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PHIL TINLINE

The Death of Consensus

100 Years of British Political Nightmares

Over Britain's first century of mass democracy, politics lurched from crisis to crisis. How does this history of broken consensus and political agony illuminate our current age of upheaval?

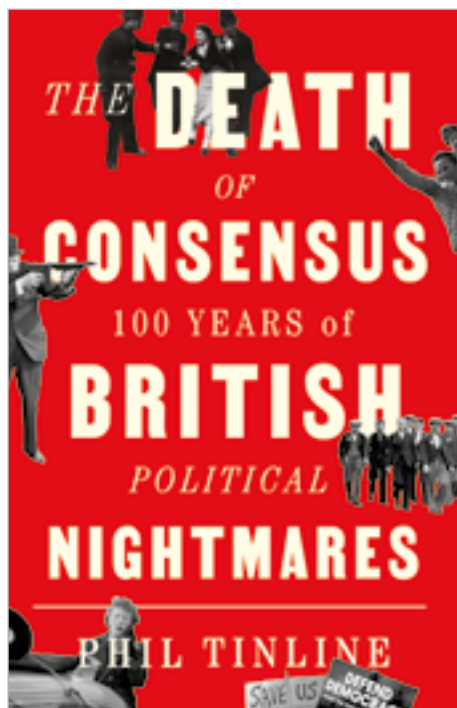
Historians usually focus on the dawn of a new consensus—postwar Keynesianism, or Thatcherite neoliberalism. Yet journalist Phil Tinline argues that we should be more interested in the periods of turmoil and misery in between. How did the Great Depression's spectres of fascism, bombing and mass unemployment force politicians to think the unthinkable? Why do we only remember Thatcher's triumph, and not the decade-long nightmares of hyperinflation, military coups and communist dictatorship that made it possible? And how, since 2008, have we and our leaders come to be paralysed and deeply divided once again?

Tinline brings to life two previous moments when the great compromise holding democracy together began to crumble; when the political class could agree only that the old era was dead, and imagine nothing but the ominous and the unacceptable. This lively, original account of panic, torpor and chaos reveals the birth pains of a new political settlement, giving hope that fresh ideas might yet take hold. *The Death of Consensus* will make you see British democracy differently.



Phil Tinline works for BBC Radio; he has made and presented many acclaimed documentaries about how political history shapes our lives. Formerly executive producer of Radio 4's award-winning investigative

history series, *Document*, he has written for *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *BBC History Magazine* and the *New Statesman*.



June 2022

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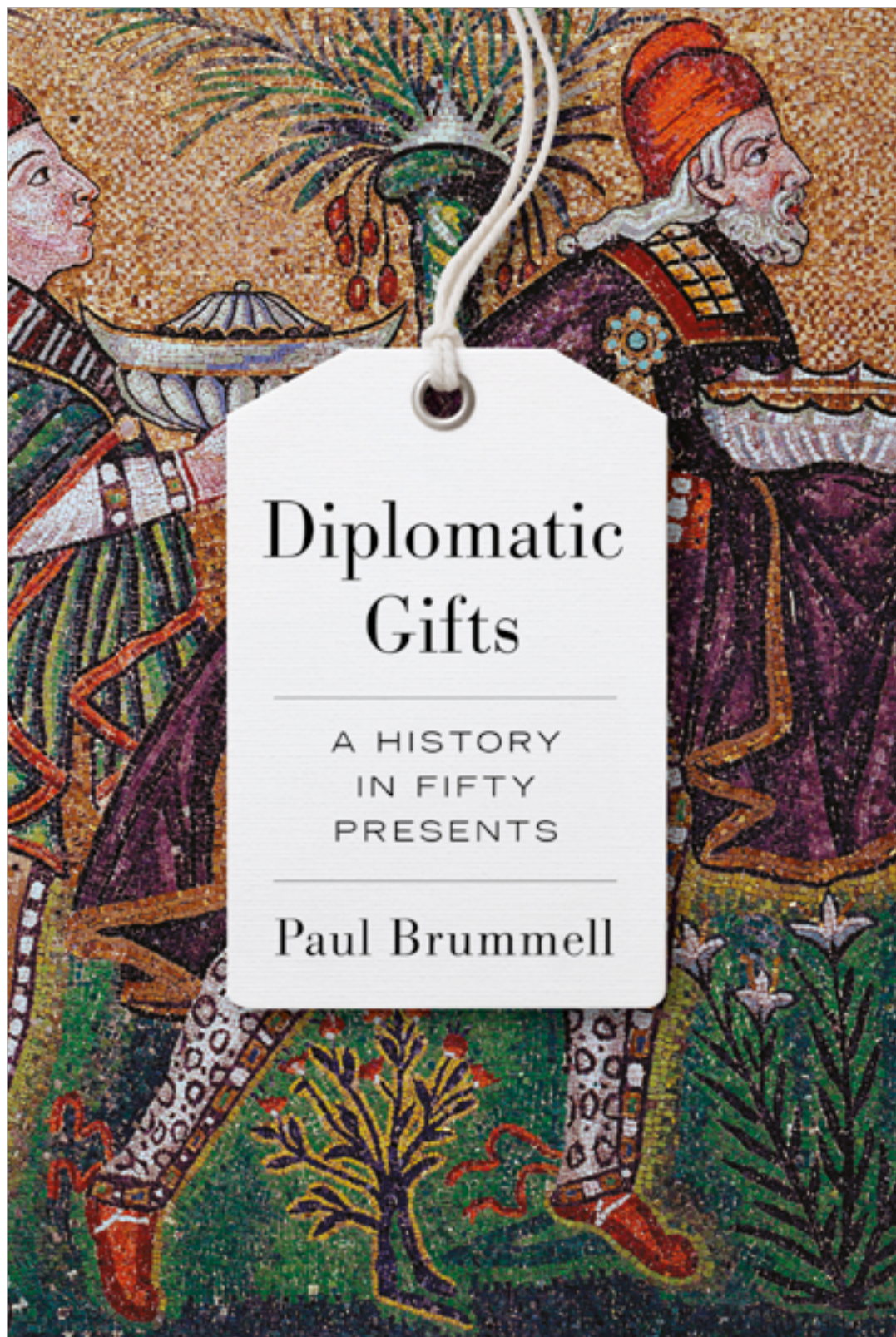
472pp

£20.00 Hardback

Politics / History

World English rights

From the Great Depression to the pandemic, a new history of British politics, revealing UK democracy's ritual building and breaking of shared national outlooks.



PAUL BRUMMELL

Diplomatic Gifts

A History in Fifty Presents

January 2022
 9781787386457
 234mm x 156mm
 376pp, 50pp colour illus
 £25.00 Hardback
 History
 World rights

Gifts have been part of international relations since ancient times. They can serve as tokens of friendship, apology or authority; as taunts, bribes, boasts or tricks. They can also go wrong: Mali's 2013 gift of a camel to French President François Hollande was reported to have ended up in a tagine.

Exploring fifty diplomatic gifts given through the ages, Brummell explains the great complexity of this political art—an exercise in brand-building for the giver, via an item that must suit the recipient's own interests and character. Byzantine emperors sent fragments of the True Cross to fellow Christian rulers around Europe; Kings Louis XV and XVI of France used Sèvres porcelain, while the Ottoman sultans favoured robes of honour. In some cases, recipients have made no secret of the gift they would want. The Amarna Letters, dating to around 1350 BCE, record a communication from Hittite Prince Zita to the Egyptian Pharaoh, offering sixteen men—and hinting rather heavily that he would like some gold in return.

From the Trojan Horse to Cleopatra's Needle to the Statue of Liberty, this rich history offers a new take on both the curious detail and the grand spectacle of global politics.

A lavishly illustrated history of diplomatic gifts, from the infamous Trojan Horse to the much-loved Christmas tree at Trafalgar Square.

Paul Brummell is a British career diplomat and currently the UK Ambassador to Latvia. His previous ambassadorial postings were to Romania; Turkmenistan; and Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. He has also served as the UK's high commissioner to Barbados and the Eastern Caribbean.





June 2022
 9781787386914
 216mm x 138mm
 352pp
 £20.00 Hardback
 Politics / Current Affairs
 World English rights

Draws on the past two centuries of extraordinary experimentation, good and bad, in pursuit of an ‘imaginative surge’ to fix our battered societies.

GEOFF MULGAN

Another World Is Possible

How to Reignite Radical Political Imagination

As the world confronts both the fast catastrophe of Covid and the slow crisis of climate change, we also face a third, less visible emergency: a crisis of imagination. Millions of us can picture the world going awry, yet our confident visions of the future are largely dominated by technology and hardware. Most citizens struggle to envisage how we could live better—improve our democracy, welfare, neighbourhoods or education—fuelling a pervasive, pessimistic resignation.

This book argues that, although the threats are real, our fatalism has overshot. Achieving a better future depends on creative imagination: the ability to see where we might want to go, and how we might want to get there. Political veteran Geoff Mulgan offers the lessons we can learn from the past and the methods we can use now to open up our thinking about the future; to discover how to look at things not only in terms of what they are, but also what they could be.

Drawing on social sciences, the arts, philosophy and history, Mulgan shows how we can recharge our collective imagination. At a time when the public wants to see transformational social change, he provides a roadmap for the future.



Sir Geoff Mulgan

is Professor of Collective Intelligence, Public Policy and Social Innovation at University College London. Formerly he was chief executive of Nesta, and held several

government roles (1997–2004), including as the Prime Minister’s Strategy Unit director and as Downing Street’s head of policy. This is his sixth book.

OLÚFÉMI TÁÍWÒ

Against Decolonisation

Taking African Agency Seriously

Decolonisation has lost its way. Originally conceived as a struggle to escape the West's direct political and economic control, it has become a catch-all idea, often used to perform contemporary 'morality' or 'authenticity'. In the process, it suffocates African thought, and denies African agency.

Olúfẹmi Táíwò fiercely rejects the indiscriminate application of 'decolonisation' to everything from literature, language and philosophy to sociology, psychology and medicine. He argues that the decolonisation industry, obsessed with exposing slights and cataloguing wrongs, is seriously harming scholarship on and in Africa. He finds decolonisation as applied to culture intellectually unsound and wholly unrealistic, conflating modernity with coloniality, and groundlessly advocating an open-ended undoing of global society's foundations. Worst of all, today's movement attacks its own proclaimed cause: 'decolonisers' themselves are disregarding, infantilising and imposing values on contemporary African thinkers.

This powerful, much-needed intervention questions whether today's 'decolonisation' truly serves African empowerment. Táíwò's is a bold challenge to all concerned for Africa's future: to resist sweeping moralities, and grant the respect due to African intellectuals as innovative adaptors, appropriators and synthesisers of ideas they have always seen as universally relevant. It's time to reclaim decolonisation, within the constraints of what is measurable, achievable and desirable.



Olúfẹmi Táíwò is Professor of African Political Thought and current Chair at the Africana Studies and Research Center, Cornell University. His writings have been translated into French, Italian, German and Portuguese. He

has taught at universities in Canada, Nigeria, Germany, South Korea and Jamaica.



June 2022

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Current Affairs / Philosophy / Africa

World rights

A leading African political philosopher offers his searing intellectual and moral critique of the 'expanded' decolonisation movement.

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**/ AFRICAN
/ ARGUMENTS**



CHINA UNBOUND

A NEW WORLD DISORDER

JOANNA CHIU

"An eye-opening global tour of the growing influence of the new superpower. A fascinating, illuminating book."

—ROB GIFFORD, Senior Editor, *The Economist*

JOANNA CHIU

China Unbound

A New World Disorder

As the world's second-largest economy, China is extending its influence across the globe with the complicity of democratic nations.

Joanna Chiu has spent a decade tracking China's propulsive rise, from the political aspects of its multi-billion-dollar 'New Silk Road' global investment project to its growing sway over foreign countries and multilateral institutions through 'United Front' efforts.

For too long, Western societies have mishandled or simply ignored Beijing's actions, out of narrow self-interest. Over recent decades, Chiu argues, wilful misinterpretation has hardened into harmful complicity in the toxic diplomacy, human rights abuses and foreign interference seen from China today.

Engaging chapters transport readers to a frozen lake in Russia, protests in Hong Kong, underground churches in Beijing, and Uyghur exile communities in Turkey, exposing Beijing's high-tech surveillance and aggressive measures, which result in human rights violations against those who challenge its power.

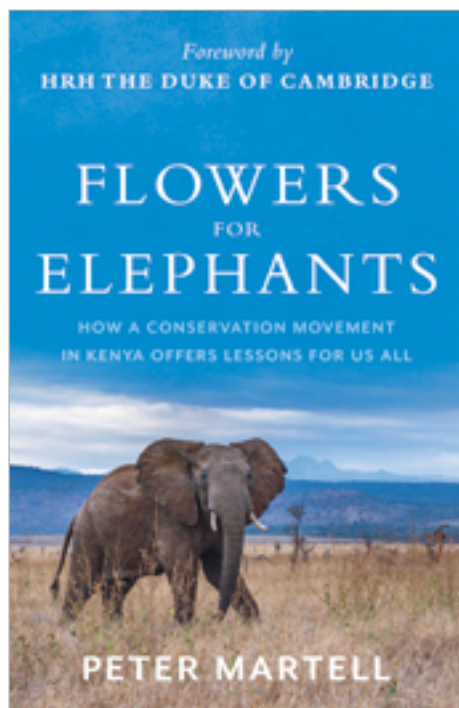
Documenting the new world disorder, *China Unbound* lays out its disturbing implications for global stability, prosperity and civil rights everywhere.

