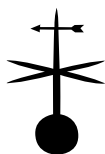


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KENAN MALIK

Not So Black and White

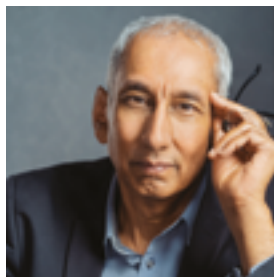
A History of Race from White Supremacy to Identity Politics

Is white privilege real? Does American history begin in 1619 or 1776? Why has left-wing antisemitism grown? How racist is the working class? Who benefits most when anti-racists speak in racial terms?

These very different questions have all emerged from today's heated debates around race, identity and culture. The 'culture wars' have generated ferocious argument but little clarity. *Not So Black and White* offers that clarity with a long view, explaining the real origins of 'race' in Western thought, and how we got from there to here. In doing so, it turns on its head many accepted views about race, identity, whiteness and privilege.

Leading thinker Kenan Malik interweaves three narratives: the history of the idea of race, from the Enlightenment to the present; the historical and current relationship between race and class; and his account of how we created a world riven by identity politics. Through these histories, he challenges longstanding assumptions, revealing forgotten stories of a racialised working class and questioning fashionable concepts like cultural appropriation.

Not So Black and White is both a lucid history rewriting the story of race and class, and an elegant polemic making an anti-racist case against the politics of identity.



Kenan Malik is a writer, lecturer, broadcaster and *Observer* columnist. A former *Moral Maze* panellist, he has presented BBC Radio 3's *Nightwaves* and Radio 4's *Analysis*. His previous books include *The*

Quest for a Moral Compass, and *From Fatwa to Jihad*, which was shortlisted for the Orwell Prize.



January 2023

9781787387768

234mm x 156mm

328pp

£20.00 Hardback

Sociology / Philosophy

World English rights

A powerful new history of the idea of race, forcing us to rethink our assumptions about today's culture wars.



October 2022
 9781787387775
 216mm x 138mm
 344pp
 £20.00 Hardback
 War Studies / Technology
 World rights

An eye-opening account
 of how spacepower and
 the prospects of space
 warfare are shaping
 international relations
 on Earth.

BLEDDYN E. BOWEN

Original Sin

Power, Technology and War in Outer Space

Space technology's 'original sin' is its militaristic heritage: Earth orbit was first exploited to enhance the killing power of the state. In Bleddyn E. Bowen's vivid retelling, the Moon landings and the launch of the Space Shuttle were mere sideshows, drawing public attention away from the real objectives of this technology: gaining military and economic power for terrestrial purposes.

Today, there are thousands of active satellites in space, working silently in the background to provide essential military, intelligence and economic capabilities. No major power can do without them. Beyond Washington, Moscow and Beijing, Bowen's story of 'space-power' charts the evolution of truly global technologies—from the ground floor of the nuclear missile revolution, to today's orbital battlefield shaping the wars to come, as world powers including India, Japan and Europe fully realise the strategic benefits of commanding Earth's 'cosmic coastline'.

Yet, as new entrants gradually but methodically spend more on outer space, as a stage for war, development or prestige, there is scope for cautious optimism about the future of the Space Age—if we can recognise, rather than hide, its original sin.



Bleddyn E. Bowen is Associate Professor of International Relations at the University of Leicester, specialising in space policy and military uses of outer space. The internationally

recognised author of *War in Space*, he consults on space policy for institutions including the UK Parliament, the European Space Agency, and the Pentagon.

ANDREW SMALL

The Rupture

China and the Global Race for the Future

This is the inside story of a revolution in China policy, from Washington to Brussels, Berlin to New Delhi. *The Rupture* explains how so many of the Western politicians, thinkers and business leaders closest to Beijing have transformed into its sharpest opponents; how this collective rethink was dramatically accelerated by the Covid-19 pandemic; and why seemingly obscure debates over 5G technology have become the first test case as to whether the battle for the future may tilt in China's favour.

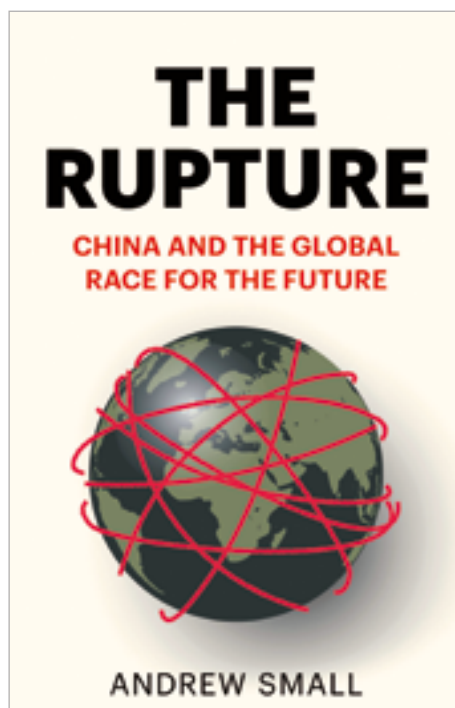
Noted China expert Andrew Small offers his detailed account of a rivalry that ranges far beyond US–China 'great power' politics. He traces US efforts to recast relations with old allies, as Washington has realised that it cannot confront the Chinese challenge alone; he charts the growth of Europe's role in the technological and economic contest, and Beijing's attempts to build a coalition of its own, from Moscow to Taliban-run Kabul.

The result is a kaleidoscopic picture showing the true significance of the emerging competition between systems and a lucid analysis of how the free-market, liberal-democratic model itself will be transformed—for China's rise will change the balance of ideas as much as it will change the balance of power.



Andrew Small is a senior transatlantic fellow with the German Marshall Fund's Asia Program, which he established in 2006. The author of *The China–Pakistan Axis* (also

published by Hurst), he lives in Washington DC.



November 2022
9781787387782
216mm x 138mm
304pp
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Current Affairs / International Studies
World English rights
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The gripping story of a turning point in global affairs, as politicians belatedly awaken to interlinked, systemic threats, both political and economic.

"At last, the feminist history of booze we've been waiting for!"
—AMY STEWART, author of *The Drunken Botanist*

A WORLD HISTORY of
WOMEN and ALCOHOL



**Girly
Drinks**

**MALLORY
O'MEARA**

LOS ANGELES TIMES BESTSELLING AUTHOR OF
THE LADY FROM THE BLACK LAGOON

MALLORY O'MEARA

Girly Drinks

A World History of Women and Alcohol

July 2022
 9781787387737
 216mm x 138mm
 384pp, 29 b&cw illus
 £14.99 Paperback
 Gender / Sociology / History
 UK & Commonwealth rights
 excluding Canada

'A thorough, and thoroughly entertaining, history ... Provoking both thought and laughter ... bracing refreshment from a master textual mixologist.' — *Publishers Weekly*, starred review

'Feminist and very funny ... deftly blends in equal measures of social history, gossip, and solid research.' — *Booklist*

This book tells the forgotten history of women making, serving and drinking alcohol all over the world. From the earliest days of civilisation, alcohol has been at the centre of social rituals and cultures worldwide. But when exactly did drinking become a gendered act? And why have bars long been considered places for men, when, without women, they might not even exist?

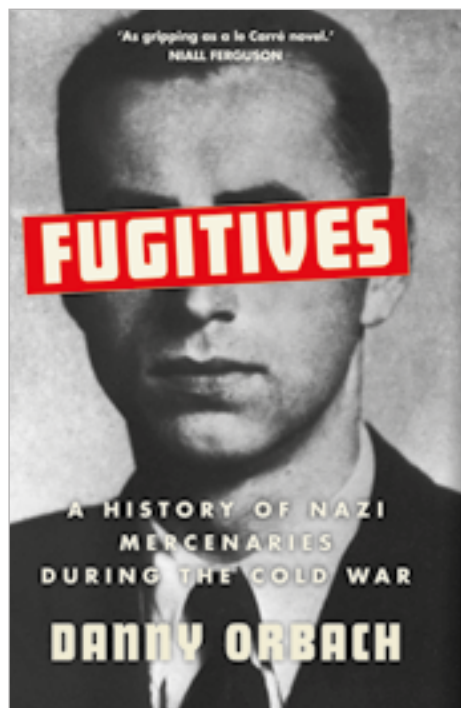
With whip-smart insight and boundless curiosity, *Girly Drinks* unveils an entire history of the female distillers, drinkers and brewers who have played a vital role in the creation and consumption of alcohol, from ancient Sumerian beer-makers and Russian bootlegging grandmothers to iconic bartenders and bar-owners, up till today.

Filling a crucial gap in culinary history, Mallory O'Meara dismantles the long-standing patriarchal traditions at the heart of these very drinking cultures, in the hope that readers everywhere can look to each celebrated woman in this book—and proudly have what she's having.

Mallory O'Meara is a bestselling historian, co-host of the literary podcast *Reading Glasses*, and author of *The Lady from the Black Lagoon*, an award-winning cultural history of Hollywood monsters and the forgotten woman who designed them. Mallory lives in the mountains near Los Angeles. Bourbon is her drink of choice.

From the ancient Sumerians to South Africa today, a page-turning feminist history of women drinking through the ages.





March 2022
 9781787385900
 234mm x 156mm
 352pp, 19 b&w illus
 £18.99 Hardback
 History / Espionage
 UK & Commonwealth rights
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From Spain to Syria, the thrilling, untold history of Nazi fugitives turned postwar agents—for America, the Soviets, the Third World, or themselves.

DANNY ORBACH

Fugitives

A History of Nazi Mercenaries During the Cold War

‘Gripping and often shocking.’ — *The Times*

‘Horrific and entertaining ... You don’t know whether to laugh or cry.’ — *The Telegraph*

‘A murky saga of espionage, paranoia, and betrayal.’ — *The Spectator*

‘Exceptional.’ — Philippe Sands

After the Second World War, many Nazi war criminals slipped away. Others were shielded by the West or the Soviets, in exchange for cooperation in the unfolding Cold War.

West Germany’s new foreign intelligence service welcomed SS operatives into the fold, though the KGB found them easy to turn or expose. The American, Soviet, French and Israeli secret services; nationalist organisations and independence movements—all used former Nazi operatives as freelance arms traffickers, spies and assassins. From posh German restaurants, smuggler-infested Yugoslav ports, and fascist holdouts in Spain to Damascene safehouses and Egyptian country clubs, these Nazi agents created a busy network of influence and information, shrouded in official secrecy and clouded by myth.

Unearthing newly declassified revelations from Mossad and other archives, *Fugitives* reveals an extraordinary, long-forgotten tale, and its colourful cast of characters.



Danny Orbach is an associate professor in History and Asian Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, with a PhD from Harvard.

His books include *Curse on This Country: The Rebellious Army of Imperial Japan*; and *The Plots Against Hitler*, which is available in seven languages. Danny lives in Jerusalem.

SAMUEL RAMANI

Putin's War on Ukraine

Russia's Campaign for Global Counter-Revolution

Eight years after annexing Crimea, Russia embarked on a full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022. Vladimir Putin viewed this attack on a neighbour as a legacy-defining mission, which sought to restore a central element of Russia's sphere of influence and undo Ukraine's surprisingly resilient democratic experiment. These aspirations were swiftly eviscerated, as the conflict degenerated into a bloody war of attrition and the Russian economy crumbled under the weight of sanctions.

This book argues that Putin's desire to unite Russians around a common set of principles and consolidate his personal brand of authoritarianism prompted him to pursue a policy of global counter-revolution; it was this which inspired Russia's military interventions in Crimea, Donbas and Syria, later steering Putin to war against Kyiv.

Samuel Ramani explores why Putin opted for all-out regime change in Ukraine, rather than a smaller-scale intervention in Donbas, and considers the impact on his own regime's legitimacy. This focus on the domestic drivers of invasion contrasts with alternative theories that highlight systemic factors, such as preventing NATO expansion. Ramani concludes by assessing the invasion's implications for Russia's long-term political and foreign policy trajectory, and how the international response to the conflict will reshape the global order.



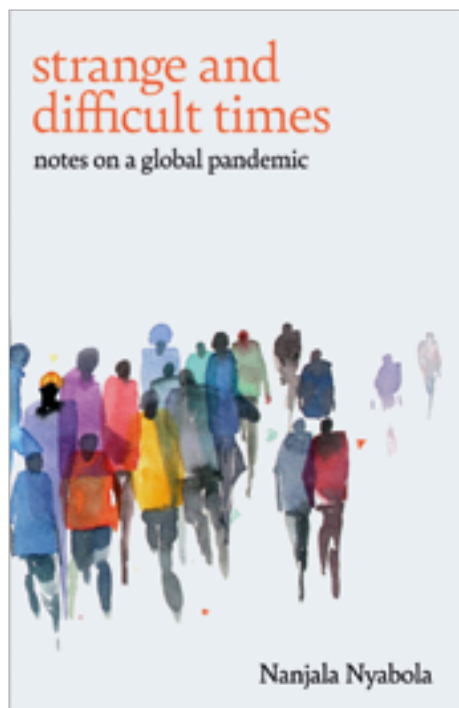
Samuel Ramani DPhil teaches Politics and International Relations at the University of Oxford. The author of *Russia in Africa*, also published by Hurst, and an associate fellow at the Royal United

Services Institute, he contributes regularly to *Foreign Policy*, *The Washington Post*, the BBC World Service, Al Jazeera and CNN.



December 2022
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352pp
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Politics
World rights

Why did Putin invade Ukraine?



