedic knowledge of the history of China’s spy agencies ... contains many fascinating stories.’ — *Financial Times*

‘Mr Faligot writes evocatively ... [an] engrossing book.’ — *The Economist*



**Roger Faligot** is an investigative journalist and author of many books on European and Asian intelligence, including *The Chinese Mafia in Europe* and *La Piscine*, the first history of France’s secret services. He has been a correspondent for *The European*, and Far East correspondent for *Intelligence Online* (1993–2018).

KAROLINE KAN

# Under Red Skies

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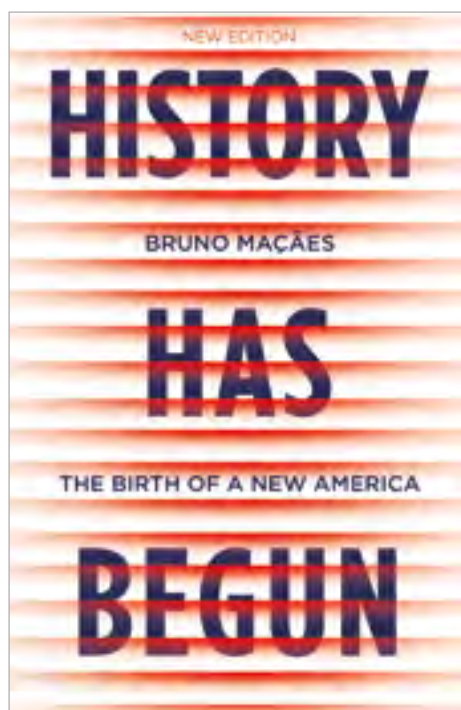
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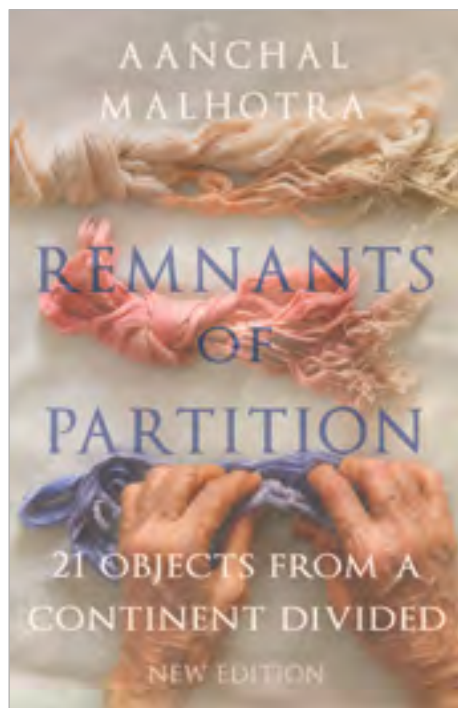
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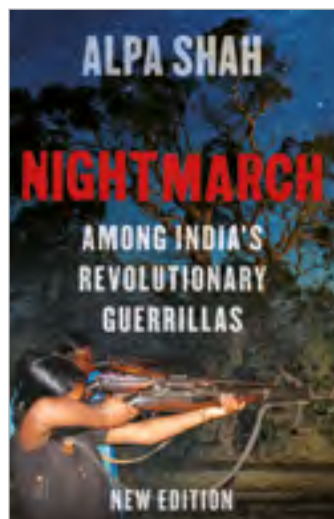
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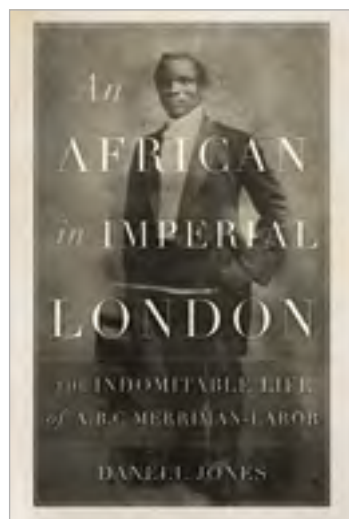
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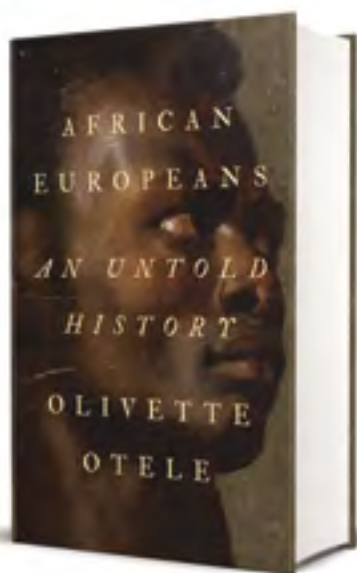