Joanna Chiu is a senior reporter at the *Toronto Star* and an award-winning China journalist, chairing the NüVoices collective for women China-watchers. Formerly a Beijing-based correspondent for AFP, published in *The Guardian* and elsewhere, she also reported from Hong Kong for the *South China Morning Post*, *The Economist* and AP.

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UK & Commonwealth rights
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From Hong Kong to
Russia to Australia, an
award-winning foreign
correspondent chronicles
the human consequences
of China's dramatic
moves to become the
dominant power.





March 2022

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Environment / Africa

World rights

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An uplifting story of
endangered livelihoods
and species saved, by
communities fighting
climate change and
poaching.

PETER MARTELL

Flowers for Elephants

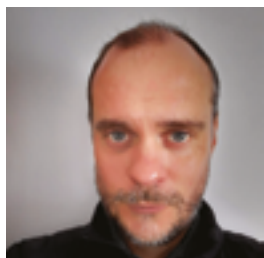
How a Conservation Movement in Kenya Offers Lessons for Us All

Foreword by HRH The Duke of Cambridge

When northern Kenyans find elephant bones, they lay down blossoms and branches as a mark of respect, honouring their crucial connection with the wildlife they live alongside. In our changing world, these values are vitally important.

For decades, northern Kenya was one step away from a warzone, on the frontlines of climate change and habitat loss. People slept with their shoes on, fearing attack. Wildlife was decimated. Yet, facing the most extreme challenges, people united. What began as a last-ditch effort to save rhinos from extinction sparked a remarkable return of wildlife, with the once-struggling cattle ranch Lewa named a UN World Heritage Site for its outstanding value to humanity. This served as a catalyst for much broader action. Communities created a network of protected lands across an area larger than Switzerland. Through conservation, they built peace, driving social, environmental and political change.

From tracking elephants through the bush to gun battles with bandits and treks through Al-Qaeda territory, Peter Martell tells the exciting story of a conservation movement that gives hope. As we reassess our broken relationship with nature, these communities offer an inspirational blueprint, proving that environmental change does not have to divide, but can bring us together.



Peter Martell reports on the Middle East and North Africa for AFP. Hailing from a Northumberland sheep farm, he started as a foreign correspondent in Zimbabwe. *First Raise A Flag*, his book

on South Sudanese independence (also published by Hurst), was an *Economist* and a *Spectator* 'Book of the Year'.

TIM COCKS

Lagos

Supernatural City

This is a frantic, mystical journey through Africa's biggest metropolis: Lagos. Going beyond the popular images of mad traffic or crowded slums, it tells of the incredible feats Lagosians must pull off to survive their broken-down city. It also reveals the secret enabling them to cope with the chaos and precarity of Nigeria's most populous centre: spirituality.

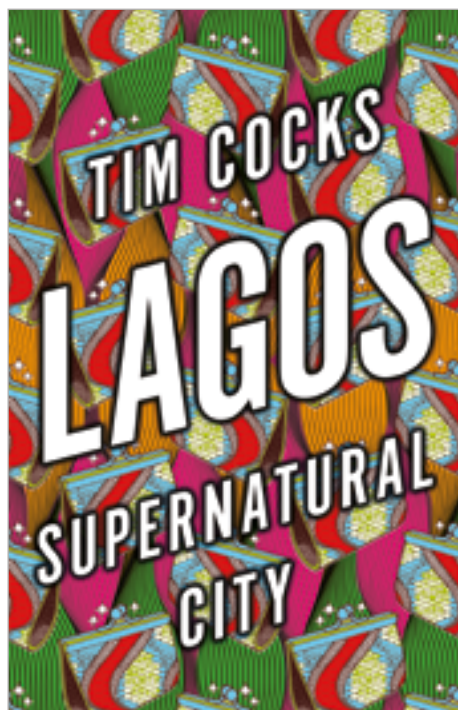
A female street fighter in a male-dominated mafia extortion business. Two powerful chiefs locked in a deadly feud over billion-dollar real estate. An oil tycoon who gambles her fortune on televangelists' prophecies. A rubbish scavenger dreaming of a reggae career. A fisherman's son trying to save Makoko, the 'floating slum', from demolition and transformation into luxury waterside flats. A priestess to a river goddess selling sand to feed Lagos's voracious construction boom.

If anything unites these disparate figures, it is their belief in unseen forces, and their commitment to worshipping them—whether at secret shrines to West African gods and ancestors, or in the iron-roofed churches and domed mosques dotting the Lagos skyline. In this extraordinary city, Tim Cocks uncovers something universal about human nature in the face of danger and high uncertainty: our tendency to place faith in a realm beyond.



Tim Cocks is a British-born Reuters journalist of South African parentage. Currently based in Johannesburg, he was formerly Reuters West & Central Africa bureau chief, based in Dakar,

following four years in Lagos as Nigeria bureau chief. He holds an MPhil in philosophy from the University of Oxford.



May 2022

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344pp

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Africa

World English rights

An intimate portrait of life in one of the most vibrant cities on Earth.

David Kilcullen and Greg Mills

FOREWORD BY RORY STEWART

THE LEDGER

**Accounting for Failure
in Afghanistan**

DAVID KILCULLEN & GREG MILLS

The Ledger

Accounting for Failure in Afghanistan

Foreword by Rory Stewart

‘These things happened. They were glorious and they changed the world,’ said Charlie Wilson, of America’s role backing the anti-Soviet mujahideen. ‘And then we fucked up the endgame.’ With no support for Afghanistan after that war, the vacuum was filled by the Taliban and bin Laden. *The Ledger* assesses the West’s similarly failed approach to Afghanistan after 9/11—in military, diplomatic, political and developmental terms.

Dr David Kilcullen and Dr Greg Mills are uniquely placed to reflect backwards and forwards on the Afghan conflict: they worked with the international mission both as advisers and within the Arg, and they have considerable experience of counterinsurgency and stabilisation operations elsewhere in the world. Here these two experts show that there is plenty of blame to go around when explaining the failure to bring peace to Afghanistan after 9/11.

The signs of collapse were conveniently ignored, in favour of political narratives of progress and success. Yet for Afghans, the war and its geopolitical effects are not over because NATO is gone—Afghanistan remains globally connected through digital communications and networks. This vital book explains why and where failings in Afghanistan happened, warning against exceptionalist approaches to future peacebuilding missions around the globe.



David Kilcullen is an author, unconventional warfare expert, and former soldier and diplomat. He was a senior counterinsurgency adviser during the Iraq and Afghanistan wars.



Greg Mills, Director of the Brenthurst Foundation, has advised African governments, and served in Afghanistan with COMISAF. His books with Hurst include *Why States Recover*.

December 2021
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War Studies / Current Affairs
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From two seasoned strategic advisers, a withering critique of the West’s chaotic withdrawal from Afghanistan, with lessons for the future in that country and beyond.



March 2022

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War Studies / Current Affairs

World rights

Interrogates the digital dissolution of established relationships between elite actors—militaries, governments, journalists—and war’s audiences, victims and bystanders.

**MATTHEW FORD &
ANDREW HOSKINS**

Radical War

Data, Attention and Control in the Twenty-First Century

This book examines the digital explosion that has ripped across the battlefield, weaponising our attention and making everyone a participant in wars without end.

‘Smart’ devices, apps, archives and algorithms remove the bystander from war, collapsing the distinctions between audience and actor, soldier and civilian, media and weapon. This has ruptured our capacity to make sense of war. Now we are all either victims or perpetrators.

In *Radical War*, Ford and Hoskins reveal how contemporary war is legitimised, planned, fought, experienced, remembered and forgotten in a continuous and connected way, through digitally saturated fields of perception.

Plotting the emerging relationship between data, attention and the power to control war, the authors chart the complex digital and human interdependencies that sustain political violence today. Through a unique, interdisciplinary lens, they map our disjointed experiences of conflict and illuminate this dystopian new ecology of war.

Matthew Ford is Senior Lecturer in International Relations, University of Sussex; founding editor of the *British Journal for Military History*; and author of *Weapon of Choice*. **Andrew Hoskins** is Professor of Global Security, University of Glasgow; and founding editor of the journals *Digital War*, *Memory, Mind & Media*; and *Memory Studies*.

TORE HAMMING

Jihadi Politics

The Global Jihadi Civil War, 2014–2019

In February 2014, al-Qaida issued a statement that shocked the entire Jihadi movement. For the first time in its history, the group declared that a local affiliate, the Islamic State in Iraq, was no longer part of al-Qaida. The renegade Iraqi group, led by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, had expanded its operations to Syria, taking over the regional branch Jabhat al-Nusra; but in the process, the group had defied orders from al-Qaida's amir, Ayman al-Zawahiri. Islamic State's actions, and increasingly aggressive posture towards fellow Jihadis, eventually ignited a Jihadi civil war—a period defined by internal tensions that ultimately turned global. With devastating impact, this *fitna* left the Jihadi movement more polarised and fragmented than ever, seriously threatening its internal cohesion.

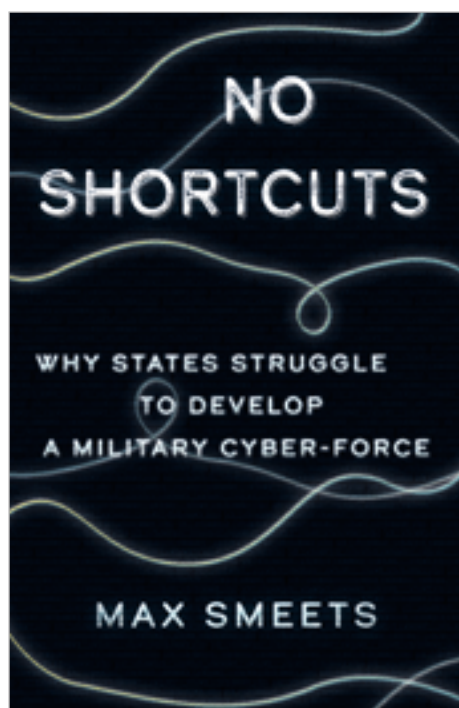
Jihadi Politics presents the first exhaustive account of infighting within the global Jihadi movement. Based on years of digital anthropology, hundreds of primary documents, and interviews with Jihadis, it offers an unprecedented glimpse into historic and current conflicts between and within Jihadi groups. This thorough examination of the years 2014–2019 offers a more nuanced understanding of the current state of Jihadism, with important insights into its future evolution—including Islamic State's role in Afghanistan.

Tore Hamming PhD is Director of Refslund Analytics, and a non-resident fellow at the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation, King's College London. He has conducted fieldwork in Jordan, Iraq, Egypt, Morocco, Nigeria and Somalia, and written for *Le Monde*, Al Jazeera and *The Guardian*, among others.



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War Studies
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A meticulous reconstruction of the bloody fratricide within militant Islamism that set al-Qaida against its would-be usurper, Islamic State—with consequences that still reverberate today.



April 2022
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 War Studies
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 South Asia

States may be willing to launch cyber-operations, but first they must build the capacity for such attacks—Smeets examines the opportunities and obstacles in this process.

MAX SMEETS

No Shortcuts

Why States Struggle to Develop a Military Cyber-Force

Cyber-security is often a top national security priority. Many states have declared cyber-space a new domain of warfare, seeking to develop a military cyber-strategy. Governments' national risk assessments now frequently put the threat of hostile cyber-attack on a par with natural disasters, international terrorism or nuclear attack. This has provoked much policy talk and concern about the future of conflict, as well as societies' digital vulnerability.

Moving into the 2020s, the 'cyber club' of proliferators is losing the exclusivity of the early 2000s. Over forty states have now publicly established a military cyber-command, including many countries in the West—the US, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, Estonia—and elsewhere—Peru, Brazil, Vietnam, South Korea, Nigeria. At least another dozen have announced plans to establish such capability.

No Shortcuts offers readers a level-headed view of the militarisation of cyber-space, bridging the divide between technology and policy to assess the building-blocks required to develop military cyber-capacity. Smeets argues that, for many states, the barriers to entry are currently too high, and explains the limits of capability transfer, by states and private actors; but he also shows, with wide-ranging empirical examples, how governments' abilities to develop these capabilities might change over time.

Max Smeets is Senior Researcher at the Center for Security Studies, Zurich; Director of the European Cyber Conflict Research Initiative; and an affiliate at Stanford's Center for International Security and Cooperation. He publishes widely on cyber-statecraft, strategy and risk, including in *The Washington Post*, *War on the Rocks* and *Slate*.