December 2022
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 184pp
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 Current Affairs / Sociology
 World English rights
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**A devastating critique
 of the global inequities
 exposed by Covid-19,
 recording first-hand the
 injustice of Northern
 approaches to the Global
 South's pandemic.**

NANJALA NYABOLA

Strange and Difficult Times

Notes on a Global Pandemic

'We had hoped that we lived in a world that would rally in the face of a common threat. Instead, we found that the collective good is abandoned for the economic and political benefit of a handful of people, and nationalist myths of exceptionalism rob billions of their right to survive.'

In this new collection, Nanjala Nyabola takes stock of the state of the world in a moment of crisis, reflecting on both the historical and the novel injustices that have shaped Covid's starkly different outcomes between and within countries and communities. From vaccine distribution and mutual aid in the Global South to Western commentary on pandemics in Africa, Nyabola exposes a global society scarred by colonial legacies, nationalist competition and ingrained biases.

These essays are an inventory of the staggering political and social failures of our time, and the myths that can no longer survive in the pandemic's wake. Watching Covid spread in Kenya and around the world, and offering an international critique of Global North narratives about the South's experience, Nyabola's incisive writing reveals harsh truths about where and how the system was broken, and considers the future of our shared post-pandemic world.



Nanjala Nyabola is a writer and political analyst based in Nairobi, Kenya. Her work focuses on structural injustice, the intersection between technology and politics, and migration and human mobility. Her

previous collection *Travelling While Black*, also published by Hurst, was shortlisted for the Stanford Dolman Travel Book of the Year.

FIDA JIRYIS

Stranger in My Own Land

Palestine, Israel and One Family's Story of Home

After the 1993 Oslo Accords, a handful of Palestinians were allowed to return to their hometowns in Israel. Fida Jiryis and her family were among them.

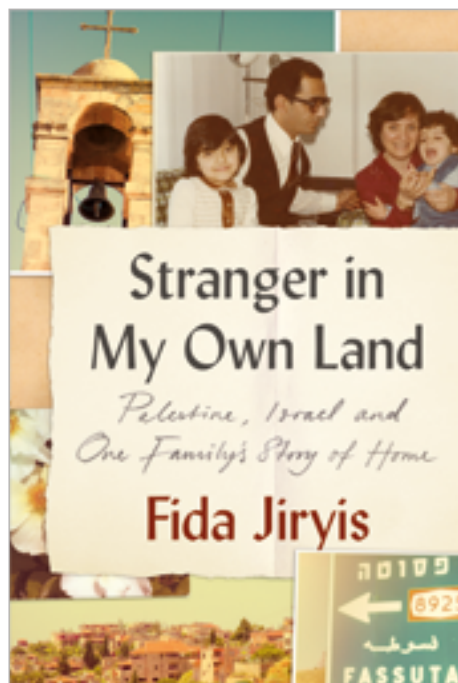
This beautifully written memoir tells the story of their journey, which is also the story of Palestine, from the Nakba to the present—a seventy-five-year tale of conflict, exodus, occupation, return and search for belonging, seen through the eyes of one writer and her family. Jiryis reveals how her father, Sabri, a PLO leader and advisor to Yasser Arafat, chose exile in 1970 because of his work. Her own childhood in Beirut was shaped by regional tensions, the Lebanese Civil War and the 1982 Israeli invasion, which led to her mother's death. Thirteen years later, the family made an unexpected return to Fassuta, their village of origin in the Galilee. But Fida, twenty-two years old and full of love for her country, had no idea what she was getting into.

Stranger in My Own Land chronicles a desperate, at times surreal, search for a homeland between the Galilee, the West Bank and the diaspora, asking difficult questions about what the right of return would mean for the millions of Palestinians waiting to come 'home'.



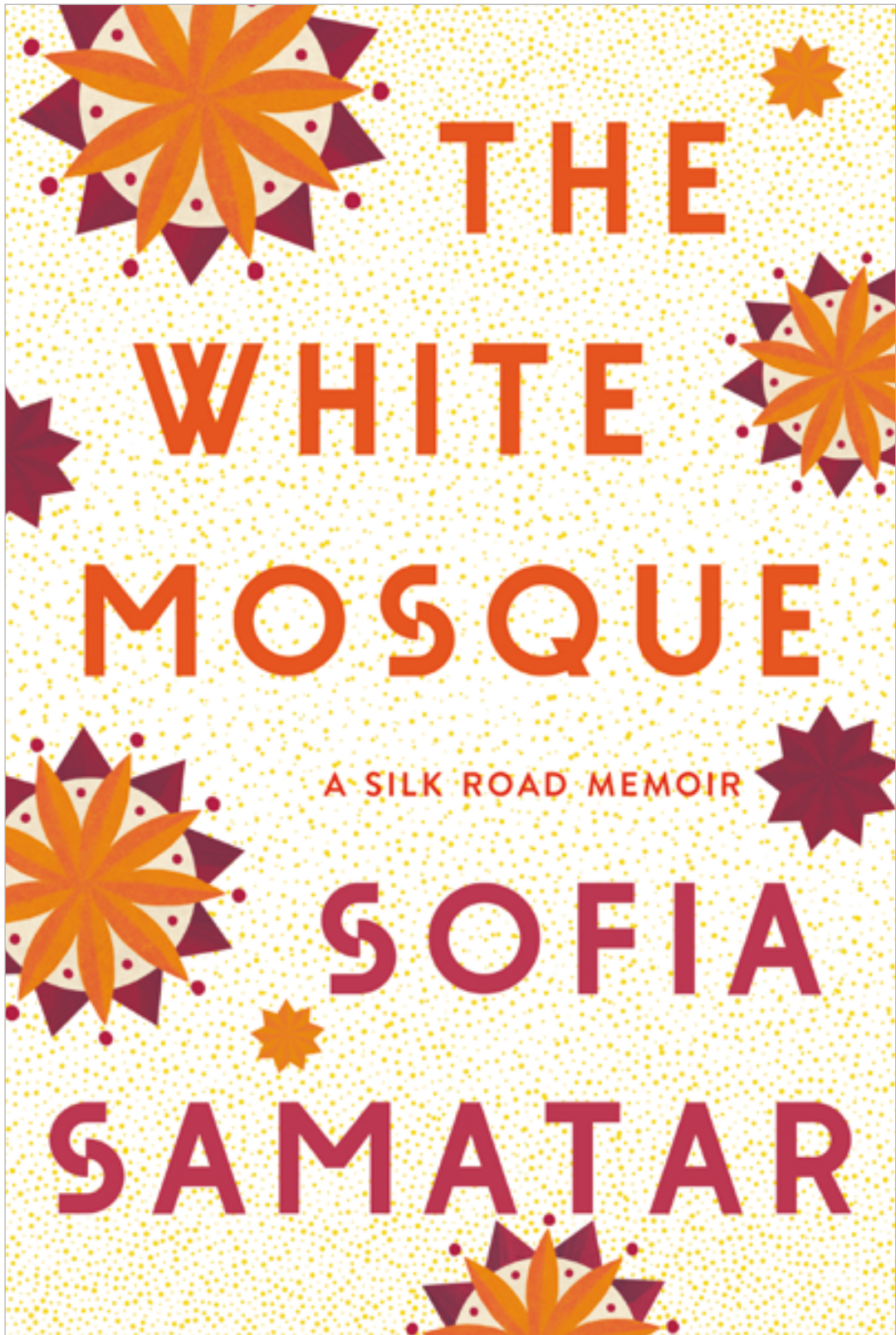
Fida Jiryis is a Palestinian writer and editor who has written on life as a Palestinian in Israel and the West Bank. She contributed to *Kingdom of Olives and Ash*, a *Washington Post* bestseller on fifty years of Israeli

occupation, and *Amputated Tongue*, a Hebrew-language anthology of Palestinian literature.



September 2022
9781787387812
234mm x 156mm
392pp, 40pp colour illus
£20.00 Hardback
Middle East / Memoir
World rights

A moving exploration of belonging in a contested homeland, from a Palestinian writer and citizen of Israel.



SOFIA SAMATAR

The White Mosque

A Silk Road Memoir

In the late nineteenth century, a group of German-speaking Mennonites travelled from Russia into Central Asia, where their charismatic leader predicted Christ would return.

Over a century later, Sofia Samatar joins a tour following their path, fascinated not by the hardships of their journey, but by its aftermath: the establishment of a small Christian village in the Muslim Khanate of Khiva. Named Ak Metchet, 'The White Mosque', after the Mennonites' whitewashed church, the village lasted for fifty years.

In pursuit of this curious history, Samatar discovers a variety of characters whose lives intersect around the ancient Silk Road, from a fifteenth-century astronomer-king, to an intrepid Swiss woman traveller of the 1930s, to the first Uzbek photographer. She explores Central Asian cinema, Christian martyrs, and her own complex upbringing as the daughter of a Swiss Mennonite and a Somali Muslim, raised as a Mennonite of colour in America.

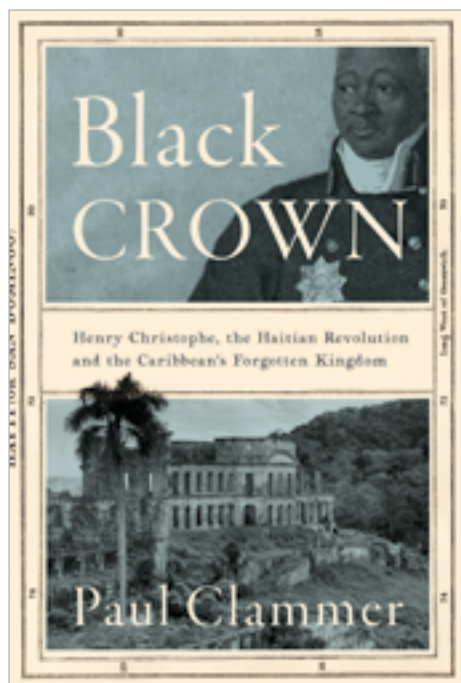
On Samatar's secular pilgrimage to both a lost village and a near-forgotten history, she traces the porous, ever-expanding borders of identity. How do we enter the stories of others? And how, out of the tissue of life, with its weird incidents, buried archives, and startling connections, does a person construct a self?

Sofia Samatar is the author of *A Stranger in Olondria* and *The Winged Histories*, winner of the British Fantasy and World Fantasy Awards, and a Hugo and Nebula finalist. She teaches African literature, Arabic literature in translation and speculative fiction at James Madison University. This is her non-fiction debut.

October 2022
9781787388079
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A historical tapestry of border-crossing wanderers, martyrs and invaders; a personal journey through Central Asia; and a tale of identity shaped by strange encounters.





January 2023
 9781787387799
 234mm x 156mm
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 History / Biography
 World English rights
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The epic story of a man,
 born into Caribbean
 slavery, who defeated
 Napoleon's colonial
 armies and crowned
 himself a free black king.

PAUL CLAMMER

Black Crown

Henry Christophe, the Haitian Revolution and the Caribbean's Forgotten Kingdom

How did a Caribbean child, born into plantation slavery, come to defeat Napoleon's armies in battle and crown himself king of the first free black nation in the Americas? This is the story of Henry Christophe: one of the most remarkable, yet least known, figures from the Age of Revolution.

Christophe fought as a child soldier in the American War of Independence, before rising to prominence during the Haitian Revolution as one of Toussaint Louverture's top generals, commanding troops against Bonaparte's invasion. Following Haitian independence, Christophe's ambition for rule helped plunge the country into civil war. He crowned himself King Henry I of Haiti, and his attempts to build a modern black state won the support of leading British abolitionists.

Christophe saw himself as an Enlightenment ruler, and his kingdom produced great literary works, epic fortresses and opulent palaces. But while he was a proud anti-imperialist and fought off French plots against him, the Haitian people chafed under his rule. After ten years on the throne, he committed suicide rather than face being overthrown. Christophe's mountaintop Citadelle still stands, as Haiti's sole World Heritage site—a monument to a revolutionary black monarchy, in a world of empire and slavery.



Paul Clammer is a travel writer and trained molecular biologist. He has written or contributed to over forty guidebooks, including *Haiti*; *Afghanistan*; and *Sudan*. A regular traveller to Haiti since 2007, including a year living in Port-

au-Prince, he has presented his research on Henry Christophe to the Haitian Studies Association.

MICHAEL MCCARTHY

Citizen of London

Richard Whittington—The Boy Who Would Be Mayor

This book brings to life the extraordinary story of Richard Whittington, from his arrival in London as a young boy to his death in 1423, against a backdrop of plague, political instability and war; turbulence between Crown, City and Commons; and the financial demands of three kings, to whom Whittington was mercer, lender and fixer.

Whittington was a man determined to follow his own path, in life and in death, and a significant figure in London's ceaseless development. As an entrepreneur, common councillor, Collector of the Wool Custom, King's Council member and four-time mayor, Whittington figured prominently in the rise of the capital's merchant class and powerful livery companies. A leading voice for social reform, a bulwark against corruption and a figure of largesse, he contributed to Henry V's victory at Agincourt and even oversaw building works at Westminster Abbey. In London, Whittington found his 'second' family: a mentor in Sir Ivo Fitzwarin, and a wife and inspiration in Fitzwarin's daughter Alice.

Since the mid-1600s, millions have enjoyed Dick Whittington pantomimes. There is a grain of truth in them, but the real story is far more compelling. Though minus that sadly mythical cat.



Michael McCarthy PhD lectured in politics before a career in development and regeneration of rural economies and historic estates. His books include *Campaigning for the Poor*; *The New Politics of Welfare*; and

A History of Their Making. Formerly visiting professor at Bournemouth University, he has written for *Political Quarterly*.