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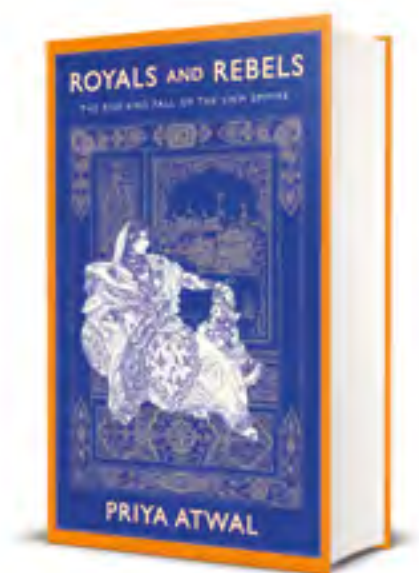
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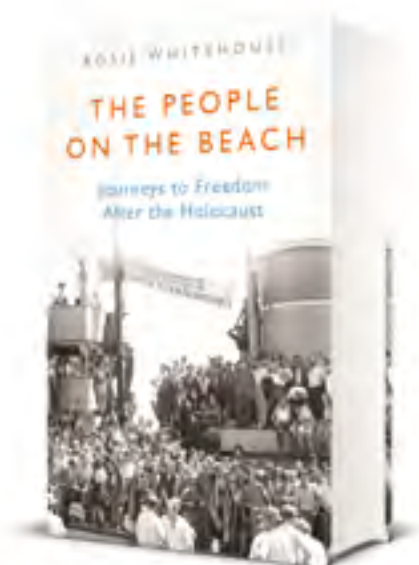
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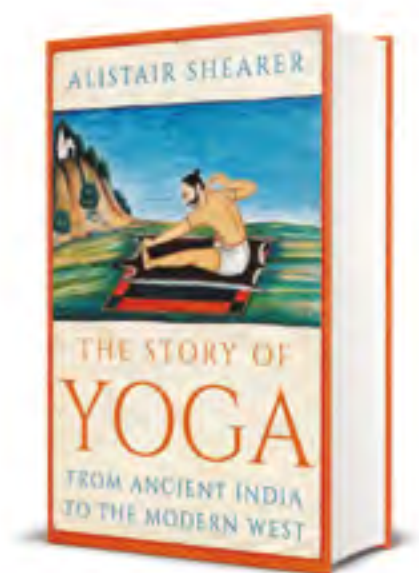
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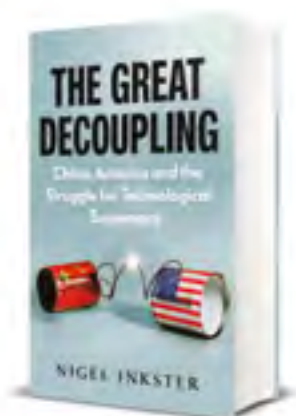
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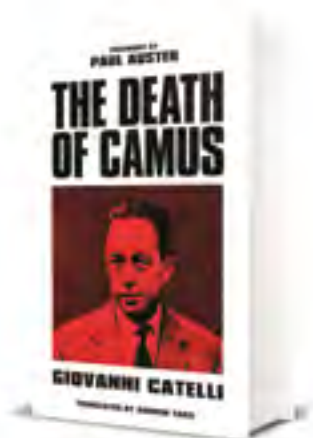
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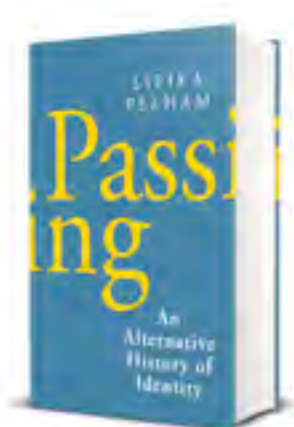
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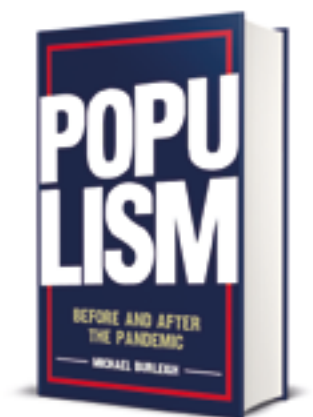
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