RAMON PACHECO PARDO

Shrimp to Whale

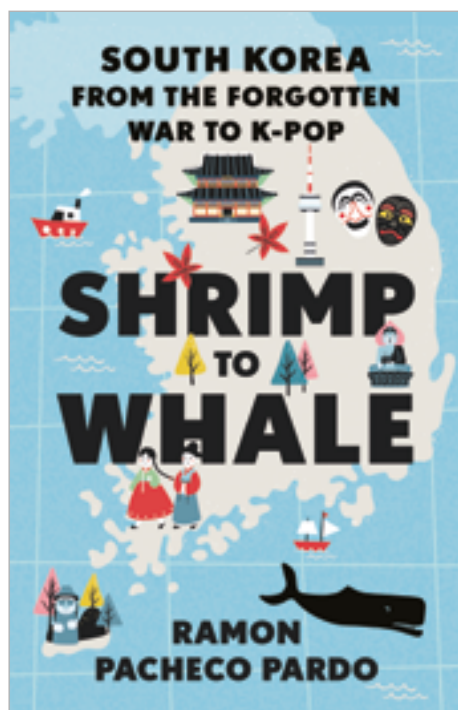
South Korea from the Forgotten War to K-Pop

South Korea has the most remarkable of histories. Born from the ashes of colonialism, partition and a devastating war, back in the 1950s there were real doubts about its survival as an independent state. Yet South Korea did survive, and first became known globally for the export of cheap toys, shoes and clothing. Today, South Korea is a boisterous democracy, a vibrant market economy, a tech powerhouse, and home to the coolest of cultures. In just seventy years, this society has grown from a shrimp into a whale.

What explains this extraordinary transformation? For some, it was ordinary South Koreans who fought to change their country, and still strive to continue shaping it. For others, it was all down to forward-looking political and business leaders, who had the vision that their country would one day be different. Whichever version you prefer, it's clear that, at its core, South Korea's is the story of a people who dreamt big, and saw their dreams coming true.

This is the history of South Korea, from its millennia-old roots, through its foundation as a nation-state and economic development under dictatorship, to its present as a rich, free and cool country on the world stage.

Ramon Pacheco Pardo is Professor of International Relations at King's College London, and KF-VUB Korea Chair at the Brussels School of Governance. He has lived twice in South Korea, and remains a regular visitor there for both work and leisure. He regularly teaches and provides media commentary about the country.



May 2022

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History / Politics / East Asia

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Charts the remarkable rise of South Korea, from colonialism and civil war to today's thriving nation.



April 2022
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 Colonialism
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**A revealing history of
 how slavery-derived
 wealth transformed
 Britain's natural and
 architectural landscapes.**

VICTORIA PERRY

A Bittersweet Heritage

Slavery, Architecture and the British Landscape

The 2020 toppling of slave-trader Edward Colston's statue by Black Lives Matter protesters in Bristol was a dramatic reminder of Britain's role in trans-Atlantic slavery, too often overlooked. Yet the legacy of that predatory economy reaches far beyond bronze memorials; it continues to shape the entire visual fabric of the country.

Architect Victoria Perry explores the relationship between the wealth of slave-owning elites and the architecture and landscapes of Georgian Britain. She reveals how profits from Caribbean sugar plantations fed the opulence of stately homes and landscape gardens. Trade in slaves and slave-grown products also boosted the prosperity of ports like Bristol, Liverpool and Glasgow, shifting cultural influence towards the Atlantic west. New artistic centres like Bath emerged, while investment in poor, remote areas of Wales, Cumbria and Scotland led to their 're-imagining' as tourist destinations: Snowdonia, the Lakes and the Highlands. The patronage of absentee planters popularised British ideas of 'natural scenery'—viewing mountains, rivers and rocks as landscape art—and then exported the concept of 'sublime and picturesque' landscapes across the Atlantic.

A Bittersweet Heritage unearths the slavery-tainted history of Britain's manors, ports, roads and countryside, and powerfully explains what this legacy means today.

Victoria Perry PhD is a historian, and an architect and director at Donald Insall Associates: Architects and Historic Building Consultants. An examiner at The Bartlett School of Architecture, University College London, she contributed to the *Oxford Companion to Black British History* and English Heritage's *Slavery and the British Country House*.

KWASI KONADU

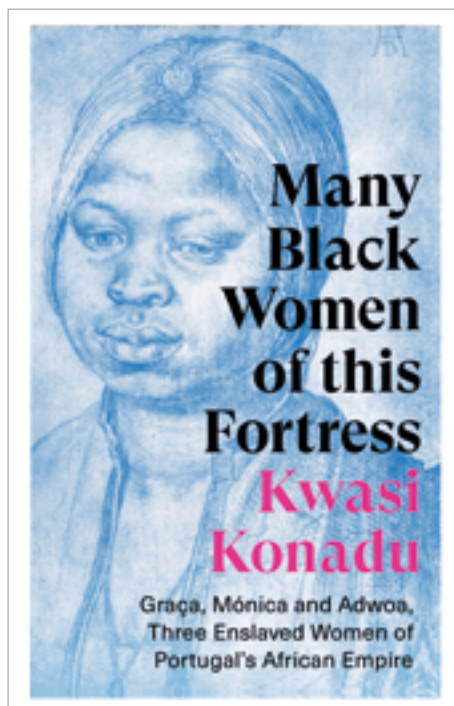
Many Black Women of this Fortress

Graça, Mónica and Adwoa,
Three Enslaved Women of
Portugal's African Empire

Evidence about the lives of African women and girls is exceedingly rare for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—the very period from which we can trace the origins of global empires, slavery, capitalism, modern religious dogma and anti-Black violence. These precursors of today's world took shape as Portugal built a global empire on African gold and bodies. Forced labour was essential to the world economy of the Atlantic basin, and afflicted many African women and girls who were enslaved and manumitted, baptised and unconvinced.

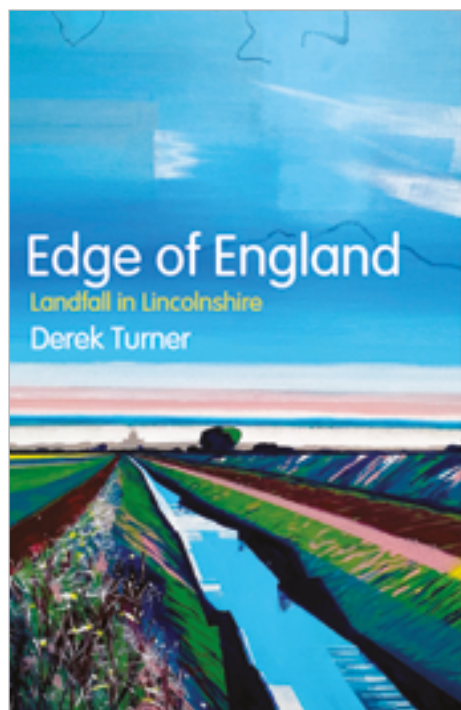
While some liaised with European and mixed-race men along the West African coast, other women, ordinary yet bold, pushed back against new forms of captivity, racial capitalism, religious orthodoxy and sexual violence, as if they were already self-governing. *Many Black Women of this Fortress* lays bare the insurgent ideas and actions of Graça, Mónica and Adwoa, charting how they advocated for themselves and exercised spiritual and female power. Theirs is a collective story, written from obscurity; from the forgotten and overlooked colonial records. By drawing attention to their lives, we dare to grasp the complexities of modernity's gestation.

Kwasi Konadu is John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Endowed Chair and Professor at Colgate University, teaching worldwide African histories and cultures. He is the author of *Our Own Way in This Part of the World: Biography of an African Community, Culture, and Nation*; and co-editor of *The Ghana Reader*.



May 2022
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History / Women's Studies
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**A haunting triple
biography of women
whose lives were indelibly
shaped by slavery, race
and the Inquisition.**



June 2022

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History

World rights

The untold story of a
great English county
and its people, from the
Vikings to Brexit.

DEREK TURNER

Edge of England

Landfall in Lincolnshire

Lincolnshire is England's second-largest county—and one of the least well-known. Yet its understated chronicles, unfashionable towns and undervalued countryside conceal fascinating stories, and unique landscapes: its Wolds are lonely and beautiful, its towns characterful; its marshlands and dynamic coast are metaphors of constant change. From plesiosaurs to Puritans, medieval ghosts to eighteenth-century explorers, poets to politicians, and Vikings to Brexit, this marginal county is central to England's identity.

Canute, Henry IV, John of Gaunt and Katherine Swynford all called Lincolnshire home. So did saints, world-famed churchmen and reformers—Etheldreda, Gilbert, Guthlac and Hugh, Robert Grosseteste, John Wycliffe, John Cotton, John Foxe and John Wesley—as well as Isaac Newton, Joseph Banks, John Harrison and George Boole. Lincolnshire explorers went everywhere: John Smith to Jamestown, George Bass and Matthew Flinders to Australia, and John Franklin to a bitter death in the Arctic. Artists and writers have been inspired—including Byrd, Taverner, Stukeley, Stubbs, Eliot and Tennyson—while Thatcher wrought neo-liberalism. Extraordinary architecture testifies to centuries of both settlement and unrest, from Saxon towers to sky-piercing spires; evocative ruined abbeys to the wonder of the Cathedral. And in between is always the little-known land itself—an epitome of England, awaiting discovery.

Derek Turner (derek-turner.com) is an Irish-born, Lincolnshire-resident novelist and reviewer. He has written for *The Economist*, *The Spectator*, *The Times*, *The Daily Mail*, *The Irish Times*, *Country Life*, *Literary Review* and *The Lady*; his poetry has appeared in *Quadrant*. This book draws on twenty years exploring and reading about Lincolnshire.

DENNIS DELETANT

In Search of Romania

The imposition of Communist ideology was a misfortune for millions in Eastern Europe, but never for Dennis Deletant. Instead, it drew him to Romania. The renowned historian's association with the country and its people dates back to 1965, when he first visited. Since then, Romania has made Dennis appreciate the value of shrewd dissimulation, in the face of the state's gross intrusion in the life of the individual. This vivid memoir charts his first-hand experience of the Communist era, coloured by the early 1970s surveillance of his future wife Andrea; his contacts with dissidents; and his articles and BBC World Service broadcasts, which led to his being declared persona non grata in 1988.

In Search of Romania also considers how life went on under dictatorship, even if it was largely mapped out by the regime. How did individual citizens negotiate the challenges placed in their path? How important was the political police, the Securitate, in maintaining compliance? How did dissent towards the regime manifest? How did all this affect the moral compass of the individual? Why did utopia descend into dystopia under Ceaușescu? And how has his legacy influenced the difficult transition to democracy since the collapse of Communism?

Dennis Deletant OBE is Emeritus Professor at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College London. He was formerly the Visiting Ion Rațiu Professor of Romanian Studies at Georgetown University. His previous books include *Ceaușescu and the Securitate* and *Communist Terror in Romania*, both published by Hurst.



April 2022

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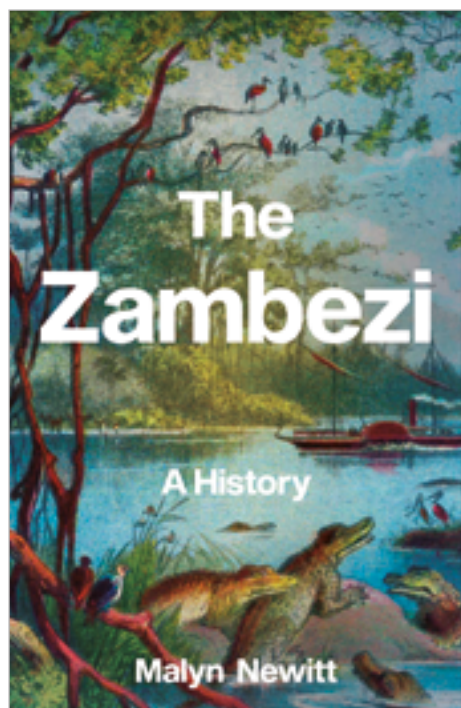
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History / Europe

World rights

Paints a portrait of Romania under Communist dictatorship, from political twists and turns to daily life and daring dissent in an unfree state.



May 2022
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 History / Africa
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Traces the history of the
 peoples that have lived
 along this key African
 artery.

MALYN NEWITT

The Zambezi

A History

The Zambezi is the fourth-longest river in Africa, and one of the continent's principal arteries of movement, migration, conquest and commerce. In this book, historian Malyn Newitt quotes rarely used Portuguese sources that throw vivid light on the culture of the river peoples and their relations with the Portuguese creole society of the *prazos*.

Hitherto unused manuscript material illustrates Portuguese and British colonial rule over the people of the long-lived Lunda kingdoms, and the Lozi of the Barotse Floodplain. The Zambezi became a war zone during the 'Scramble for Africa', the struggle for independence and the civil wars that followed the departure of colonial powers. Recent history has also seen the river's wild nature tamed by the introduction of steamers and the building of bridges and dams. These developments have changed the character of the waterway, and impacted—often drastically—the ecological systems of the valley and those settled along its course.