August 2022

9781787387911

234mm x 156mm

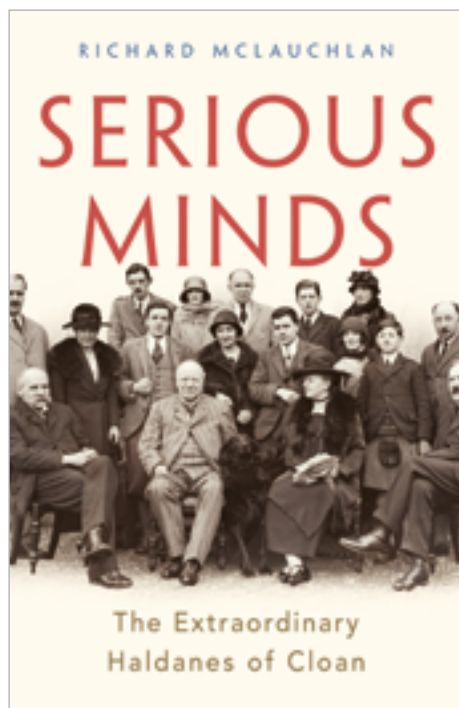
424pp

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History / Biography

World rights

A vivid and richly informative biography of the transforming social reformer, banker and 'influencer' for Richard II, Henry IV and Henry V.



October 2022
 9781787387928
 234mm x 156mm
 424pp, 24 colour illus
 £30.00 Hardback
 History / Biography
 World English rights

An elegant, revealing portrait of a leading twentieth-century family, whose overlooked contributions helped to shape the politics, government, arts and sciences of modern Britain.

RICHARD MCLAUCHLAN

Serious Minds

The Extraordinary Haldanes of Cloan

The Haldanes were a dynasty of Scottish polymaths. *The Times* hailed Richard Burdon Haldane as ‘one of the most powerful, subtle and encyclopaedic intellects’ British statesmanship had ever seen. His brother John, a great physiologist, invented the first gas masks used in World War One. Their sister Elizabeth was among the first women to become a senior public servant. Nurturing these exceptional minds was their mother Mary, friend and advisor to politicians and churchmen, including the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Mary’s grandchildren may have travelled from her traditional roots to radical socialism, but they continued the family legacy of brilliance. Naomi Mitchison was a doyenne of Scottish literature, while one Nobel prizewinner called her brother, the geneticist J.B.S. Haldane, ‘the cleverest man I ever knew’. Like the Darwins or the Keyneses, this clan of leading thinkers lived in rapidly changing times, and helped to remake the world around them.

Drawing on extensive family interviews and previously unseen private papers, *Serious Minds* weaves a tale of scandal, tragedy and intrigue within a dynasty that shaped modern Britain—from the welfare state, the education system and military power, to our understanding of energy, the human body, and the origins of life itself.



Richard McLauchlan is a Scottish writer, educated at the Universities of St Andrews and Cambridge. He collaborated with John Campbell on acclaimed biography *Haldane*, also published by Hurst,

and has written on the Welsh poet R.S. Thomas, in *Saturday’s Silence*. Richard co-founded the educational charity Light Up Learning.

PAUL BROWN

The Tyne Bridge

Icon of North-East England

The Tyne Bridge, opened in 1928 by King George V, is one of Britain's most iconic structures, a Grade 2 listed building. Linking Newcastle and Gateshead, this symbol of Tyneside and the region is also a monument to the Tyne's industrial past. Paul Brown's popular history explores what the bridge means to the people of North-East England, and its deep connection with their heritage.

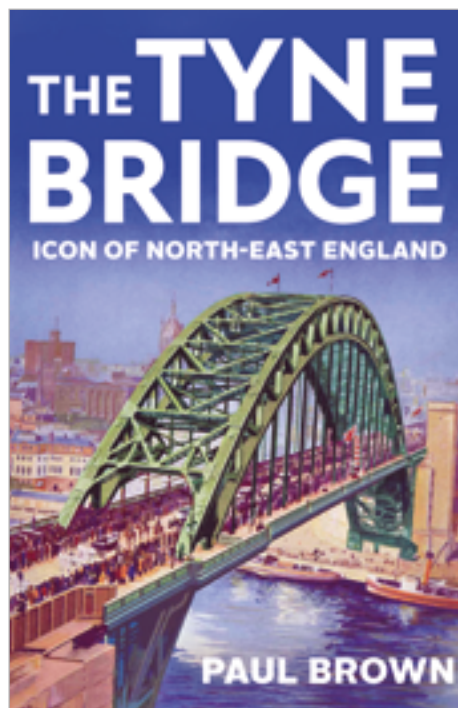
Brown recounts the story of the bridge's predecessors, from the Roman Pons Aelius—a site of water-god worship—to the Victorian era. He then brings to life the individuals who built the modern bridge: Ralph Freeman, the structural engineer who also designed the Sydney Harbour Bridge; Dorothy Buchanan, the first female member of the Institution of Civil Engineers, who produced drawings and calculations; John Carr, the boatman who bravely rescued workers from the Tyne on dozens of occasions; and the scaffolder Nathaniel Collins, the only man not to survive construction, who fell 175 feet just weeks before the bridge's completion.

This richly illustrated book charts the Tyne Bridge's story right to the present, exploring how it remains a North-Eastern cultural emblem, in a region that has changed almost unrecognisably since its heyday in the late 1920s.



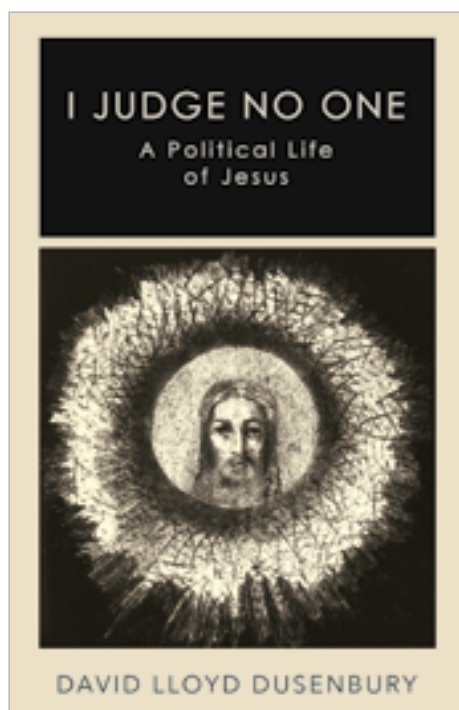
Paul Brown is a freelance writer for *The Guardian*, *FourFourTwo* and *When Saturday Comes*. Among his eleven published books, two of which have been optioned by Hollywood studios, are

Savage Enthusiasm: A History of Football Fans, and *All With Smiling Faces: How Newcastle Became United*.



November 2022
9781787387935
234mm x 156mm
288pp, 24 colour illus
£16.99 Hardback
Local History
World rights

A compelling account of how engineering, architectural ingenuity, a region's great industrial tradition, and the labour of thousands came to span the Tyne.



November 2022
 9781787388055
 216mm x 138mm
 312pp
 £25.00 Hardback
 Philosophy / Religion
 World rights

DAVID LLOYD DUSENBURY

I Judge No One

A Political Life of Jesus

Why was Jesus, who said ‘I judge no one’, put to death for a political crime? Of course, this is a historical question—but it is not only historical. Jesus’s life became a philosophical theme in the first centuries of our era, when ‘pagan’ and Christian philosophers clashed over the meaning of his sayings and the significance of his death. Modern philosophers, too, such as Immanuel Kant and Friedrich Nietzsche, have tried to retrace the arc of Jesus’s life and death.

I Judge No One is a philosophical reading of the four memoirs, or ‘gospels’, that were fashioned by early Christ-believers and collected in the New Testament. It offers original ways of seeing a deeply enigmatic figure who calls himself the Son of Humankind.

David Lloyd Dusenbury suggests that Jesus offered his contemporaries a scandalous double claim. First, that human judgements are pervasive and deceptive; and second, that even divine laws can only be fulfilled in the human experience of love. Though his life led inexorably to a grim political death, what Jesus’s sayings revealed—and still reveal—is that our highest desires lie beyond the political.

How can the narratives of the gospels, and their interpretation through the centuries, explain the highly political death of a deeply spiritual figure?

David Lloyd Dusenbury is a philosopher and historian of ideas, whose books include *The Innocence of Pontius Pilate* (also published by Hurst) and *Platonic Legislations*. A visiting fellow at Budapest’s Danube Institute, and visiting professor at Eötvös Loránd University, he writes for *The Times Literary Supplement*, *La Lettura*, and others.

ALEXANDRA BLANCHARD &
ALEX HOWLETT

Wander Women

Tales of Transgression in a Bordered World

Governments' decisions usually impact most on the lives of women and people of marginalised genders—yet their stories often go unheard. *Wander Women* unites tales of different journeys around the world and shines light on the boundaries and constraints—both physical and invisible, political and social—that mould the lives of cis women, trans people and gender-nonconforming individuals.

In this moving and reflective book, two journalists draw links between the gendering of migration and the policing of gender; between cities and borders that restrict mobility. Those sharing their stories tell us what it is like to move through the world with a 'threatening' gender identity, the 'wrong' nationality, 'transgressive' politics, or a 'disability'.

From the streets of London to the ruins of Syria, from Calais to Russia to Western Sahara, this book gathers voices of all ages—of pioneering activists and artists, matriarchs and mothers, politicians and humanitarians. They paint a picture of structural inequality, in which gender, movement and freedom have long been intertwined.

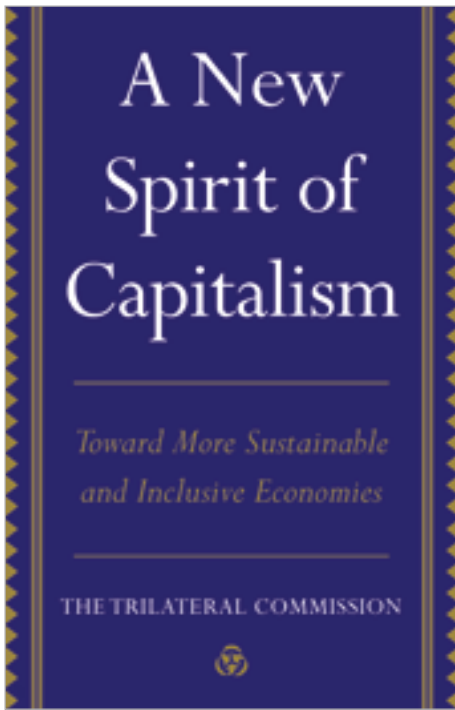
A current of warmth and resilience runs through and connects these extraordinary voices. They offer tales of resistance and determination, in a world that tries to deny many the right to make their own choices.

Alexandra Blanchard is a writer, teacher and host of the podcast *The Grand Thunk*. **Alex Howlett** is currently a reporter with Al Jazeera's Investigative Unit, and previously wrote for the *Financial Times*.



November 2022
9781787387973
216mm x 138mm
248pp
£20.00 Hardback
Gender / Politics / Migration
World rights

A deeply thoughtful, intimate yet political exploration of women's free and unfree movement, sharing stories from refugees, disability activists and more.



July 2022
 9781787387942
 216mm x 138mm
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 Politics / Economy
 World rights

Examines the future of the world economic order in the context of major global trends such as climate change, digitisation and rising inequalities.

THE TRILATERAL COMMISSION

A New Spirit of Capitalism

Toward More Sustainable and Inclusive Economies

Capitalism represents the greatest engine of material well-being that the world has ever seen. But scepticism about its viability has grown across the political spectrum, on the back of rising inequalities, climate change and digital disruptions. This book joins the debate about the crisis of capitalism—not by blindly defending the system, but by advocating concrete proposals to put it on a more socially and environmentally sustainable path.

Too often, conversations about the future of capitalism consider it as a homogeneous socio-economic system whose features vary little from one location to another; this commonly leads to one-size-fits-all recommendations to address capitalism's flaws. The contributors to this book, by contrast, look at the transition needed from the perspective of capitalism's multi-faceted nature, in response to challenges including the green transition, the digital revolution and spiralling inequalities. These present difficult trade-offs in terms of growth, efficiency and stability, which each capitalist model will solve differently.

The Trilateral Commission aspires to shape a new economic consensus, pushing the world towards the most optimal growth path from a societal perspective. It advocates a new spirit of capitalism that goes beyond the simple profit motive and realigns market incentives to channel different economic actors towards the common good.

JASPER BECKER

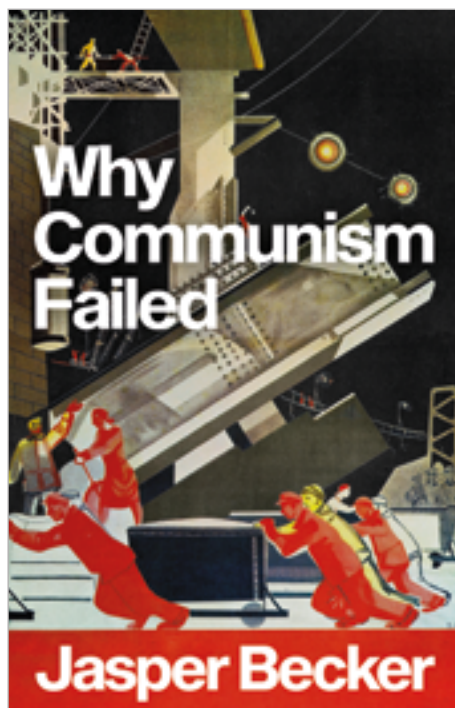
Why Communism Failed

Communism was destroyed not from without, but from within—by a persistent failure to make its economic theories work in practice. But what exactly did go wrong with its central planning? Until the last moment, top western economists claimed that Communism was superior to western models. Even now, centralised Marxist planning retains its admirers, especially among the young.

With the benefit of new archival research, we can finally grasp how falsified and manipulated statistics blindfolded Communist governments and confused western leaders, leading to staggering errors of judgement. Both sides believed that East Germany had a stronger economy than West Germany; that North Korea would overtake South Korea; that Mao's China was a paradise for its starving peasants. Those who warned that a dearth of reliable economic data would condemn central planning to irrational misallocation of investment and labour were ignored or belittled. But, ultimately, they were vindicated.

Jasper Becker answers the big question: what accounts for the fall of Communism in the Soviet Union, China and everywhere else? And why don't present debates acknowledge that failure? This unconventional history of Communism and the Cold War explains why the same old clash of theories is continuing to shape the world today.

Jasper Becker lived in and reported from Beijing for eighteen years. A Mandarin-speaker, he has written on China for *The Guardian*, *Economist* and *Spectator*, and authored ten books, including *Hungry Ghosts: Mao's Secret Famine*; and *Made in China: Wuhan, Covid and the Quest for Biotech Supremacy* (also published by Hurst).



October 2022

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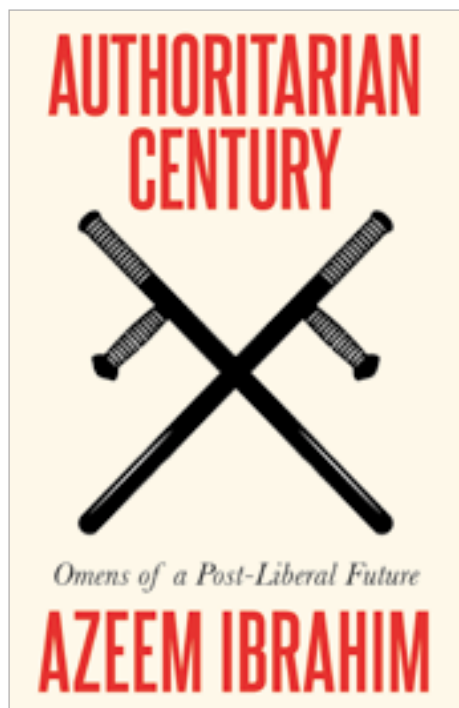
352pp

£20.00 Hardback

Politics / History

World rights

The author of a definitive book on famine in Mao's China assesses the economic DNA of Communism as a global phenomenon.



September 2022
 9781787388000
 216mm x 138mm
 336pp
 £20.00 Hardback
 International Studies
 World rights

A new look at how global liberalism went wrong and how the West can turn the tide, challenging liberal fallacies and offering hope for tomorrow.

AZEEM IBRAHIM

Authoritarian Century

Omens of a Post-Liberal Future

Liberal democracy has produced the most freedom and security for the most people of any form of government in human history. And, for a while, we believed that this would be enough. Especially after the collapse of the Soviet Union in the late twentieth century, liberal democracy seemed like it was always bound to win over its ideological rivals.

Yet, today, the alternative models of Chinese despotism and Russian-style ‘managed democracy’ are proliferating even in the heart of Europe. In the US, as an incumbent president tried to obstruct a peaceful transfer of power, half of the electoral spectrum abandoned the norms of liberal democracy, and a sizeable minority of voters now refuses to acknowledge the outcome of a fair election. Where do we go from here?

This book shows the roots of today’s anti-liberal backlash and argues that only a liberal order, domestically and internationally, can save vulnerable lives and confront the global crises of the twenty-first century. Taking aim at the critical mistakes that liberals continue to make, Azeem Ibrahim charts a path toward a liberal democratic renewal. His incisive narrative of the West’s recent past is sober and sobering; his vision for the future refreshing and hopeful.

Azeem Ibrahim is Research Professor at the Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College; Director at the Newlines Institute for Strategy and Policy; and a *Foreign Policy* columnist. His previous books are *The Rohingya: Inside Myanmar’s Genocide* and *Radical Origins: Why We Are Losing the Battle Against Islamic Extremism*.

ANNA ARUTUNYAN

Hybrid Warriors

Proxies, Freelancers and Moscow's Struggle for Ukraine

The Russian government's deniable use of rogues, businessmen, enthusiasts, mercenaries and political technologists confounded policymakers as Moscow waged a covert invasion of Ukraine in 2014. Did Crimea and Donbas reveal the Kremlin's new 'hybrid war' playbook? Or was Moscow itself manipulated by the very forces it had unleashed? Given the disinformation and skewing of the narrative, it is no wonder that the international community has dramatically misunderstood the very nature of this war and was unprepared for the Kremlin's sudden and brutal escalation in 2022.

As Russia's overt military operation in Ukraine risks pitting the world's great powers against each other, *Hybrid Warriors* traces the trajectory of the conflict from the bottom up. Starting from the first pivotal years in the 2010s, the book draws on unique interviews, reporting from the conflict zones, and wider on-the-ground research, to reconstruct the granular relationships between civilians, non-state actors, and the Kremlin that co-opted them. In the process, it speaks not just to the history of this conflict, but also to our wider understanding of how Putin's Kremlin works and how it has prosecuted its war on Ukraine.

Anna Arutunyan is a Russian-American journalist, author and analyst. She covered the 2014 war for *USA Today* from Crimea and Donetsk, and has since analysed the conflict for the International Crisis Group. Her book, *The Putin Mystique: Inside Russia's Power Cult*, was published in over a dozen languages.



August 2022

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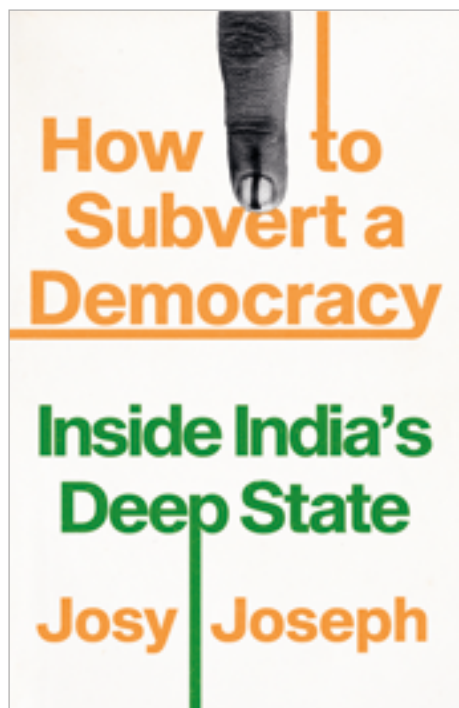
352pp

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Current Affairs / War Studies / Europe

World rights

Focussing on Putin's volunteer militants, Arutunyan's reportage covers the pro-Russian insurgency and the war it sparked in eastern Ukraine.



July 2022
 9781787387997
 216mm x 138mm
 392pp
 £16.99 Paperback
 Politics / India
 World English rights
 excluding South Asia

A chilling account of the lengths to which Indian police and intelligence go for their political masters, imperilling the state they are sworn to protect.

JOSY JOSEPH

How to Subvert a Democracy **Inside India's Deep State**

India is a democracy at bay. This compelling book puts the spotlight not on political leaders but on the murky workings of India's deep state—from the police to the federal investigative and intelligence agencies.

Traversing the Mumbai train blasts, the Kashmir insurgency, the Gujarat 'war on terror' and the Delhi riots, Josy Joseph reveals corruption and political agendas running through the core of agencies that should ensure justice and accountability, and shows how this has undermined democracy. In 2020, amid the Covid-19 pandemic, India's democratic pillars suffered another blow: the arrest of activists, dissidents and journalists opposed to Narendra Modi's government, some on dubious charges, others under stringent anti-terror laws.

Some contend that Modi has simply perfected the art of subverting a democratic state's security establishment, bending it to his will. With false arrests, the overlooking of right-wing Hindu terror, an establishment bias against Muslims and an unenviable human rights record that has often relied on extrajudicial killings or false testimonies, India's domestic security institutions have become just another player in pursuit of power. How did this happen? And why does India, the world's largest democracy, often subvert the very ideals of democratic politics when dealing with security challenges?

Josy Joseph is an award-winning journalist and writer. He is the founder of Confluence Media, a platform-agnostic investigative journalism outfit; and the author of *A Feast of Vultures*, an exposé on corruption in India.

ZSUZSANNA SZELÉNYI

Tainted Democracy

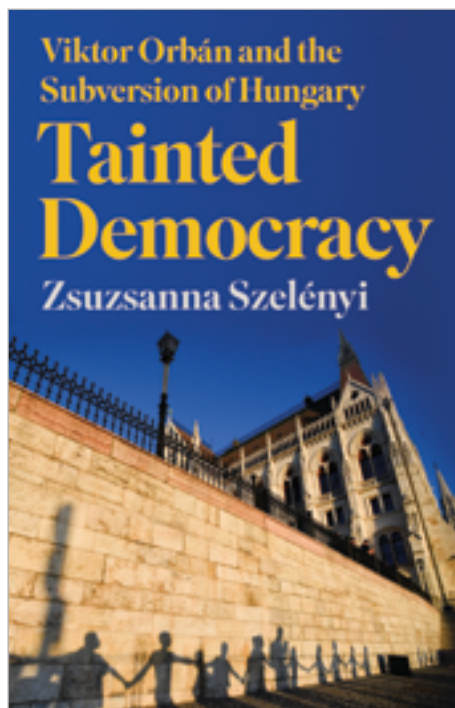
Viktor Orbán and the Subversion of Hungary

Hungary, once the poster-child of liberal democracy, is fast becoming an autocracy under Viktor Orbán. After winning an absolute majority in 2010, Orbán launched a series of ‘reforms’, fundamentally undermining the country’s twenty-year, post–Cold War liberal consensus. For supporters and foes alike, the rise and rise of Hungary’s prime minister is a vivid example of how democracy can be subverted from within.

Zsuzsanna Szelényi, a founding member of Orbán’s Fidesz, has witnessed first-hand the party’s shift from liberalism to populist nationalism. Offering an insider’s account of Fidesz’s evolution since its creation, she explains how the party rose to leadership of the country under Orbán and made sweeping legal, political and economic changes to solidify its grip on power—from reining in the public media to slashing the number of parliamentary seats. She answers a key question: why has Orbán been so successful, winning widespread support within Hungary and wielding considerable influence in European politics? And how can Hungary’s opposition party Together, which she co-founded in 2014, work to turn the country around?

Underpinned by Szelényi’s own experiences at the heart of Hungarian politics, *Tainted Democracy* offers accessible, nuanced insights into the global rise of populist autocracy—and how it can be challenged.

Zsuzsanna Szelényi is a Hungarian politician and foreign policy specialist. In the 1990s, she was an activist and MP for Fidesz, then a liberal anti-Communist party. After working at the Council of Europe for fifteen years, she returned to politics in 2012, representing the liberal opposition in Parliament.



October 2022

9781787388024

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352pp

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Politics / Europe

World rights excluding the

Hungarian language

The inside story of Hungary’s descent into autocracy at the hands of Viktor Orbán, told by a former parliamentary ally turned fierce political opponent.



August 2022
 9781787387980
 216mm x 138mm
 332pp
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 Middle East / Politics
 World rights

An authoritative account of the Turkish president's wars at home and abroad, and how each of these power games has shaped both policy and strategy.

GÖNÜL TOL

Erdoğan's War

A Strongman's Struggle at Home and in Syria

Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Turkey's pugnacious president, is now the country's longest-serving leader. On his way to the top, he has fought many wars. This book tells the story of those battles against domestic enemies through the lens of the Syrian conflict, which has become part and parcel of Erdoğan's fight to remain in power.

Turkey expert Gönül Tol traces Erdoğan's ideological evolution from a conservative democrat to an Islamist and a Turkish nationalist, and explores how this progression has come to shape his Syria policy, changing the course of the war. She paints a vivid picture of the president's constantly shifting strategy to consolidate his rule, showing that these shifts have transformed Turkey's role in post-uprising Syria from an advocate of democracy, to a power fanning the flames of civil war, to an occupier.

From the first days of Erdoğan's rule through the failed coup against him, via the Kurdish peace process, the Arab uprisings and the refugee crisis, this compelling, authoritative book tells the story of one man's quest to remain in power—tying together the fates of two countries, and changing them both forever.

Gönül Tol is the founding director of the Middle East Institute's Turkey programme, and a Frontier Europe Initiative senior fellow. A frequent media commentator, she teaches and writes extensively on Turkey–US relations, Turkish politics and foreign policy, the Kurdish issue, and Islamism in Western Europe and the Middle East.