The Zambezi traces the history of the communities that have lived along this great river; their relationship with the states formed on the high veldt; and the ways they have adapted to the vagaries of the Zambezi itself, with its annual floods, turbulent rapids and dramatic gorges.

Malyn Newitt was deputy vice-chancellor of the University of Exeter, and the first holder of the Charles Boxer Chair, King's College London. He has authored more than twenty books on Portugal and Portuguese colonial history, including *A Short History of Mozambique* and *Emigration and the Sea*, both published by Hurst.

SAMUEL RAMANI

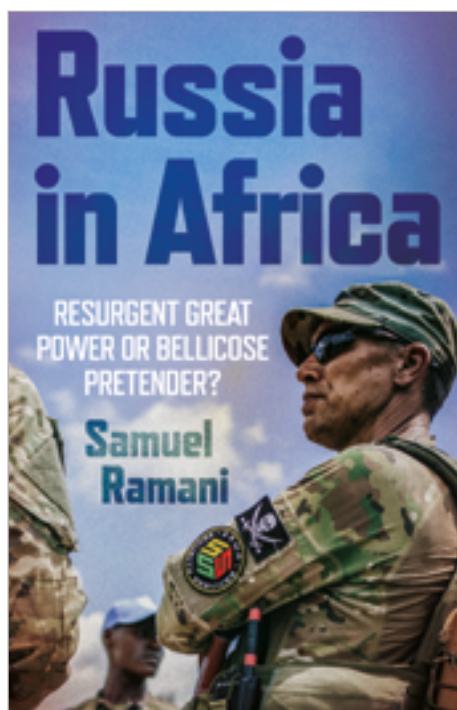
Russia in Africa

Resurgent Great Power or Bellicose Pretender?

Three decades after the Soviet Union's collapse, Russia has transformed from a fringe player to a resurgent great power in Africa. The October 2019 Russia–Africa Summit in Sochi highlighted the appeal of Russia's normative agenda, the ubiquity of Russian military technology, and the breadth of Moscow's presence on the continent. Beneath the pageantry, a darker side of Russia's African resurgence looms large. From Libya to Madagascar, Russia has used sinister tactics to expand its influence, such as private military contractors, shadowy mining and energy deals with authoritarian regimes, and election interference campaigns.

This book presents a chronological examination of Russia's post–Cold War foreign policy towards Africa, and outlines the factors that have enabled and impeded the growth of its influence. It pays special attention to the non-material factors behind this rising power; the domestic drivers of Russian decision-making; Moscow's relationships with fellow external powers; and African perspectives on Russia's geopolitical role. Samuel Ramani's analysis cites extensively both Russian-language media and academic sources, and his own interviews with Russian and African elites. His fascinating study challenges popular depictions of Russia as an opportunistic anti-Western actor, instead emphasising Moscow's strategic commitment to Africa and the endurance of historical memory.

Samuel Ramani is a politics and international relations tutor at the University of Oxford, where he completed his DPhil. An associate fellow at the Royal United Services Institute, he contributes regularly to *Foreign Policy*, *The Washington Post*, BBC World Service, Al Jazeera English and CNN International. He tweets as @samramani2.



June 2022

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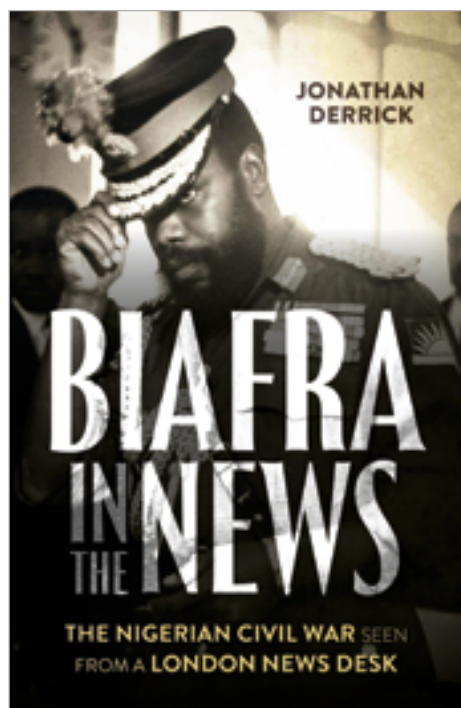
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Africa / Russia

World rights

Challenging Western depictions, this consideration of Moscow's post–Cold War Africa policy takes into account both African and Russian decisionmakers.



March 2022
 9781787386860
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 280pp
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 History / Africa
 World rights

A journalist recounts the tragic facts of Nigeria's Biafra war, reflecting on his coverage at the time and how the war has been remembered since.

JONATHAN DERRICK

Biafra in the News

The Nigerian Civil War Seen from a London News Desk

Fifty years ago, Nigeria endured a period of violent disturbance leading to the breakaway of the Eastern Region under the name Biafra. The resulting conflict (1967–70) aroused shock and protests around the world because of mass starvation in the war zone. While Britain supplied arms to the federal Nigerian government, and France to the Biafrans, relief agencies with contributions from countless individuals organised a memorable airlift of food and medicine to the Biafrans' Uli airstrip.

Jonathan Derrick, then a journalist for the London weekly *West Africa*, followed these events closely and recorded the war in the magazine's news pages, right up to the federal forces' final victory and the remarkable reconciliation between supporters of Biafra—predominantly Igbo—and other Nigerians. He later worked for some years in Nigeria, and has studied much of the material published on the war since 1970. Here, he recounts the history of the conflict as documented in *West Africa*, referring to later literature on and analysis of the events, which inspired passion at the time and have provoked debate ever since. His account deals with myths, misapprehensions and controversies surrounding the conflict, while recalling the tragic facts of a grim episode in African history.

Jonathan Derrick is a freelance editor and scholar who served twenty years on the editorial staff of *West Africa* magazine. He has authored several scholarly articles on African history, and *Africa's 'Agitators': Militant Anti-Colonialism in Africa and the West, 1918–1939* and *Africa, Empire and Fleet Street*, both published by Hurst.

TOBIAS HAGMANN &
FINN STEPPUTAT (eds)

Trade Makes States

Governing the Greater Somali Economy

Trade Makes States highlights how trade and the circulation of goods are central to Somali societies, economies and politics. Drawing on multi-site research from across East Africa's Somali-inhabited economic space—which includes areas of Kenya, Djibouti, Uganda and Ethiopia—this volume highlights the interconnection between trade and state-building after state collapse. It scrutinises the 'politics of circulation' between competing public administrations, which seek to generate revenue and to control infrastructures along major trade corridors.

Connecting classic debates on state formation with recent scholarship on logistics and cross-border trading, *Trade Makes States* argues that the facilitation and capture of commodity flows have been instrumental in making and unmaking states across the Somali territories. Aspiring state-builders are thus confronted with the challenge of governing the flow of goods in order to rule over lands and peoples.

The contributors to this volume draw attention to the ingenuities of transnational Somali markets, which often appear to be self-governed. Their dynamism and everyday administration by a host of actors provide important insights into contemporary state formation on the margins of global supply-chain capitalism.

Tobias Hagmann is a research consultant and Associate Professor at Roskilde University, studying politics and state–society relations in the Horn of Africa. **Finn Stepputat** is a senior researcher at the Danish Institute for International Studies, working on conflict, state sovereignty and the politics of dead bodies.



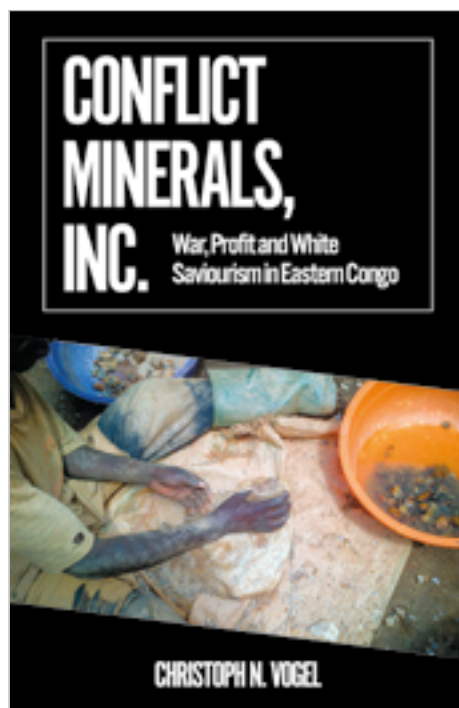
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Africa / Development Studies
World rights

A detailed investigation of the links between state-building and commodity exchange across the Somali-inhabited territories of East Africa.

Published in collaboration with the



**/ AFRICAN
/ ARGUMENTS**



April 2022
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 Africa / Development Studies
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Have international efforts
 to regulate resource
 extraction from war zones
 in the DRC done more
 harm than good?

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CHRISTOPH N. VOGEL

Conflict Minerals, Inc.

War, Profit and White Saviourism in Eastern Congo

In the twenty-first century, the relationship between violent conflict and natural resources has become a matter of intense public and academic debate. As a result of fervent activism and international campaigning, the flagship case of 'conflict minerals' has captured global attention. This term groups together the artisanal tin, tantalum (coltan), tungsten and gold originating from war zones in Central Africa.

Known as 'digital minerals' for their use in high-end technology, their exploitation and trade has been singled out in numerous media and United Nations reports as a key driver of violence, provoking an unprecedented popular outcry and prompting transnational efforts to promote 'conflict-free', ethical mining. Focusing on the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo, *Conflict Minerals, Inc.* is the first comprehensive analysis of this phenomenon.

Based on meticulous investigation and long-term fieldwork, this book analyses why the campaign against 'unethical' mining went awry, and radically disrupted eastern Congo's political economy. It dissects the evolution of the conflict minerals paradigm, the policy responses it triggered and their impact on artisanal miners. Vogel demonstrates how Western advocacy and policy have relied on colonial frames to drive change, and how White Saviourism perpetuates structural violence and inequality across global supply and value chains.

Christoph N. Vogel is an award-winning investigator of conflicts in Central Africa. He is Research Director of the Insecure Livelihoods project at Ghent University, and has worked with the UN. Christoph holds a PhD from the University of Zurich and helped develop the Congo Research Group at New York University.

MOHAMED ZAYANI (ed.)

A Fledgling Democracy

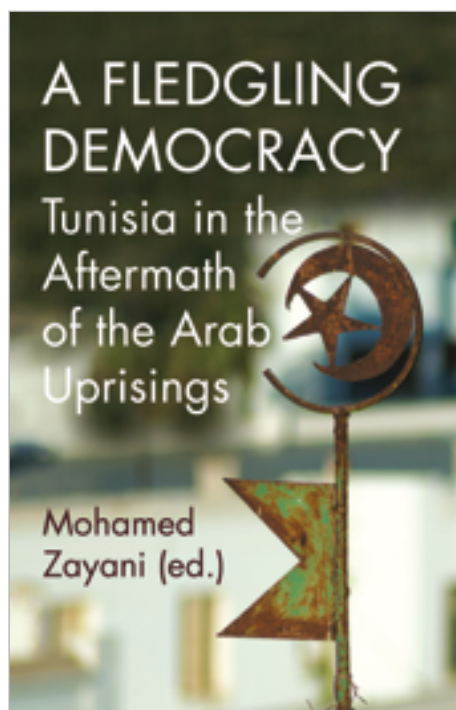
Tunisia in the Aftermath of the Arab Uprisings

In the tumultuous aftermath of the Arab uprisings, Tunisia charted a unique path that has earned it praise as 'a beacon of hope' in a troubled region. Since the 2011 revolution, it has embraced a new culture of democracy, based on pluralism, civilian rule and the peaceful transfer of power. Equally noteworthy are the country's burgeoning civil society, its various institutional reforms and its progressive new constitution, which upholds individual freedoms and champions women's rights.

But in spite of these achievements, daunting challenges remain. Although Tunisia has succeeded in defusing many crises, its transition has been uneasy; its democracy is fragile and its future continues to be uncertain. As the country emerges from decades of authoritarian rule, it faces enormous political, social, economic and security challenges, which are undermining its peaceful evolution. It is this state of fragility that *A Fledgling Democracy* seeks to capture.

Focusing on the socio-political dynamics that have unfolded in this North African nation since the revolution, the contributors to this volume shed light on how Tunisia has navigated its first decade of democratic transition, and explain what the ongoing changes and challenges mean for the country today.

Mohamed Zayani is an award-winning author, and Professor of Critical Theory at the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University in Qatar. His works include *Networked Publics and Digital Contention: The Politics of Everyday Life in Tunisia*; and *Digital Middle East*, also published by Hurst.