AHMAD SHUJA JAMAL &
WILLIAM MALEY

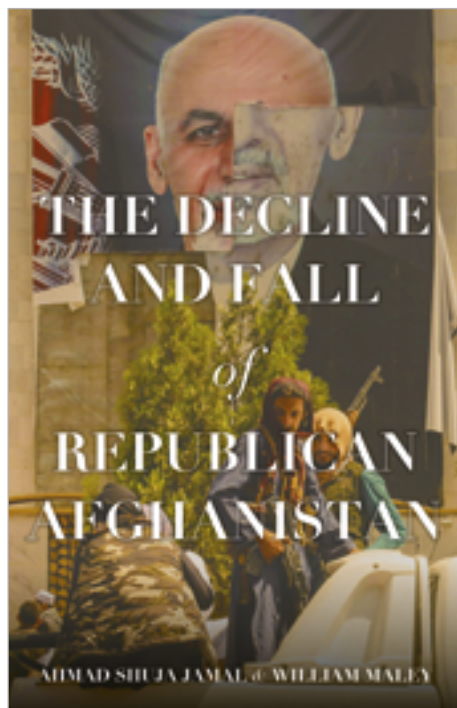
The Decline and Fall of Republican Afghanistan

The Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan in 2021 was the result of declining active support for the government, and of waste and inefficiency in aid delivery. Yet, while corrosive, these problems were not in themselves sufficient to have brought about a collapse. To a significant degree, they were the result of early failings in institutional design, reflecting an American inclination to pursue short-term policy approaches that created perverse incentives—thus interfering with the long-term objective of stability.

This book exposes the true factors underpinning Kabul's fall. The Afghan Republic came under relentless attack from Taliban insurgents who depended critically on Pakistani support. It also suffered a creeping invasion that put the government on the back foot as the US tried and failed to deal with Pakistan's perfidy. The fatal blow came when bored US leaders naively cut an exit deal with the enemy, fatally compromising the operation of the Afghan army and air force and triggering the final collapse, with top leaders at odds over whether to make a final stand in Kabul.

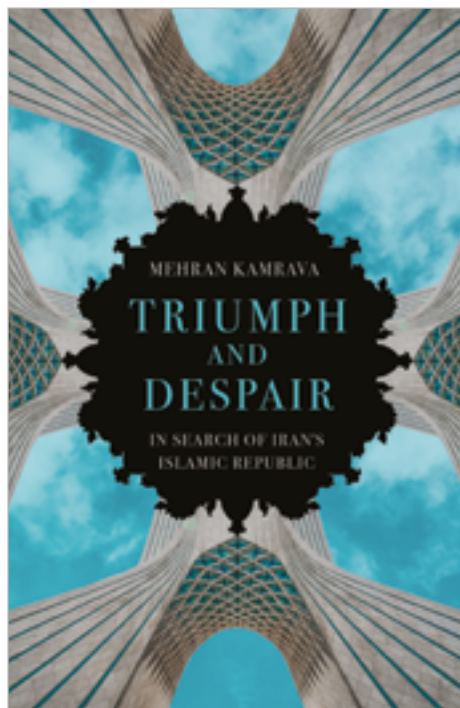
The Afghan Republic did not simply decline and fall. It was betrayed.

Ahmad Shuja Jamal was director-general for international relations on Kabul's National Security Council (2019–21). He was previously a Fulbright scholar (Georgetown University), and worked for Human Rights Watch. **William Maley** is Emeritus Professor of Diplomacy at Australian National University, and the author of many books on Afghan politics and history.



November 2022
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South Asia / Politics
World rights

A searing indictment of how Afghan elites and the Western powers pulled the rug on the Afghan people, abandoning them to their fate.



September 2022
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 Middle East / Politics
 World rights

A history of Iran's political under-development, of how and why social movements emerged, and of how they blossomed into revolutions that ultimately betrayed their ideals.

Vol. 2 in the series
 IRAN FROM THE PAHLAVIS
 TO THE PRESENT
 Edited by Professor Mehran Kamrava,
 Georgetown University in Qatar

MEHRAN KAMRAVA

Triumph and Despair

In Search of Iran's Islamic Republic

Triumph and Despair tells the dramatic story of post-revolutionary Iran's first four decades, from its establishment in 1979 until today.

The revolutionary coalition that overthrew the monarchy was at once democratic, populist and Islamic. The Islamists, and the Khomeinists in particular, were able to capitalise effectively on prevailing conditions on the ground; to frame the new republic's constitution, capture nascent institutions, and consolidate their power by eliminating opponents through a reign of terror. Once the war with Iraq was over and after the death of the new order's charismatic founder, Ayatollah Khomeini, the Islamic Republic was consolidated: first by tweaking its institutional arrangements, and then by fostering economic development and post-war reconstruction. A reformist interlude then followed, reversed unceremoniously by a return of populism and a broader authoritarian retrenchment.

Today Iran remains at odds with itself, its economy too deeply political to yield meaningful developmental results, its foreign relations too conflicted to allow it a productive place in the community of nations. As Iran's nationalities and its women and youth carve out spaces for themselves in the broader narrative, competing identities—religious, national and otherwise—abound. After forty years, the Islamic Republic remains a country in search of itself.

Mehran Kamrava is Professor of Government, Georgetown University in Qatar, and directs the Iranian Studies Unit at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. His books on Iranian and Middle Eastern affairs include *Inside the Arab State* and *The Nuclear Question in the Middle East*, both published by Hurst.

THULA SIMPSON

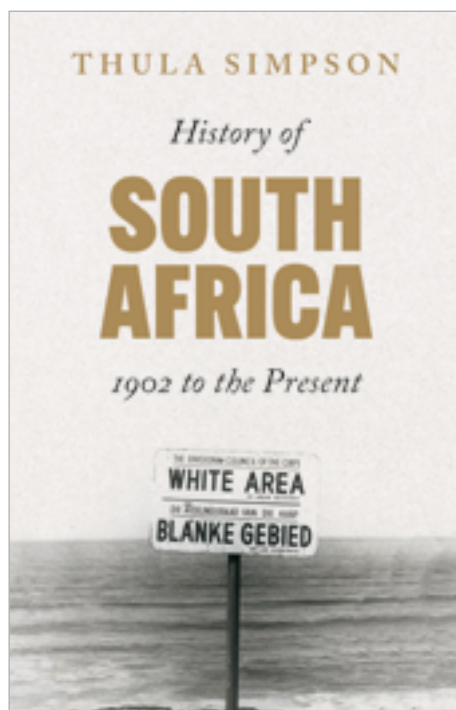
History of South Africa

1902 to the Present

South Africa was born in war, has been cursed by crises and ruptures, and today stands on a precipice once again. This book explores the country's tumultuous journey from the Second Anglo-Boer War to 2021. Drawing on diaries, letters, oral testimony and diplomatic reports, Thula Simpson follows the South African people through the battles, elections, repression, resistance, strikes, insurrections, massacres, crashes and epidemics that have shaped the nation.

Tracking South Africa's path from colony to Union and from apartheid to democracy, Simpson documents the influence of key figures including Jan Smuts, Nelson Mandela, Steve Biko, P.W. Botha, Thabo Mbeki and Cyril Ramaphosa. He offers detailed accounts of watershed events like the 1922 Rand Revolt, the Defiance Campaign, Sharpeville, the Soweto uprising and the Marikana massacre. He sheds light on the roles of Gandhi, Churchill, Castro and Thatcher, and explores the impact of the World Wars, the armed struggle and the Border War. Simpson's history charts the post-apartheid transition and the phases of ANC rule, from Rainbow Nation to transformation; state capture to 'New Dawn'. Along the way, it reveals the divisions and solidarities of sport; the nation's economic travails; and painful pandemics, from the Spanish flu to AIDS and Covid-19.

Thula Simpson is Associate Professor of History at the University of Pretoria. A British scholar, he obtained his PhD at Birkbeck, University of London. He is the author of the acclaimed *Umkhonto we Sizwe: The ANC's Armed Struggle*.



July 2022
 9781787387966
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 Africa / Politics
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A fascinating account of South Africa's 120-year journey through war, crisis and division, which now looks set to come full circle.



October 2022
 9781787388048
 234mm x 156mm
 352pp, 24 colour illus
 £25.00 Hardback
 History / Architecture
 World rights

A richly illustrated
 history showing how
 the British Empire used
 buildings in early colonial
 India to influence
 attitudes among those
 who saw and used them.

ROSIE LLEWELLYN-JONES

Empire Building

The Construction of British India, 1690–1860

Empire Building is a new account of the East India Company's impact on India, focussing on how it changed the sub-continent's built environment in the context of defence, urbanisation, and infrastructural development.

Rosie Llewellyn-Jones examines these initiatives through a lens of 'political building' (using Indian contractors and labourers). Railways, docks, municipal buildings, freemasons' lodges, hotels, race-courses, barracks, cemeteries, statues, canals—everything the British erected made a political statement, even if unconsciously; hence this book is concerned less with architectural styles, more with subtle infiltration into the minds of those who saw and used these structures. It assesses, in turn, Indian responses to the changing landscape. Indians often reacted favourably to new manufacturing technologies from Britain, like minting and gunpowder, while the British learnt from and adapted local methods.

From military engineers and cartography to imported raw metals and steam power, Llewellyn-Jones considers the social and environmental changes wrought by colonialism. This period was marked by a shift from formerly private, Indian-controlled functions, like education, entertainment, trading and healing, to British public institutions like universities, theatres, chambers of commerce and hospitals.

Stepping aside from ongoing colonialism debates, this is a fascinating account of India's physical transformation during the Company period.

Rosie Llewellyn-Jones PhD holds a degree in Urdu from SOAS University of London. A renowned historian of colonial India, she is Editor of *Chowkidar*, the journal of the British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia. Her books include *The Last King in India*, also published by Hurst, and *Lucknow 1857*.

**WILLIAM GOULD, SANTOSH DASS
& CHRISTOPHE JAFFRELOT (eds)**

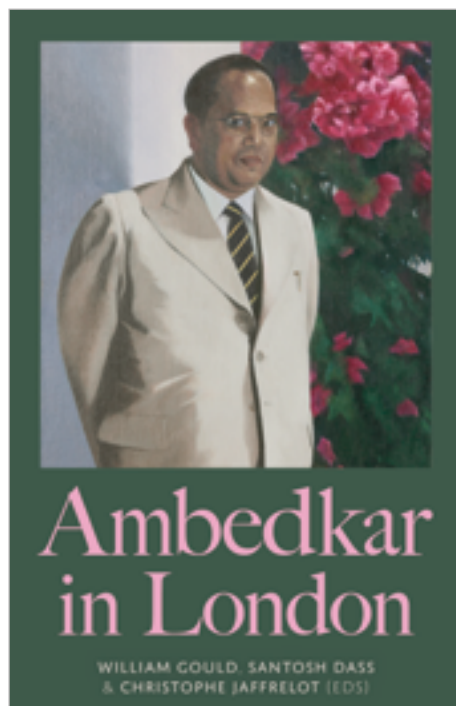
Ambedkar in London

Dr Bhimrao R. Ambedkar (1891–1956) was one of India's greatest intellectuals and social reformers; his political ideas continue to inspire and mobilise some of the world's poorest and most socially disadvantaged, in India and the global Indian diaspora. Ambedkar's thought on labour, legal rights, women's rights, education, caste, political representation and the economy are international in importance.

This book explores his lesser-known period of London-based study and publication during the early 1920s, presenting that experience as a lens for thinking about Ambedkar's global intellectual significance. Some of his later canon on caste, and Dalit rights and representation, was rooted in and shaped by his earlier work around the economy, governance, labour and representation during his time as a law student and as a doctoral candidate at the London School of Economics.

The Indian diaspora in the UK is the country's single largest national minority. This volume connects Ambedkar's influence during his lifetime, and his legacy today, to this early phase of his career and intellectual life in London, and its immediate aftermath. It contains new material on the establishment of the city's Ambedkar Museum, explores Britain's Ambedkarite movement, and charts the campaign to outlaw caste discrimination in the UK.

William Gould is Professor of Indian History, University of Leeds. **Santosh Dass** MBE, a former senior civil servant, is a human rights and equality campaigner, fighting for UK caste-based discrimination to be outlawed. **Christophe Jaffrelot** is Avantha Chair and Professor of Indian Politics and Sociology at the King's India Institute.



October 2022

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216mm x 138mm

352pp

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History / Biography

World rights

An exploration of the international context for Ambedkar's ideas around caste, law, religion, democracy and race, as developed while studying in the imperial capital.



October 2022
 9781787388147
 216mm x 138mm
 256pp
 £20.00 Paperback
 Africa / Sociology
 World rights

A detailed investigation
 of the environmental,
 social and economic
 consequences of wild
 meat consumption in the
 Congo Basin.

Published in collaboration with the



/ AFRICAN
 / ARGUMENTS

THEODORE TREFON

Bushmeat

Culture, Economy and Conservation in Central Africa

In much of Central Africa, eating wildlife is seen as a normal, desirable and common-sense practice. Almost all wild animals, from the largest mammals to the smallest invertebrates, are hunted, traded and consumed, providing vital income and nutrition for millions of people. But as demand for bushmeat grows, animal populations are being decimated, directly impacting biodiversity, local economies and public health.

Taking an interdisciplinary approach, *Bushmeat* explores questions ranging from deforestation and conservation strategies to infectious diseases, urban street food and law enforcement. It explains how the popularity of wild meat consumption has spread from rural areas into major cities, fuelled by rapid urbanisation, poorly defined regulations, and developing trade networks—whether small-scale and informal, or commercial and politically connected. While unsustainable hunting practices pose clear problems for wildlife conservation, they also increase the risk of rural food insecurity and of new infectious diseases emerging—as HIV, Ebola and Covid-19 have shown. But cultural attachment to wild meat, and its dietary importance for many communities, make the ‘bushmeat crisis’ difficult to solve.

Based on extensive interviews and a comprehensive review of secondary literature, *Bushmeat* presents a startling account of one of the Anthropocene’s catastrophes in the making.

Theodore Trefon is a senior researcher at the Royal Museum for Central Africa, Belgium, and a lecturer at ERAIFT, Kinshasa. He obtained his PhD in African Politics from Boston University, and has devoted his career to studying environmental governance in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

BULAMA BUKARTI

Inside Boko Haram

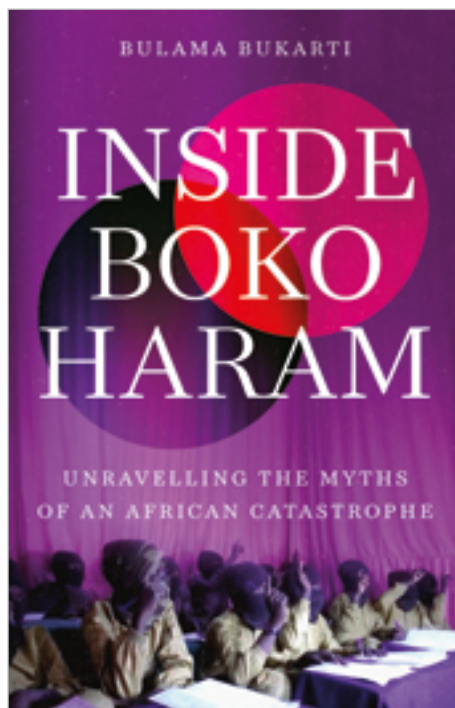
Unravelling the Myths of an African Catastrophe

This book presents a nuanced picture of the origins, rise, transformation, resilience, connections, financing and fragmentation of Boko Haram. The product of over a decade's research, it draws on primary Hausa-, Kanuri- and Arabic-language sources and eyewitness accounts, including extensive interviews with dozens of associates, classmates and former friends of Boko Haram's founders, as well as other actors, victims and witnesses.

As someone who grew up in the same towns as the movement's leaders, and who speaks all the local languages, Bulama Bukarti is uniquely qualified to write on Boko Haram. Many of his friends and neighbours went on to join the group, or became its victims. Bukarti himself was personally targeted for recruitment by the infamous Abubakar Shekau, then repeatedly threatened by him.

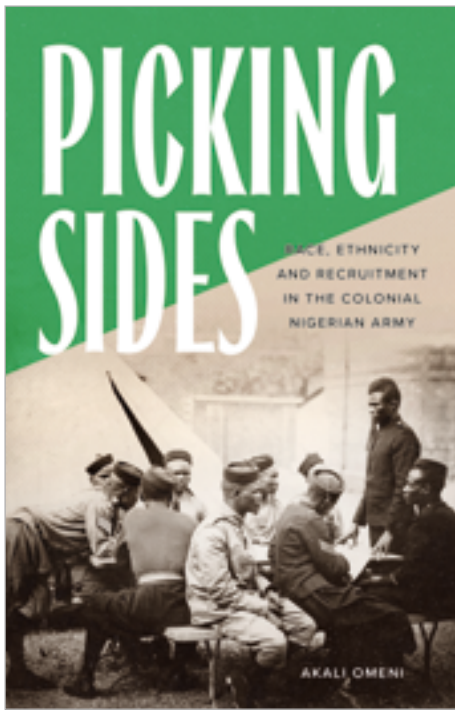
Despite over a dozen books and a thousand reports on Boko Haram, even the most basic information about the group is inconsistent and often inaccurate. Much of the literature is replete with contradictions, unfounded theories, confusion, exaggeration and errors presented as knowledge. Bukarti shows that, while the group emerged with a local agenda and fed on local factors, it was morally inspired, theologically facilitated and financially supported at different times by the Taliban, al-Qaida and ISIS.

Bulama Bukarti is a Kanuri-speaking senior analyst at the Tony Blair Institute for Global Change in London, focusing on violent extremist groups in sub-Saharan Africa. A trained lawyer with a postgraduate degree from Kano University, and a current doctoral candidate at SOAS University of London, Bukarti hails from North-Eastern Nigeria.



September 2022
9781787388109
216mm x 138mm
392pp
£25.00 Paperback
Terrorism & Security
World rights

Explores Boko Haram's resilience, local support and economic networks, and its roots in a pre-colonial political order among the Kanuri people of Lake Chad.



September 2022
 9781787388178
 216mm x 138mm
 352pp
 £30.00 Paperback
 History
 World rights

A rigorous, nuanced historical and sociological study of the Nigerian colonial army's ethnicisation, unpacking how this still shapes the country's political fault-lines to this day.

AKALI OMENI

Picking Sides

Race, Ethnicity and Recruitment in the Colonial Nigerian Army

Nigeria's colonial history matters. It shaped the destinies of hundreds of ethnicities into the world's largest black nation by population. However, Nigeria's colonial masters did not view all of the land's ethnicities as equal. Particular ethnic groups were propped up as superior to others, which generated tensions in the colonial army and society.

Akali Omeni argues that, in order to understand the origins of ethnic politics in Nigeria today, one must pursue rigorous historical and sociological study of the colonial army's ethnicisation. The idea that certain groups in Nigeria had more 'martial' features than others underpinned colonial-era policies and dynamics, introduced at a malleable time of proto-state formation. Such dynamics then developed their own momentum over a century. By the time of Nigeria's First Republic (1960–6), the army was stratified not only along ethnic lines, but also along class lines. Unfortunately, independent Nigerian society has replicated pathologies that originated during the British period—with grave consequences for Nigeria's democratic integrity.

This book, which explores themes of race, ethnicisation and recruitment within the colonial army, goes beyond discourse on colonialism and the military. It is a significant contribution to the debates on plurality and multi-ethnic politics in Nigeria today.

Akali Omeni is a lecturer in International Relations at the Handa Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence, University of St Andrews. He holds a PhD from King's College London. His three previous books include *Policing and Politics in Nigeria: A Comprehensive History*.

MARTIN PLAUT &
SARAH VAUGHAN

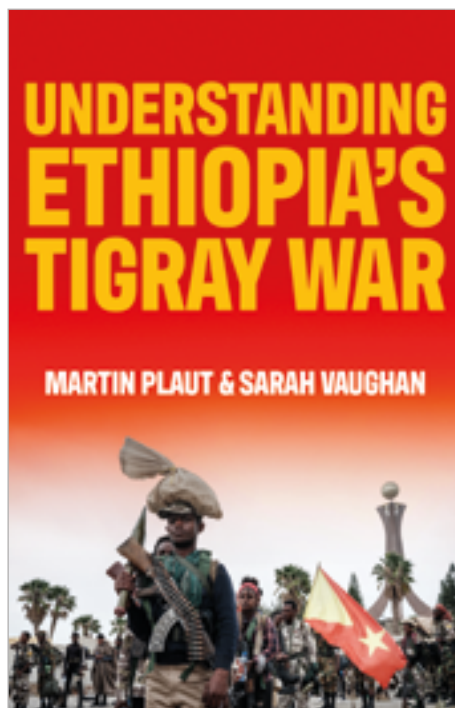
Understanding Ethiopia's Tigray War

The ongoing war and consequent famine in the Ethiopian province of Tigray are increasingly critical. International journalists are not being allowed to travel to the region, which is almost completely sealed off from the outside world. This is a deliberate strategy by the Ethiopian and Eritrean governments prosecuting the war: their aim is to crush the Tigrayans at almost any cost.

This differentiates the current crisis from the famine of 1984–5, when 400,000 died of starvation primarily as the result of a prolonged drought, exacerbated by war and government inaction. Today's famine is a direct result of supplies to the region being cut off. Hatred of Tigrayans has been stoked by senior advisers to Ethiopia's Prime Minister, Abiy Ahmed: they have called Tigrayans 'weeds' who must be uprooted, their place in history extinguished. This language is reminiscent of the statements that preceded the genocide in Rwanda.

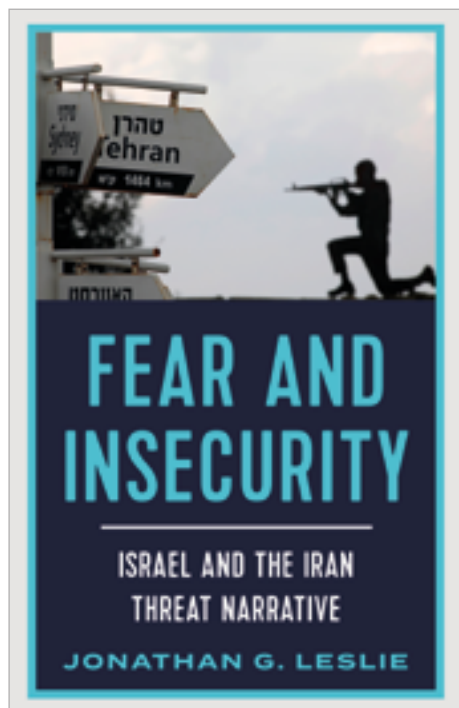
The present situation has been orchestrated since 2018 by Eritrea's President Isaias Afwerki, who wields considerable influence over Ethiopian affairs. His troops are deep inside Ethiopia, his security agents in its towns and cities. For both the Eritrean President and the Ethiopian Prime Minister, this appears to be a fight to the finish.

Martin Plaut is the former Africa editor of the BBC World Service, and the author of *Understanding Eritrea* (also published by Hurst). **Sarah Vaughan** PhD has worked in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa since the late 1980s, and has taught African politics and social theory in Scotland and Ethiopia.



November 2022
9781787388116
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History / Politics
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An unsparing account of the ongoing conflict and famine in the Horn of Africa, which could lead to the fragmentation of Ethiopia's multi-ethnic state.



November 2022
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 International Relations /
 Middle East
 World rights

Why is Israel's former ally
 Iran now perceived as the
 country's greatest threat?

JONATHAN G. LESLIE

Fear and Insecurity

Israel and the Iran Threat Narrative

To observers of the Iran–Israel conflict, its vitriolic rhetoric might suggest an ancient hatred between Jews and Muslims—a biblical feud dating back hundreds, or thousands, of years. But this rivalry is a far more modern development.

In this authoritative study, Jonathan G. Leslie examines the origins of the conflict. Drawing on extensive archival and open-source research, he concludes that—despite the animosity surrounding the Iran–Israel relationship—the twenty-first century's hostilities are not inevitable consequences of these nations' history, nor of contemporary political events. The intensification of tensions has been largely the product of one nation's efforts, with Israel viewing Iran as a far greater danger than Iran does Israel. Using a novel theoretical approach considering the power of narrative within historical context, Leslie outlines how Israel's leaders successfully reimagined their erstwhile ally Iran as an existential threat. Former Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu took this further, employing populist strategies in an attempt to rewrite history, depict Iran as a global menace, and recruit allies against the JCPOA nuclear deal.

Fear and Insecurity provides important new insights into the history of the Iran–Israel conflict, and offers fresh prospects for defusing the tensions threatening both global and regional security.

Jonathan G. Leslie is a consultant and adjunct professor at the Center for Security Studies at Georgetown University, Washington, DC. He received his PhD from SOAS University of London, and holds degrees from Princeton University and the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.

STACEY PHILBRICK YADAV

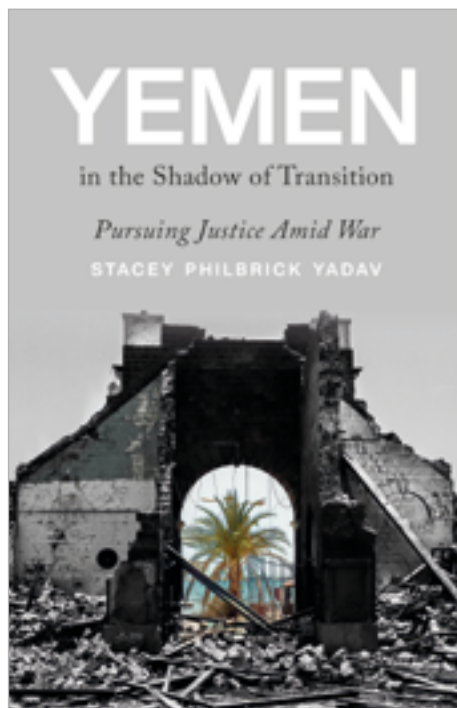
Yemen in the Shadow of Transition

Pursuing Justice Amid War

Responding to a diplomatic stalemate and a catastrophic humanitarian crisis, Yemen's civil actors work every day to build peace in fragmented local communities across the country. This book shows how their efforts relate to longstanding justice demands in Yemeni society, and details three decades of alternating elite indifference toward, or strategic engagement with, questions of justice.

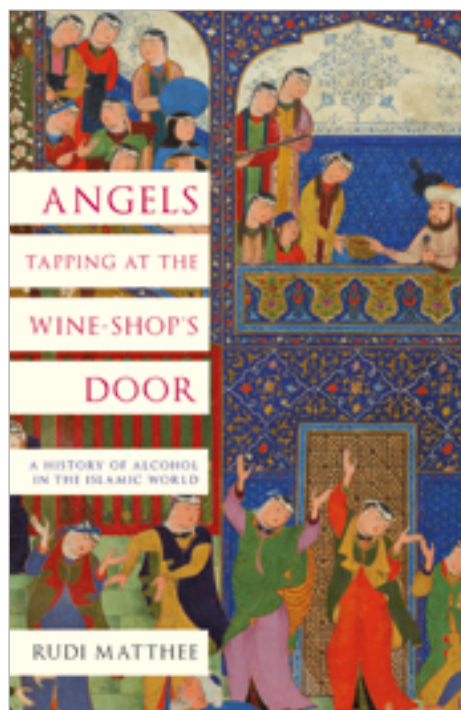
Exploring the transformative impact of the 2011 uprising and Yemenis' substantive wrestling with questions of justice in the years that followed, leading Yemen scholar Stacey Philbrick Yadav shows how the transitional process was ultimately overtaken by war, and explains why features of the transitional framework nevertheless remain a central reference point for civil actors engaged in peacebuilding today. In the absence of a negotiated settlement, everyday peacebuilding has become a new site for justice work, as an arena in which civil actors enjoy agency and social recognition. Drawing on seventeen years of field research and interviews with civil actors, Yadav positions Yemen's non-combatants not—or not only—as victims of conflict, but as political agents imagining and enacting the justice they wish to see.