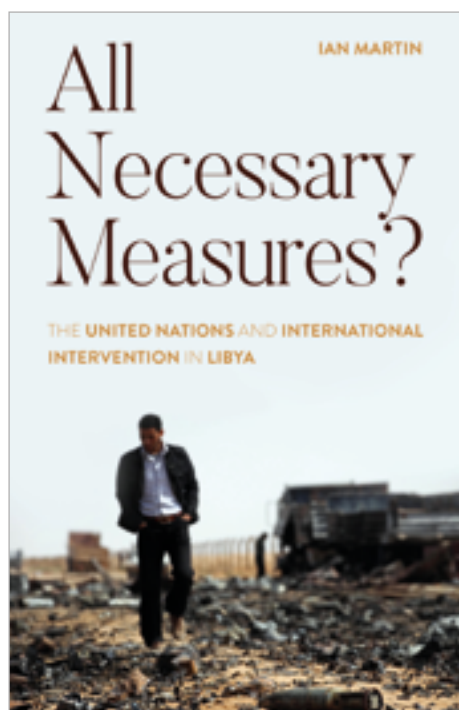


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Middle East / Politics
World rights

A probing analysis of the challenges still facing the Arab Spring's 'success story', a decade into its transition to democracy.

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April 2022
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 Middle East /
 Humanitarianism
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The UN's former man on the ground in Libya offers his verdict on how the NATO mission unfolded, then unravelled. Could it have been otherwise?

IAN MARTIN

All Necessary Measures?

The United Nations and International Intervention in Libya

The international intervention after the 2011 Libyan uprising against Muammar Gaddafi was initially considered a remarkable success: the UN Security Council's first application of the 'responsibility to protect' doctrine; an impending civilian massacre prevented; and an opportunity for democratic forces to lead Libya out of a forty-year dictatorship. But such optimism was soon dashed.

Successive governments failed to establish authority over the ever-proliferating armed groups; divisions among regions and cities, Islamists and others, split the country into rival administrations and exploded into civil war; external intervention escalated. Ian Martin gives his first-hand view of the questions raised by the international mission. Was it a justified response to the threat against civilians? What brought about the Security Council resolutions, including authorising military action? How did NATO act upon that authorisation? What role did Special Forces operations play in the rebels' victory? Was a peaceful political settlement ever possible? What post-conflict planning was undertaken, and should or could there have been a major peacekeeping or stabilisation mission during the transition?

As Western interventions are reassessed and Libya continues to struggle for stability, this is a unique account of a critical period, by a senior international official who was close to the events.

Ian Martin has led UN human rights and peace operations in countries including Rwanda, Nepal and Libya. A former Amnesty International secretary-general, in 2011–12 he was Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon's post-conflict planning adviser, then UN support mission head, for Libya. His publications on UN intervention include *Self-Determination in East Timor*.

AZMI BISHARA

Palestine

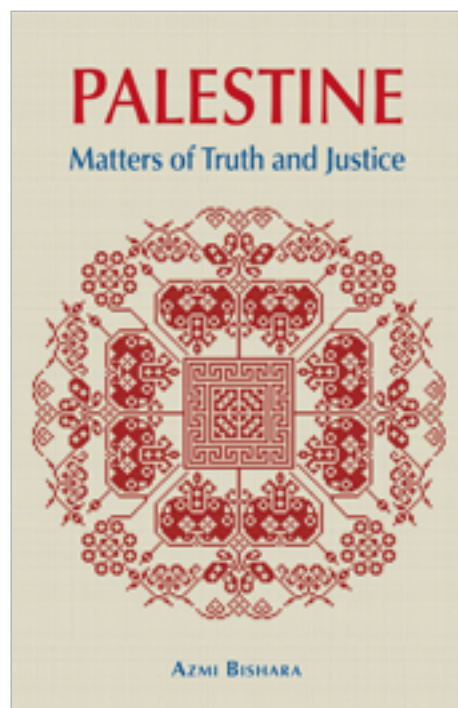
Matters of Truth and Justice

In January 2020, US President Donald Trump announced his 'deal of the century'. Supposedly intended to 'resolve' the Palestine-Israel conflict, it accepted Israeli occupation as a *fait accompli*. Azmi Bishara places this normalisation of occupation in its historical context, examining Palestine as an unresolved case of settler colonialism, now evolved into an apartheid regime.

Drawing on extensive research and rich theoretical analysis, Bishara examines the overlap between the long-discussed 'Jewish Question' and what he calls the 'Arab Question', complicating the issue of Palestinian nationhood. He addresses the Palestinian Liberation Movement's failure to achieve self-determination, and the emergence of a 'Palestinian Authority' under occupation. He contends that no solution to problems of nationality or settler colonialism is possible without recognising the historic injustices inflicted on Palestinians since the Nakba.

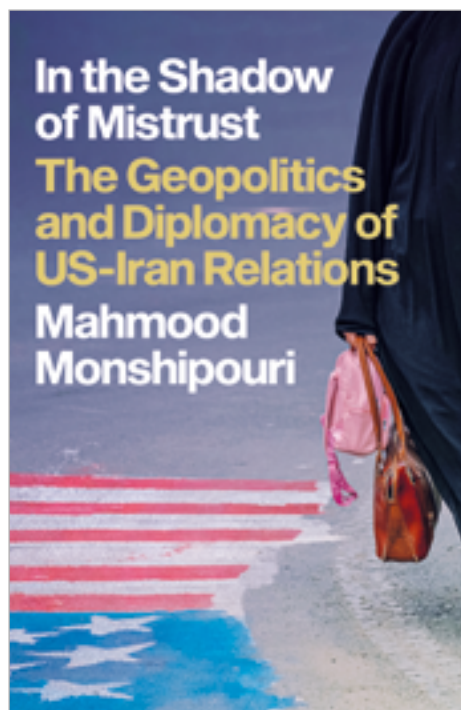
This book compellingly argues that Palestine is not simply a dilemma awaiting creative policy solutions, but a problem requiring the application of justice. Attempts by regional governments to marginalise the Palestinian cause and normalise relations with Israel have emphasised this aspect of the struggle, and boosted Palestinian interactions with justice movements internationally. Bishara provides a sober perspective on the current political situation in Palestine, and a fresh outlook for its future.

Azmi Bishara is one of the Arab world's most prominent scholars, a critic of authoritarianism and colonialism, and a staunch supporter of democratic transition in the region. His works include *Sectarianism Without Sects*, also published by Hurst; *Civil Society*; *The Arab Question*; and *Religion and Secularism in Historical Context*.



February 2022
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A leading Arab scholar considers settler colonialism, occupation and nationhood, powerfully arguing for a justice-based approach to the ongoing conflict.



May 2022
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Draws on Farsi and English sources to offer a subtle analysis of the intimate symbiotic struggle for hegemony between Washington and Tehran.

Vol. 1 in a new series,

IRAN FROM THE PAHLAVIS
 TO THE PRESENT

Edited by Professor Mehran Kamrava,
 Georgetown University in Qatar

MAHMOOD MONSHIPOURI

In the Shadow of Mistrust

The Geopolitics and Diplomacy of US–Iran Relations

Since the 1979 Iranian Revolution, the normalisation of relations between Iran and America has appeared unrealistic if not inconceivable, given that the Iranian state has vigorously pursued an anti-American ideology. This account of US–Iranian relations examines the efficacy of external pressure such as sanctions, as well as domestic grassroots reform movements within the Islamic Republic.

The Obama presidency marked a rare high point in the Washington–Tehran relationship, as negotiations between the two countries and other powers produced an unprecedented nuclear deal, the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action. However, the Trump administration’s unilateral withdrawal from the JCPOA, and re-imposition of new sanctions in pursuit of ‘maximum pressure’, had devastating economic consequences, undermining the Iranian middle class, which has consistently been the voice of political moderation and supported Iran’s integration into the global economy. Crucially, sanctions have also driven Iran further into the arms of China, while rendering it an even more recalcitrant and aggressive adversary.

Monshipouri’s central conviction is that negotiations are pivotal to dismantling the mistrust that has long characterised US–Iranian relations, and to seeking détente between Iran and its Arab neighbours—a critical priority, since gradual US withdrawal from the region is all but certain.

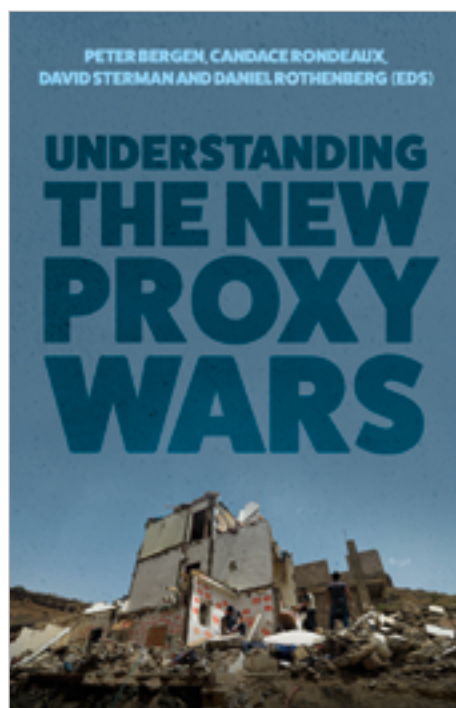
Mahmood Monshipouri is Professor and Chair of International Relations at San Francisco State University; he also teaches at the University of California, Berkeley. His books include the edited volume *Inside the Islamic Republic: Social Change in Post-Khomeini Iran*, also published by Hurst.

PETER BERGEN, CANDACE
RONDEAUX, DAVID STERMAN &
DANIEL ROTHENBERG (eds)

Understanding the New Proxy Wars

Proxy warfare will shape the conflicts of the twenty-first century for the foreseeable future. Yet the popular understanding of proxy wars remains largely shaped by the experience of the Cold War. In reality, in the Greater Middle East and its periphery today, the growing power of regional states and non-state actors, combined with the proliferation of new technology, has reshaped proxy conflicts, in an increasingly multipolar and interconnected environment.

In this collected volume, a range of researchers examine what constitutes proxy warfare and provide new insight into how these wars are waged, in contexts stretching from Ukraine to North Africa and Syria to Afghanistan. The volume draws upon research, surveys and interviews conducted in Syria, Iraq, Libya and Ukraine, as well as examining the propaganda output of those involved in these countries' wars. In doing so, *Understanding the New Proxy Wars* helps reveal both the continuities and the differences between recent conflicts and those of times past.



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Middle East
World rights

A set of highly renowned experts offer diverse new research and analysis of today's proxy wars, focusing on the Middle East and its neighbours.

Peter Bergen, Candace Rondeaux and Daniel Rothenberg are Professors of Practice at Arizona State University's School of Politics and Global Studies. David Sterman is a senior policy analyst at the thinktank New America, where Peter is Vice President, Candace the Director of Future Frontlines, and Daniel a senior fellow.



NIKOLAY KOZHANOV (ed.)

Russian Foreign Policy Towards the Middle East

New Trends, Old Traditions

This book sheds light on Russia's motives in the Middle East, examining its growing role in the region and its efforts to defend its national interests. As one of the first volumes to address both domestic and external drivers, it provides a valuable multi-dimensional account of Moscow's foreign policy. *Russian Foreign Policy Towards the Middle East* also traces the historical evolution of Russia's presence in the region, comparing Moscow's current vision of its diplomatic priorities with the strategic goals of the Soviet Union.

March 2022
9781787386891
216mm x 138mm
296pp
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International Studies /
Politics
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What determines Russia's contemporary relations with countries of the Middle East? And how have its diplomatic priorities evolved since the days of the Soviet Union?

Diverse case studies reveal areas of both divergence and convergence between Russia and various Middle Eastern players on a range of issues, including the Syrian Civil War, Iran's regional activities and the Yemeni conflict. In an era of renewed global tensions, this volume provides an important corrective to the notion that Russia's Cold War-era confrontation with 'the West' determines its contemporary approach to the Middle East. No less important are economic interests and domestic security considerations, which push Moscow towards greater interaction with the region. Only by examining both new trends and old traditions can we understand Russia's significance as a global player today.

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Foreign Service in Qatar.

Nikolay Kozhanov is Research Associate Professor at the Gulf Studies Center, Qatar University. He is a consulting fellow for the Russia and Eurasia Programme at Chatham House, leading a project on Russian foreign policy in the Middle East. His research focuses on Gulf geopolitics, and Iran's economy and international relations.

ABDULLAH AL-ARIAN (ed.)

Football in the Middle East

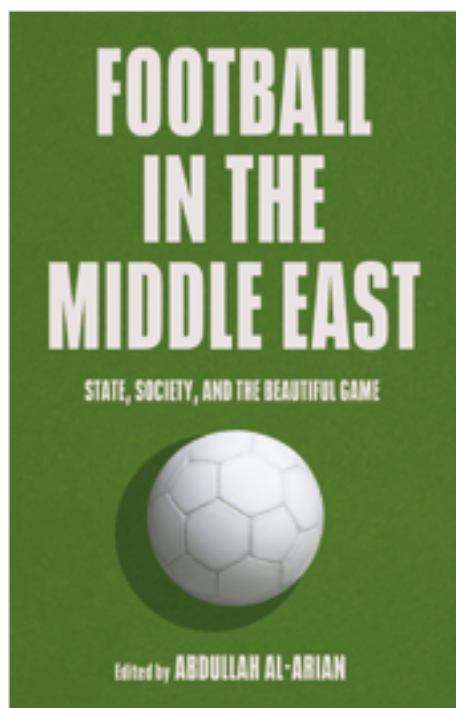
State, Society, and the Beautiful Game

Far and away the most popular sport in the world, football has a special place in Middle Eastern societies, and for Middle Eastern states. With Qatar hosting the 2022 FIFA World Cup, this region has been cast into the global footballing spotlight, raising issues of geopolitical competition, consumer culture and social justice.