Stacey Philbrick Yadav is Associate Professor of Political Science at Hobart and William Smith Colleges in Geneva, New York, and the author of *Islamists and the State*. Since 2019, she has been working with Yemeni colleagues on internationally sponsored projects for everyday peacebuilding in Yemen.



September 2022
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£50.00 Hardback
Politics / Development / History
World rights

Offers a persuasive rethink of methodologies for true transitional justice in Yemen and for a truly post-conflict state, drawing on history, fieldwork and policy analysis.



December 2022
 9781787388154
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 352pp, 8pp colour illus
 £25.00 Hardback
 Islamic History / Sociology
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A fascinating history of the complexities and contradictions of alcohol consumption in the Muslim world, from the founding of the faith to the present day.

RUDI MATTHEE

Angels Tapping at the Wine-Shop's Door

A History of Alcohol in the Islamic World

Islam is the only major world religion that resists the juggernaut of alcohol consumption. In many Islamic countries, alcohol is banned; in others, it plays little role in social life. Yet, Muslims throughout history did drink, often to excess—whether sultans and shahs in their palaces, or commoners in taverns run by Jews or Christians.

This evocative study delves into drinking's many historic, literary and social manifestations in Islam, going beyond references to 'hypocrisy' or the temptations of 'forbidden fruit'. Rudi Matthee argues that alcohol, through its 'absence' as much as its presence, takes us to the heart of Islam. Exploring the long history of this faith—from the eight-century Umayyad dynasty to Erdoğan's Turkey, and from Islamic Spain to modern Pakistan—he unearths a tradition of diversity and multiplicity in which Muslims drank, and found myriad excuses to do so. They celebrated wine and used it as a poetic metaphor, even viewing alcohol as a gift from God—the key to unlocking eternal truth.

Drawing on a plethora of sources, Matthee presents Islam not as an austere and uncompromising faith, but as a set of beliefs and practices that embrace ambivalence, allowing for ambiguity and even contradiction.

Rudi Matthee is the John A. Munroe and Dorothy L. Munroe Chair of History at the University of Delaware. He is the author of four prize-winning monographs on Iranian history, and the editor or co-editor of another five books. He is currently President of the Persian Heritage Foundation.

JOANA COOK & SHIRAZ MAHER (eds)

The Rule is for None but Allah

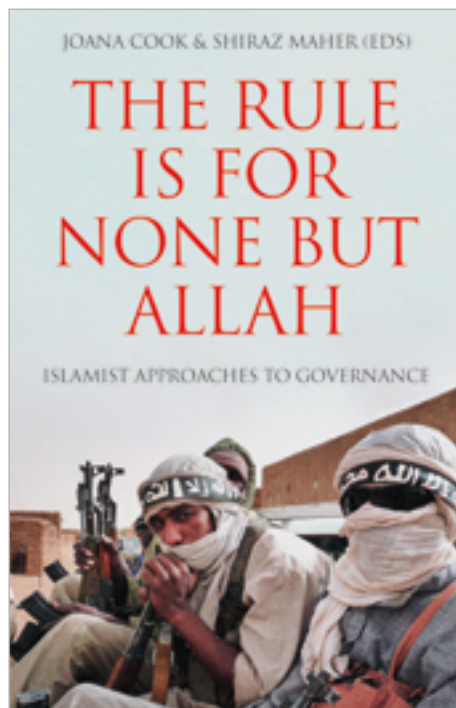
Islamist Approaches to Governance

The last four decades have been shaped by the rise of Islamist politics across significant swathes of the globe. Whether by gun or by ballot box, various Islamist movements—from as far and wide as the Malian desert and Indonesia's archipelagos—have sought to obtain power and govern territories, in a bid to revive an Islamic *ancien régime*. With the regional privations produced by the 'War on Terror' and the political unrest following 2011's Arab uprisings, the global march of Islamism has only accelerated in the twenty-first century.

Building on an established literature on rebel governance, *The Rule is for None but Allah* examines fifteen cases from around the world to consider the different ways Islamists have approached and implemented governance; the challenges they have faced; and how they have responded to obstacles. It brings new detail and insights on a wide range of themes, including legitimacy, constitutionality and social-welfare activism.

From the rise and fall of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood, to Islamic State's attempts to create its own currency, to the dramatic return of the Taliban in Afghanistan, this edited volume from two leading scholars of contemporary terrorism assembles an enviable array of international experts to explore these pressing issues.

Joana Cook is Associate Professor of Terrorism and Political Violence at Leiden University, and Senior Project Manager at the International Centre for Counter-Terrorism. **Shiraz Maher** is Director of the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Senior Lecturer in the Department of War Studies, King's College London.



November 2022

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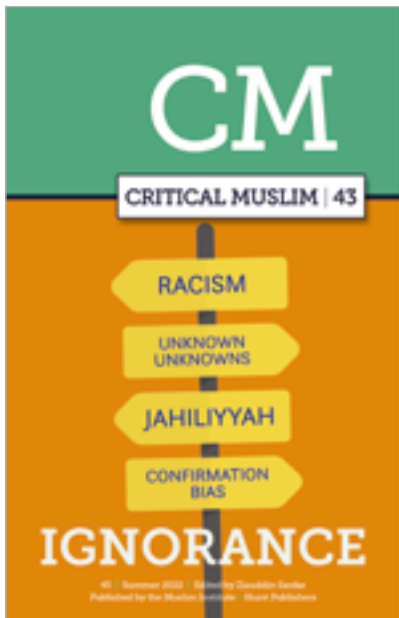
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Politics / Islamic Studies

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**A wide-ranging
examination of Islamist
rule across the world,
from constitutional
movements like Tunisia's
Ennahda to the violent
rejectionism of IS.**



Summer 2022 • 9781787388185
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ZIAUDDIN SARDAR (ed.)

Critical Muslim 43: Ignorance

We pay a great deal of attention to pursuit of knowledge, but overlook its constant companion: ignorance. Where our world is inundated with information, from 24-hour news and social media and the internet of things, what we do not know can be just as important as what we do. Agnotology—the study of ignorance—is a rising field of inquiry, and set to become increasingly important as reforms to education and knowledge creation rattle the foundations of traditional disciplines. Ignorance has rapidly proliferated in the early twenty-first century. Since US Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld penned his famous memo on known knowns, unknown knowns, known unknowns, and unknown unknowns, it has become a key, yet unseen, factor in global decision-making—in politics, business, and various complex networks exemplified by Covid-19. In this issue, ignorance is given its long overdue analysis, and its role in our chaotic times examined.



Autumn 2022 • 9781787388192
216mm x 138mm • 236pp
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ZIAUDDIN SARDAR (ed.)

Critical Muslim 44: History

History is not just a subject taught in school. It is the lived reality of tradition that informs and, at times, colonises our present. So, any project that wishes to see us smoothly into the future must begin with a thorough analysis of the past. History is also not as simple as we once thought: the reality of inequalities and bias that plague the present condition also run backward into our past, white-washing and leaving out certain details, even telling blatant lies. Revisionism and postmodernism further complicate the matter. In this issue, the rich and contentious history of Islam will be critically analysed; along the way, insight will be provided into the larger human story. As various articles debunk old narratives and illuminate lost perspectives, the hope is that lessons from the past can be properly considered, so that the same blunders that have toppled civilisations are not doomed to repeat themselves.

BEN TIMBERLAKE

High Risk

A True Story of the SAS, Drugs and Other Bad Behaviour

‘Utterly compelling ... It’s rare to find a book like this where the writing is just as exhilarating as the thrills ... dark, visceral, clever and very funny. *Boy’s Own* with brains.’ — Justin Marozzi, *The Sunday Times*

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‘As profound as it is eye-popping.’ — *Vice*

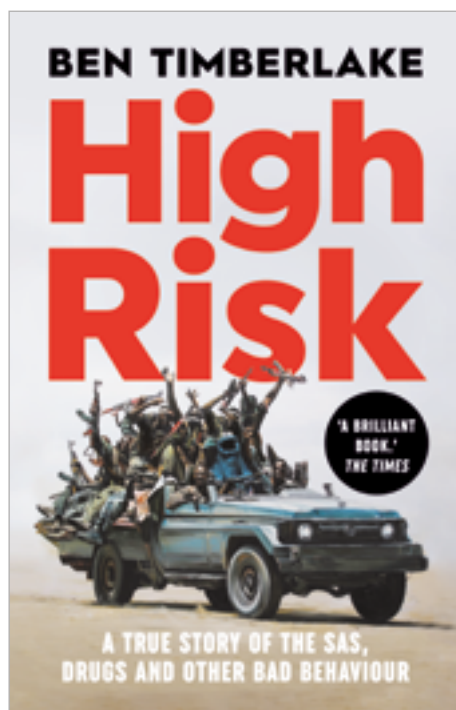
‘Full of scintillating prose and postmodern ruminations.’ — *Coffee or Die*

‘A damn scary book so of course I loved it. Ben Timberlake makes a neurobiological experiment in a laboratory that I’d advise everyone to stay out of—the self. *High Risk* is, in a way, the story of a wicked Mr Hyde inventing a serum to transform himself into a reputable Dr Jekyll. Let’s hope the serum keeps working.’ — P.J. O’Rourke, author of *Give War a Chance* and *Holidays in Hell*



Ben Timberlake’s undercover missions have concerned nuclear terrorism, the Far Right, and the trafficking of people, wildlife, looted antiquities and organs. He has written for the *Financial Times*, *The Guardian* and *The*

Economist, and made Channel 4 and Discovery films on topics from Japanese mummies to prehistoric rock art.



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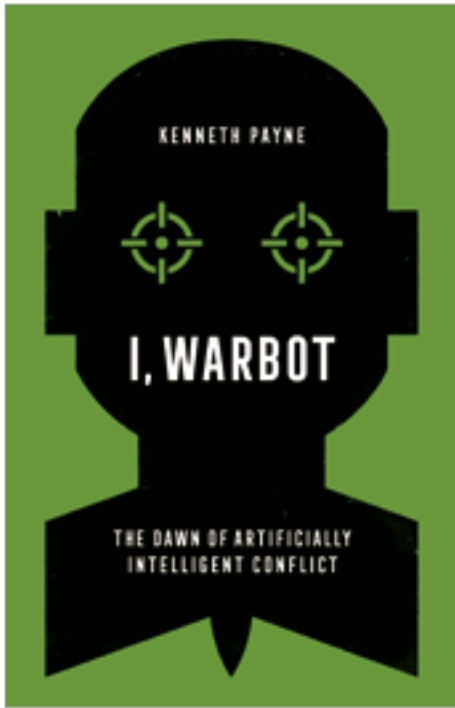
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An engrossing look at the
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KENNETH PAYNE

I, Warbot

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 purely a technological feat, but also a ground
 for reckonings on the ethics of warfare and
 creative strategy. In advocating thoughtful
 regulation of autonomous systems, Payne offers
 his counterpoint to the Asimov-esque robot
 overlords of science fiction: “War will remain
 something that is done by, and to, humans.”’
 — *International Affairs*

‘A brilliant and gripping treatise on war in
 the age of intelligent machines.’ — Theo
 Farrell, Deputy Vice-Chancellor, University of
 Wollongong Australia



Kenneth Payne is a
 reader in International
 Relations at King’s
 College London. A
 former BBC journalist,
 he is the author of
 many articles and
 books, including *The
 Psychology of Strategy:
 Exploring Rationality*

in the Vietnam War, also published by Hurst.

JESS HILL

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— Helen Garner

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— Laurie Penny, author of *Unspeakable Things*

‘A much-needed, thought-provoking study of how victims can be blamed or disbelieved, and their experiences dismissed, whilst their abusers are often excused. Hill asks difficult questions ... A must-read.’ — Rosie Duffield MP

‘Should be compulsory reading for politicians at every level.’ — *The Sydney Morning Herald*

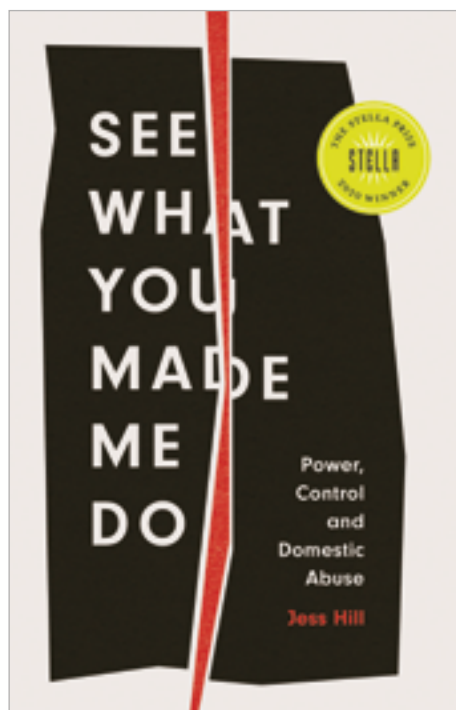
‘Powerful and important.’ — Dame Vera Baird, Victims’ Commissioner for England and Wales

‘A clinical view on why domestic abuse happens, why it’s so prevalent across the world and what the psychology is behind it.’ — Joanne Froggatt, *Harper’s Bazaar* UK



Jess Hill is an award-winning investigative journalist who has been writing about domestic violence since 2014. She was formerly an investigative reporter for ABC Radio and a

Middle East correspondent for *The Global Mail*. She was listed in *Foreign Policy*’s top 100 women to follow on Twitter.