Taking an interdisciplinary approach, this book examines the complex questions raised by the phenomenon of football as a significant cultural force in the Middle East, as well as its linkages to broader political and socioeconomic processes. The establishment of football as a national sport offers significant insight into the region's historical experiences with colonialism and struggles for independence, as well as the sport's vital role in local and regional politics today—whether at the forefront of popular mobilisations, or as an instrument of authoritarian control. Football has also served as an arena of contestation in the formation of national identity, the struggle for gender equality, and the development of the media landscape.

The thirteen contributions to this volume draw on extensive engagement with the existing body of literature, and introduce original research questions that promise to open new directions for the study of football in the Middle East.

Abdullah Al-Arian is Associate Professor of History at Georgetown University in Qatar, and the author of *Answering the Call: Popular Islamic Activism in Sadat's Egypt*.

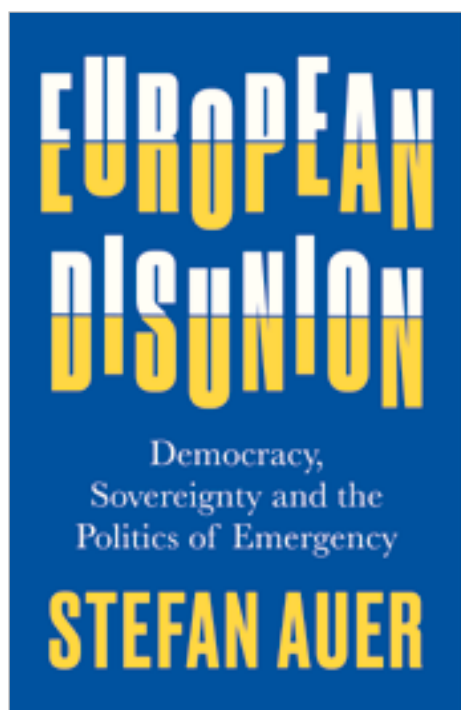


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Middle East / Sociology of
Sport
World rights

**A tour d'horizon
exploring how the
world's best-loved game is
affecting people, societies
and governments across
the region.**

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International Studies /

Europe

World rights

A compelling critique of the European project, arguing that the EU has failed to establish supranational sovereignty, yet has still damaged national democracies.

STEFAN AUER

European Disunion

Democracy, Sovereignty and the Politics of Emergency

The European Union means many different things to its many peoples. In Germany, for example, the European project was conceived mainly as post-national, or even post-sovereign. In France, by contrast, President Emmanuel Macron has pursued the vision of a sovereign Europe; that is, an EU that would become a formidable geopolitical actor. Yet, instead, Europe has struggled to ascertain its values abroad and even domestically, facing a sovereignist rebellion from its newer member states, such as Hungary and Poland, and the departure of Britain. The eurozone crisis has undermined the EU's economic credentials, the refugee crisis its societal cohesion, the failure to stand up to Russia its sense of purpose, and the Covid-19 pandemic its credibility as a protector of European citizens.

The key argument of this book is that the multiple crises of the European project are caused by one underlying factor: its bold attempt to overcome the age of nation-states. Left unchecked, supranational institutions tend to become ever more bureaucratic, eluding control of the people they are meant to serve. The logic of technocracy is thus pitted against the democratic impulse, which the European Union is supposed to embody. Democracy in Europe has suffered as a result.

Stefan Auer is Associate Professor at the University of Hong Kong. Twice named Jean Monnet Chair in EU Studies, he has published an award-winning monograph, *Liberal Nationalism in Central Europe*, and articles in *Government and Opposition*; *International Affairs*; the *Journal of Common Market Studies* and *West European Politics*, among others.

PEDRO LATOEIRO &
FILIPE DOMINGUES

Honest Broker

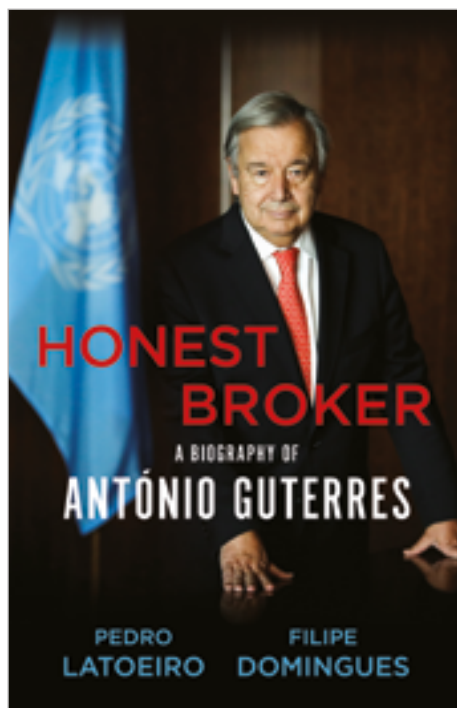
A Biography of António Guterres

Based on exclusive interviews with the United Nations Secretary-General himself, this is the first book to explain how António Guterres thinks and operates, in an era of renewed great power competition and rising nationalism. The UN leader started a second term in January 2021; yet, after five years in the job, Guterres' discreet diplomacy continues to intrigue even politicians, diplomats and analysts.

Honest Broker introduces a world leader to the world public, revealing Guterres' profound religion convictions, and his views on issues as wide-ranging as women's rights, gay rights, global terrorism and the political influence of social media. Pedro Latoeiro and Filipe Domingues tell the story of an extraordinary life, from Guterres' long association with the Clintons, and the mistakes and defeats that led to his resignation as Portuguese prime minister; to his decade advocating for the world's most vulnerable as UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and the diplomatic plotting to sabotage his candidacy for the top job.

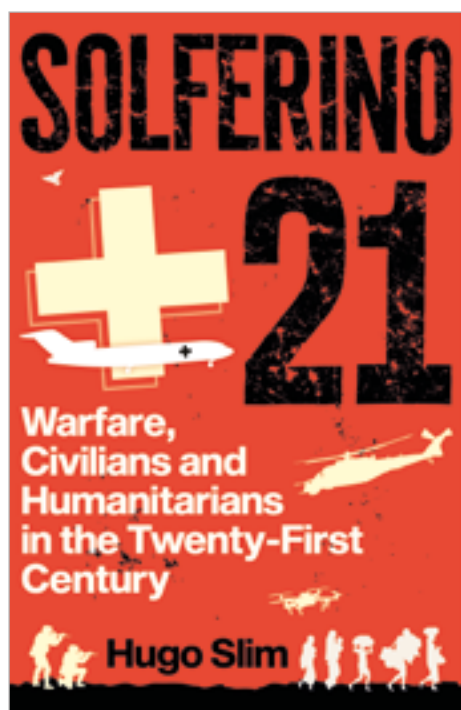
Drawing on over 120 interviews, including with several former heads of state or government and senior UN officials, the authors help us understand what can be expected from the head of the United Nations as he confronts the challenges of the 2020s.

Pedro Latoeiro is a political and press adviser at Argentina's Lisbon embassy, and a former journalist for Portugal's top financial newspaper. **Filipe Domingues** is Secretary-General of the Institute for the Promotion of Latin America and the Caribbean. A former Rádio Renascença journalist, he writes op-eds and columns for Portuguese media.



May 2022
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Biography / International
Studies
World English rights

The first biography of the
UN Secretary-General,
drawing on exclusive
interviews with Guterres
himself.



January 2022

9781787386839

190mm x 126mm

328pp

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Ethics / Development Studies

World rights

A persuasive overview of
conflict and aid today,
calling for a major rethink
of war humanitarianism
to meet the new
challenges of the
twenty-first century.

HUGO SLIM

Solferino 21

Warfare, Civilians and Humanitarians in the Twenty-First Century

War is at a tipping point: we're passing from the age of industrial warfare to a new era of computerised warfare, and a renewed risk of great-power conflict. Humanitarian response is also evolving fast—'big aid' demands more and more money, while aid workers try to digitalise, preparing to meet ever-broader needs in the long, big wars and climate crisis of the future.

This book draws on the founding moment of the modern Red Cross movement—the 1859 Battle of Solferino, a moment of great change in the nature of conflict—to track the big shifts already underway, and still to come, in the wars and war aid of our century. Hugo Slim first surveys the current landscape: the tech, politics, law and strategy of warfare, and the long-term transformations ahead as conflict goes digital. He then explains how civilians both suffer and survive in today's wars, and how their world is changing. Finally, he critiques today's humanitarian system, citing the challenges of the 2020s.

Inspired by Henri Dunant's seminal humanitarian text, *Solferino 21* alerts policymakers to the coming shake-up of the military and aid professions, illuminating key priorities for the new century. Humanitarians, he warns, must adapt or fail.

Hugo Slim PhD is a senior research fellow at the Las Casas Institute for Social Justice, Blackfriars Hall, University of Oxford. He was previously a senior research fellow at the Oxford Institute for Ethics, Law and Armed Conflict, which is based at Oxford's Blavatnik School of Government.

DAVID ARNOLD

Pandemic India

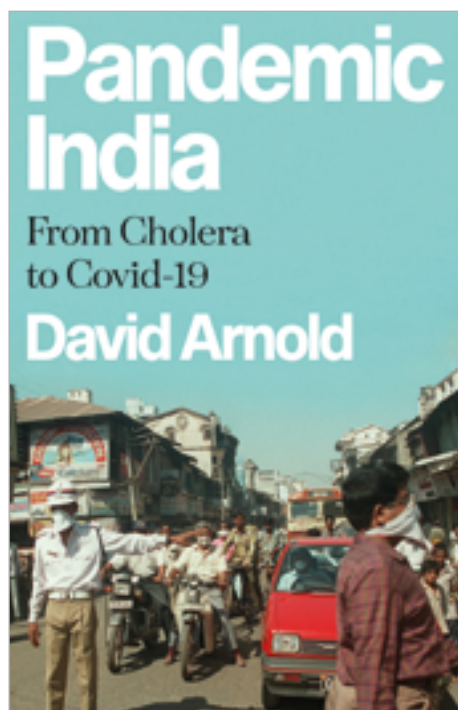
From Cholera to Covid-19

Covid-19 has given renewed, urgent attention to 'the pandemic' as a devastating, recurrent global phenomenon. Today the term is freely and widely used—but in reality, it has a long and contested history, centred on South Asia.

Pandemic India is an innovative enquiry into the emergence of the idea and changing meaning of pandemics, exploring the pivotal role played by—or assigned to—India over the past 200 years. Using the perspectives of the social historian and the historian of medicine, and a wide range of sources, it explains how and why past pandemics were so closely identified with South Asia; the factors behind outbreaks' exceptional destructiveness in India; responses from society and the state, both during and since the colonial era; and how such collective catastrophes have changed lives and been remembered. Giving a 'long history' to India's current pandemic, the book offers comparisons with earlier epidemics of cholera, plague and influenza.

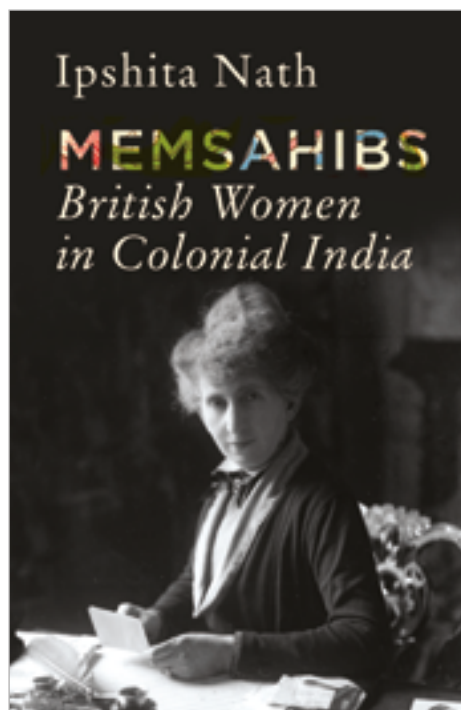
David Arnold assesses the distinctive characteristics and legacies of each episode, tracking the evolution of public health strategies and containment measures. This is a historian's reflection on time as seen through the pandemic prism, and on the ways the past is used—or misused—to serve the present.

David Arnold is Emeritus Professor of History, University of Warwick, and former professor of South Asian History at SOAS. His books on medicine and the environment in British and postcolonial India include *Colonizing the Body*; *Toxic Histories*; and *Burning the Dead: Hindu Nationhood and the Global Construction of Indian Tradition*.



March 2022
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One of the world's leading historians of colonial medicine recounts how mass outbreaks of disease have shaped the Indian subcontinent over several hundred years.



April 2022

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A refreshing study of colonial women's lives in British India, drawing on their writings to consider them as bold actors and overlooked historical sources.

IPSHITA NATH

Memsahibs

British Women in Colonial India

For young Englishwomen stepping off the steamer, the sights and sounds of humid colonial India were like nothing they'd ever experienced. For many, this was the ultimate destination to find a perfect civil servant husband. For still more, however, India offered a chance to fling off the shackles of Victorian social mores.

The word 'memsahib' conjures up visions of silly aristocrats, well-staffed bungalows and languorous days at the club. Yet these women had sought out the uncertainties of life in Britain's largest, busiest colony. *Memsahibs* introduces readers to the likes of Flora Annie Steel, Fanny Parks and Emily Eden, accompanying their husbands on expeditions, travelling solo across dangerous terrain, engaging in political questions, and recording their experiences. Yet the Raj was not all adventure. There was disease, and great risk to young women travelling alone; for colonial wives in far-flung outposts, there was little access to 'society'. Cut off from modernity and the Western world, many women suffered terrible trauma and depression.

From the hill-stations to the capital, this is a sweeping, vividly written anthology of colonial women's lives across British India. Their honesty and bravery, in their actions and their writings, shine fresh light on this historical world.

Ipshita Nath teaches English Literature at the University of Delhi. She is currently a doctoral candidate at Jamia Millia Islamia University, with a thesis concerning postcolonial representations of 'memsahibs' in Indian literature. She is the author of a short story collection, *The Rickshaw Reveries*.

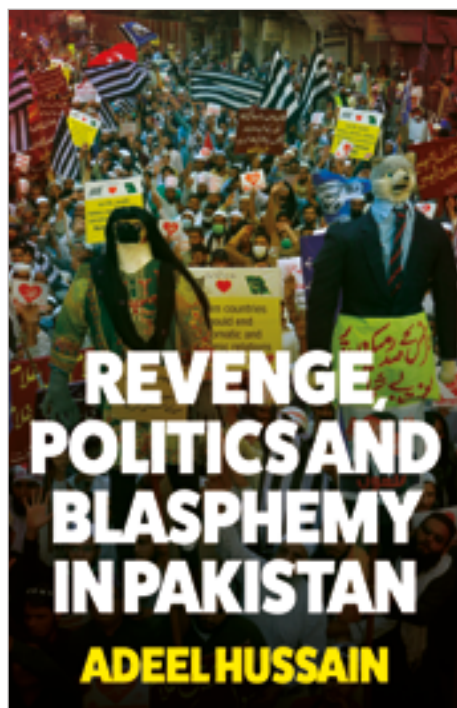
ADEEL HUSSAIN

Revenge, Politics and Blasphemy in Pakistan

This fascinating book uncovers the hidden stories behind Pakistan's fixation with blasphemy—tales of revenge, political scheming and sovereign betrayal. Hussain's account opens in nineteenth-century colonial Punjab and traces blasphemy killings to the present, linking their emergence to polemic encounters between Hindu and Muslim revivalist sects, namely the Arya Samaj and the Ahmadiyya. It offers, for the first time, the arresting backstories to the assassinations of Pandit Lekh Ram, a leading Hindu nationalist; Swami Shraddhanand, an early progenitor of Hindu nationalism and the principal advocate for converting Muslims; and Rajpal, the Hindu publisher of a sensationalist book on the Prophet Muhammad.

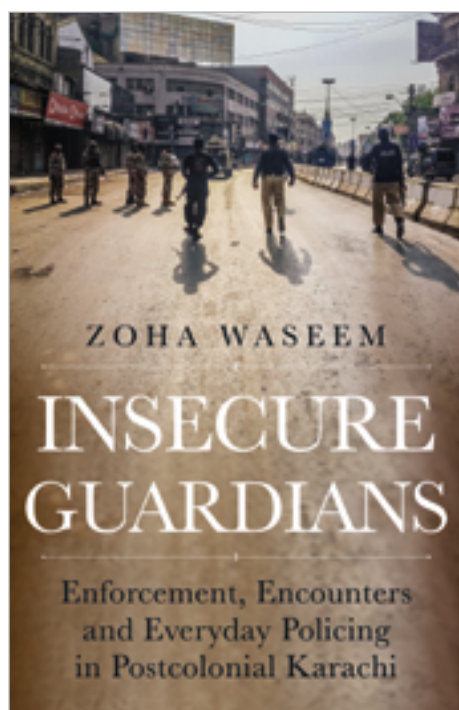
Revenge, Politics and Blasphemy in Pakistan then maps the curious afterlives of these killings, illuminating the most critical moments in Pakistan's history: 1953, when outraged protestors smashed stores owned by religious minorities, triggering the country's first state of emergency; 1974, when Islamist parties pressured Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to put blasphemy on the constitutional agenda; 1984, when Zia-ul-Haq transformed Pakistan according to his Islamist vision, which included more severe punishments for blasphemy; and the twenty-first century, when digital media has dramatically increased the visibility of blasphemy killings, prompting political parties to demonstrate their commitment to the cause.

Adeel Hussain is Assistant Professor of Legal and Political Theory, Leiden University. Holding a PhD in the History of Political Thought from the University of Cambridge, he has clerked at Frankfurt's Court of Appeals, worked for an international law firm, and advised the Afghan government on constitutional and administrative reforms.



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Why have blasphemy killings to avenge insults against the Prophet Muhammad become so prevalent in Pakistan?



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ZOHA WASEEM

Insecure Guardians

Enforcement, Encounters and Everyday Policing in Postcolonial Karachi

The police force is one of the most distrusted institutions in Pakistan, notorious for its corruption and brutality. In both colonial and postcolonial contexts, directives to confront security threats have empowered law enforcement agents, while the lack of adequate reform has upheld institutional weaknesses.

This exploration of policing in Karachi, Pakistan's largest city and financial capital, reveals many colonial continuities. Both civilian and military regimes continue to ensure the suppression of the policed via this institution, itself established to militarily subjugate and exploit in the interests of the ruling class. However, contemporary policing practice is not a simple product of its colonial heritage: it has also evolved to confront new challenges and political realities.

Based on extensive fieldwork and almost 150 interviews, this ethnographic study reveals a distinctly 'postcolonial condition of policing'. Mutually reinforcing phenomena of militarisation and informality have been exacerbated by an insecure state that routinely conflates combatting crime, maintaining public order and ensuring national security. This is evident not only in spectacular displays of violence and malpractice, but also in police officers' routine work. Caught in the middle of the country's armed conflicts, their encounters with both state and society are a story of insecurity and uncertainty.

Zoha Waseem is an assistant professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Warwick. Previously, she was a postdoctoral fellow at the Institute for Global City Policing, University College London; a teaching fellow at SOAS University of London; and a doctoral researcher at King's College London.

ZIAUDDIN SARDAR (ed.)

Critical Muslim 41: Bodies

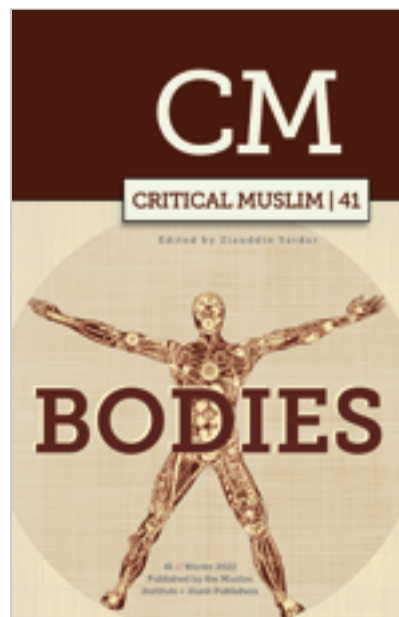
In our turbulent times, all varieties of bodies face serious dangers. Bodies of water are disappearing before our eyes; bodies politic risk suppression, lying on the razor's edge of the democratic struggle; human bodies fear annihilation at the hands of hate and xenophobic fascism. The biological body is no longer a husk for the intellect, but itself a vital piece of identity. The black body and female body, tethered to historical narratives, have become a cause worth fighting for in the BLM and #MeToo movements. More broadly, posthumanism and changing sexuality and identity politics are challenging our conceptions and limitations with regards to bodies. And the monolithic human body, once seen as divine perfection—a gift from above—is today quickly cast aside for the next, more advanced model.

In this issue, we explore the bodily familiar, the celestial bodies, the invisible bodies of metaphors, and those under the microscope—all with the power to start and stop our fragile little world on a whim. As we walk into the future, this issue challenges readers to prepare for a new type of body, fit for a world beyond our present predicaments.

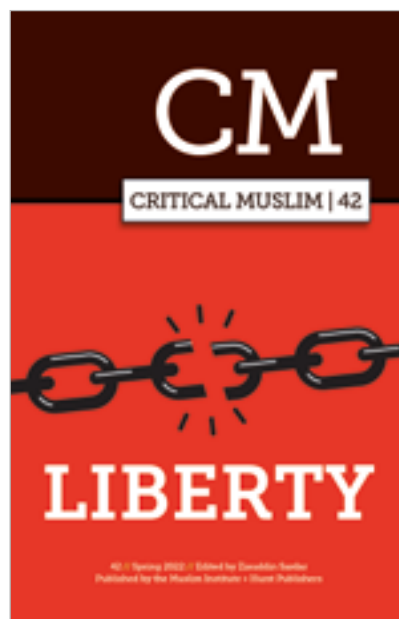
ZIAUDDIN SARDAR (ed.)

Critical Muslim 42: Liberty

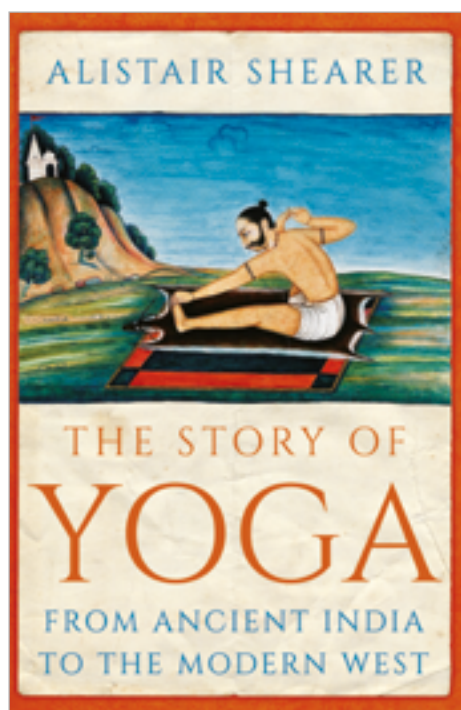
We are often led to believe that liberty is synonymous with freedom—but is that really so? And what does it entail? In this issue of *Critical Muslim*, we explore who defines the liberty we are told we enjoy, and how our worldviews impact the ways we assert our liberty. How can we achieve a balance between individual liberty and social responsibility? How do we establish the public good, and which groups among us are asked to curtail their liberty for collective benefit? Just what is the connection between freedom of speech, rights of minorities, and state security? Has the notion of liberty been rendered meaningless? If liberty involves freedom for all to do as they wish, what dangers does it raise for the society as a whole? Should faith communities expect to confine their liberty to the law of the land in which they reside, even if this is contrary to their religious values? Our writers explore these and other questions to understand how we construct our understanding around the idealised notion of liberty.



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Alistair Shearer is a cultural historian specialising in the art and architecture of the Indian subcontinent; a former lecturer at SOAS University of London; and a teacher of meditation and

the psychology of yoga. He has had a dozen books published, including a widely acclaimed translation of the *Yoga Sutras*.

SARAH JAFFE

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Sarah Jaffe is a Type Media Center fellow and an independent journalist covering the politics of power, from the workplace to the streets. The author of *Necessary Trouble*, she has written for *The*

New York Times, *The Guardian*, *The Nation* and many other outlets. She tweets as @sarahljaffe.



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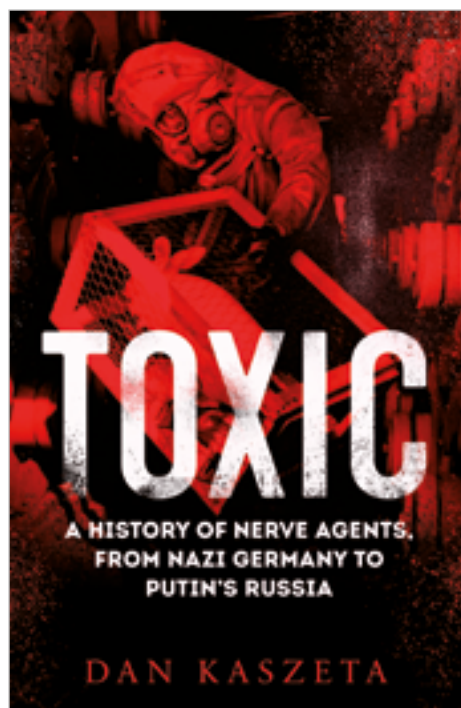
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Dan Kaszeta runs a specialist consulting firm in London. He has decades of experience protecting against chemical and biological weapons. An associate fellow at the Royal United Services

Institute, he has held positions in the US Army, the White House Military Office, the US Secret Service, and private industry.

DAVID KILCULLEN

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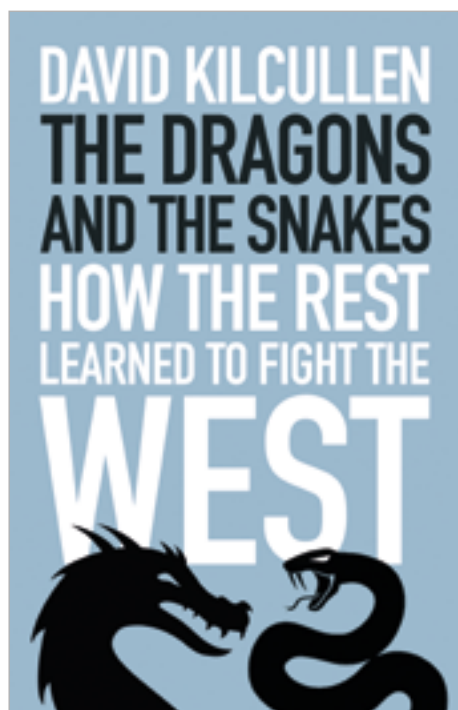
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David Kilcullen is an author, an expert on unconventional and guerrilla warfare, and a former soldier and diplomat. He was a senior counterinsurgency adviser during the Iraq

and Afghanistan wars. His previous books with Hurst include *The Accidental Guerrilla*; *Blood Year*; and *Out of the Mountains*.



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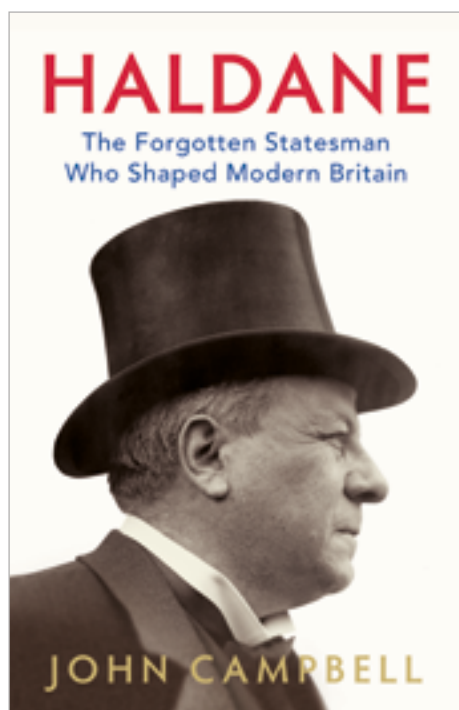


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John Campbell OBE is the co-founder and Chair of Campbell Lutyens, an international private equity and infrastructure advisory house. He read Economics at the University of

Cambridge and began his career in corporate finance at N M Rothschild. Married with three children, he has long been inspired by Lord Haldane’s example.

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Antonio Giustozzi is Senior Research Fellow at the Royal United Services Institute, and Visiting Professor at King’s College London, with a PhD from the London School of Economics. His eleven books are published by Hurst, most recently *The Islamic State in Khorasan: Afghanistan, Pakistan and the New Central Asian Jihad*.



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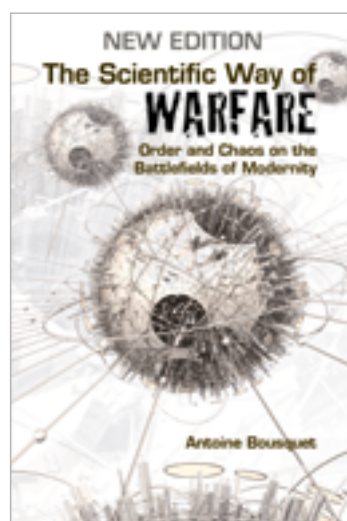
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Antoine Bousquet is Associate Professor at the Swedish Defence University.



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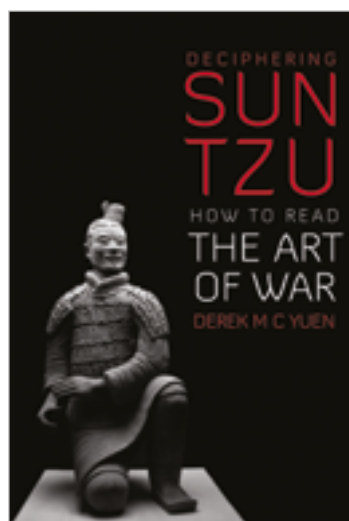
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Antonia Finnane is a historian of China and honorary professorial fellow at the University of Melbourne. She is currently writing a new book, *How to Make a Mao Suit*.



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Derek M.C. Yuen has a PhD in Strategic Studies from the University of Reading. Based in Hong Kong, his research focuses on the strategic thought of Sun Tzu, Lao Tzu and Mao Zedong, with a view to developing more accurate readings of Chinese strategy and China itself.

CATHERINE GEGOUT

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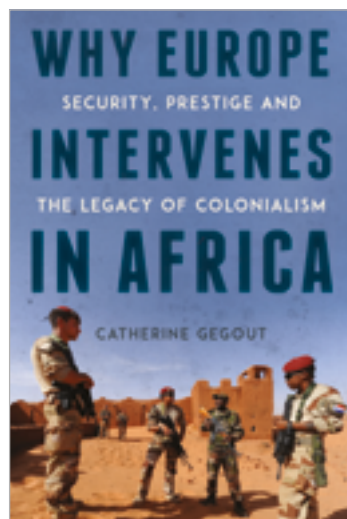
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Catherine Gegout is Associate Professor in International
Relations at the University of Nottingham. The author
of *European Foreign and Security Policy*, she has
previously been a Jean Monnet fellow at the European
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S. Sayyid is Professor of Decolonial Thought and Social
Theory at the University of Leeds, where he is also Head
of the School of Sociology and Social Policy.



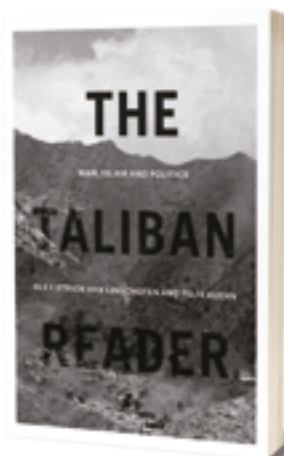
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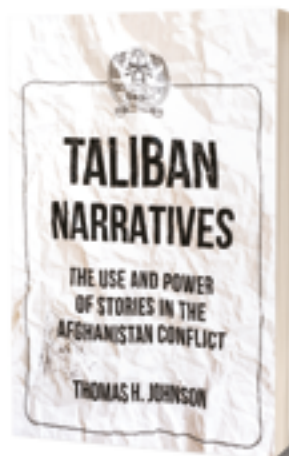
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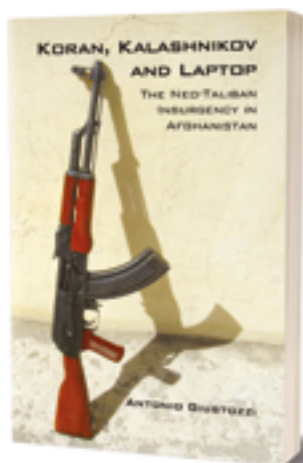
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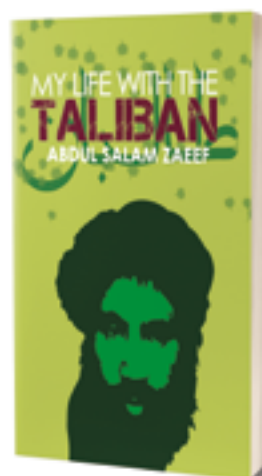
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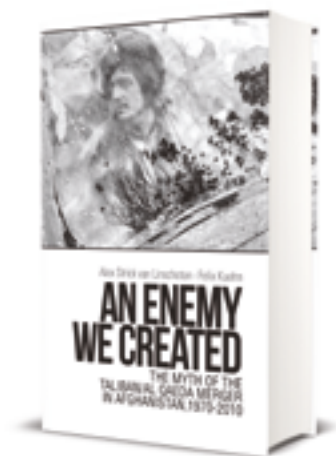
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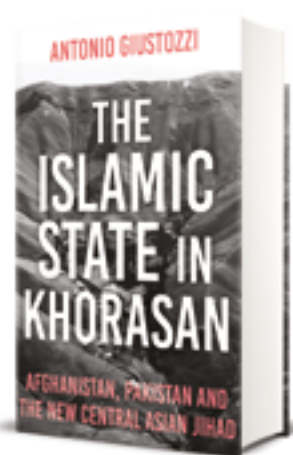
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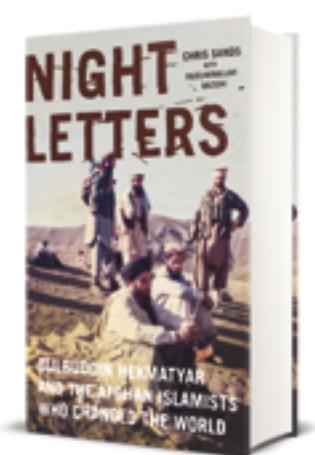
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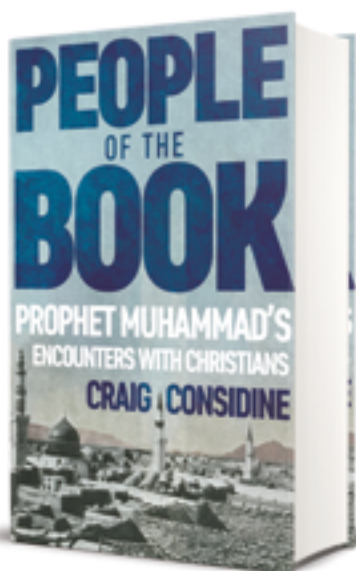
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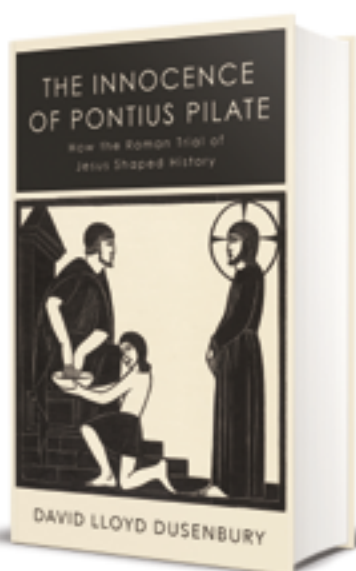
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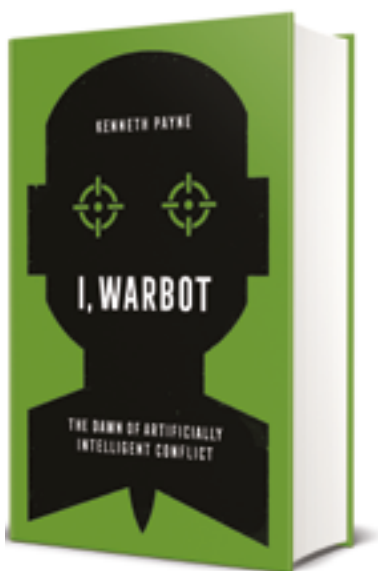
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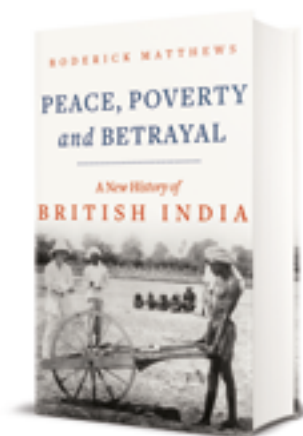
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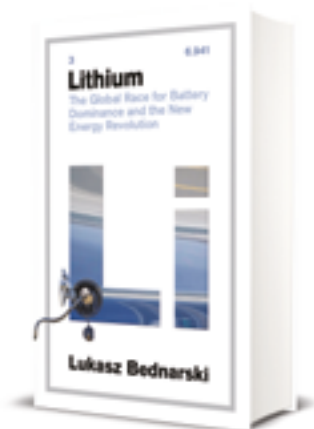
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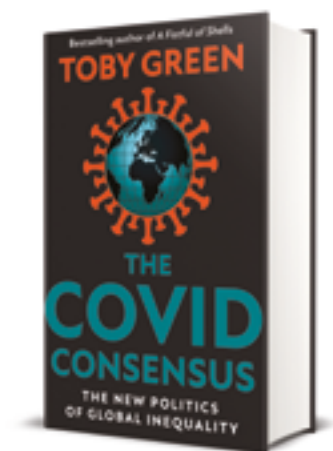
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