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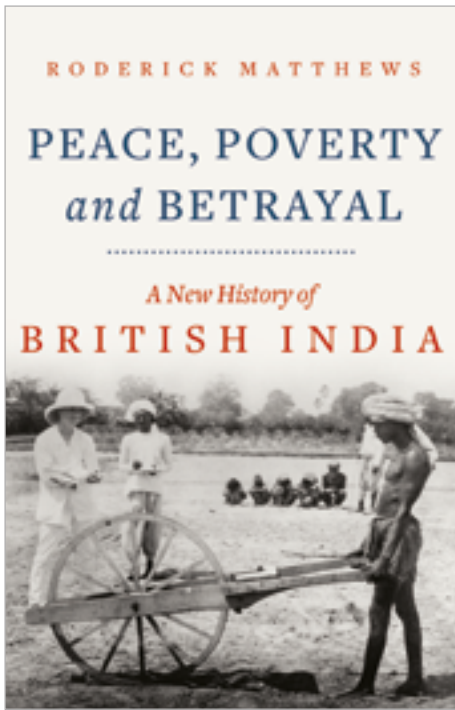
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RODERICK MATTHEWS

Peace, Poverty and Betrayal

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‘Mr. Matthews’s discerning book isn’t a revisionist defense of the Raj. It is, instead, a warning against the glib postcolonial assumption “that because British rule is viewed as bad, therefore anything else would have been better.” — Tunku Varadarajan, *The Wall Street Journal*

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‘Matthews explores with great delicacy and intelligence ... how Britain became itself, at home, more liberal and democratic, while, as an imperial power, becoming the opposite.’ — *Catholic Herald*

‘Matthews demonstrates an encyclopaedic knowledge of British rule in India [and] frequently challenges conventional views of events and personalities who shaped British India.’ — *Asian Review of Books*



A freelance writer specialising in Indian history and politics, **Roderick Matthews** studied history at Balliol College, Oxford. His great-grandfather tutored Nehru through his Harrow entrance exams; one of his great-grandmothers cared for Gandhi in London in 1914. His latest book is *Chandra Shekhar: And the Six Months That Saved India*.

TOBY GREEN & THOMAS FAZI

The Covid Consensus

The Global Assault on Democracy and the Poor— A Critique from the Left

‘Whether or not the reader is persuaded by [the book’s] arguments against lockdown, it is undeniable that such restrictions have disproportionately affected the young and poor. [This] unique take explores how these groups, often lacking the facility for remote work and with their education severely limited, are likely to experience staggering inequalities for years to come.’ — *New Statesman* Best Books About the Covid-19 Pandemic

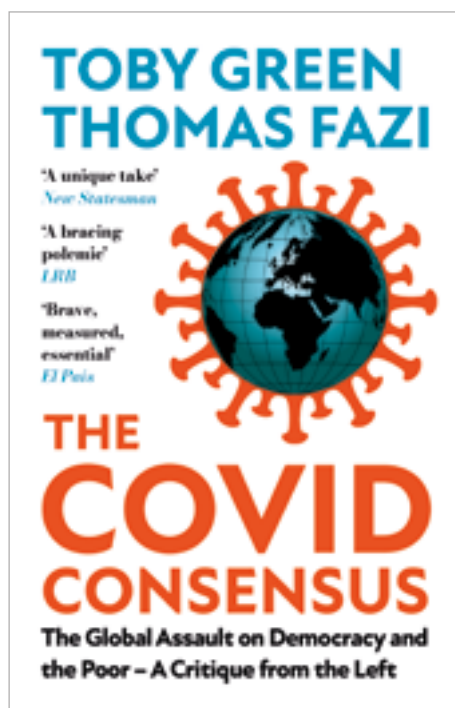
‘A bracing anti-lockdown polemic.’ — *London Review of Books*

‘An excellent book at a critical time ... a masterly dose of reason, challenging, questioning and sceptical in the best sense of the word.’ — Simon Jenkins

‘A meticulously referenced, shocking catalogue of Western hypocrisy and the destruction wrought by global lockdowns on the poorest nations ... [This] book is a depressing tale of hubris, mindless groupthink and cynical power grabs by bureaucrats and governments, taking advantage of a “health crisis”.’ — *The Australian*

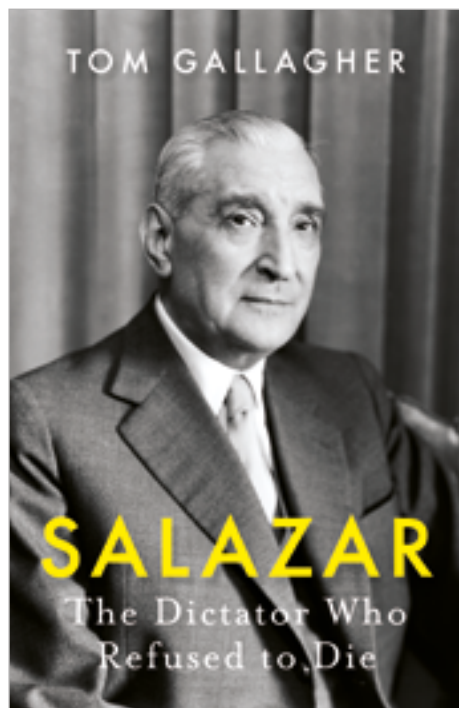


Toby Green is Professor of African History at King’s College London, and author of *A Fistful of Shells*. **Thomas Fazi** is the author and co-author of several books on economic and political issues, including *Reclaiming the State*. Their article for *UnHerd*, ‘The Left’s Covid Failure’, was translated into ten languages.



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Salazar

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Tom Gallagher is Emeritus Professor of Politics at the University of Bradford. He has published one novel, *Flight of Evil*, and fifteen single-authored books on democracy and authoritarianism in post-1870 Europe, ranging from Britain to the Balkans. His forthcoming book, *Europe’s Modern Machiavellis*, will also be published by Hurst.

TIM HANNIGAN

The Travel Writing Tribe

Journeys in Search of a Genre

A *Financial Times* Travel Book of the Year 2021

‘The travel industry might be beginning to emerge from crisis, but travel writing still finds itself on shaky ground, wracked with guilt over carbon emissions and the echoes of colonialism, and with its relevancy (and sales) increasingly challenged by digital alternatives. Hannigan explores the past and searches for a future for the genre, interviewing celebrated practitioners, including Dervla Murphy and William Dalrymple.’ — *Financial Times*

‘Travel writing used to be dominated by Old Etonians with colonialist tendencies; but [this] well-researched critique shows that the “travellers” are writing back.’ — *The Guardian*

‘A deft piece of genre-hopping.’ — *The Telegraph*

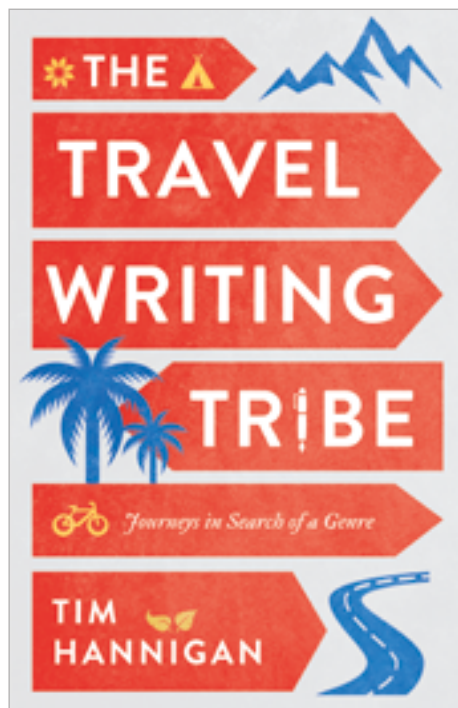
‘A timely look at the genre—why we travel, and why and how we write about it.’ — *Irish Independent*

‘An excellent and thought-provoking book ... thoroughly enlivened by Tim Hannigan’s decision to turn it into a travel odyssey.’ — *The Times Literary Supplement*



Tim Hannigan is a writer and academic, and the author of several narrative history books, including *A Brief History of Indonesia* and the award-winning *Raffles and the British Invasion of Java*. He holds a PhD

from the University of Leicester. He was born in Cornwall and lives in Ireland.



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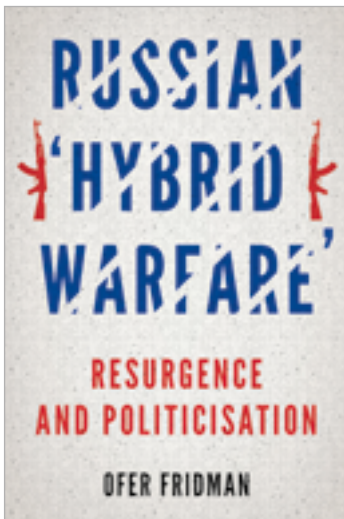
**JANNE HAALAND MATLARY &
ROB JOHNSON (eds)**

Military Strategy in the 21st Century

The Challenge for NATO

‘A sobering and stimulating set of essays which remind us of the importance of military strategy and the difficulty of getting politicians to think strategically. The authors take aim at some dangerous misconceptions which, unless addressed, will continue to weaken the Western alliance.’ — Christopher Coker, Director of LSE IDEAS, and author of *The Improbable War: China, the United States and the Logic of Great Power Conflict*

Janne Haaland Matlary is Professor of International Politics at the University of Oslo and the Norwegian Military Command and Staff College; she was formerly Norway’s deputy minister of foreign affairs. **Rob Johnson** is Director of The Changing Character of War Centre at the University of Oxford.



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OFER FRIDMAN

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Resurgence and Politicisation

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Ofer Fridman PhD is Senior Lecturer in War Studies and Director of Operations at the Centre for Strategic Communication, King’s College London. He is the editor of *Strategiya: The Foundations of the Russian Art of Strategy*, also published by Hurst.

USAAMA AL-AZAMI

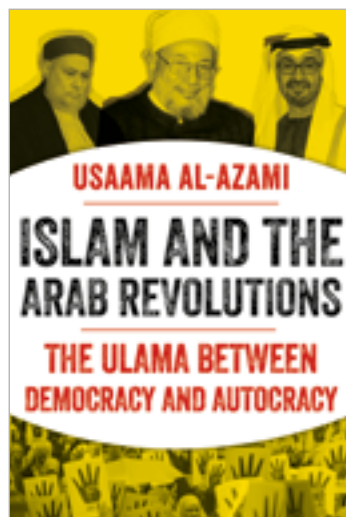
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The Ulama Between Democracy and Autocracy

'Al-Azami's excellent book provides an extensive analysis of a myriad of discourses and political alliances. A must-read for researchers of modern Islam and Middle East studies.' — Heba Raouf Ezzat, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Ibn Haldun University

'A novel perspective and original dimension [concerning the Arab Spring] ... succinctly illustrates that ... the ulama played a pivotal role.' — Wadah Khanfar, President, Al Sharq Forum, and former director general, Al Jazeera Media Network

Usaama al-Azami is Departmental Lecturer in Contemporary Islamic Studies at the University of Oxford. He completed his BA in Arabic and Islamic Studies at Oxford, his seminary training at Al-Salam Institute, and his MA and PhD in Near Eastern Studies at Princeton University. He specialises in Islamic political thought.



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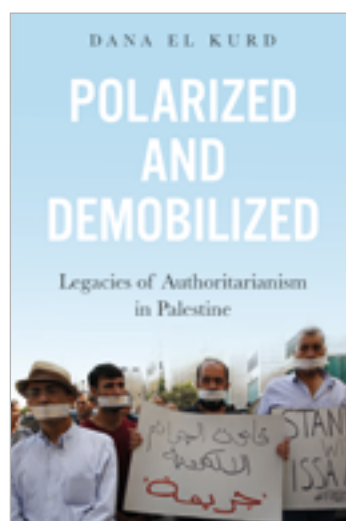
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Dana El Kurd is an assistant professor in the Department of Political Science, University of Richmond. She specialises in comparative politics and international relations of the Arab world, particularly in how authoritarianism endures, and how societies meaningfully challenge it.



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NIAMATULLAH IBRAHIMI

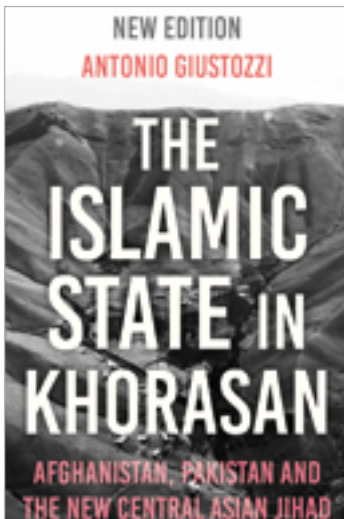
The Hazaras and the Afghan State

Rebellion, Exclusion and the Struggle for Recognition

‘Ibrahimi’s impressively detailed history helps us to make sense of the current political situation in Afghanistan ... both zooms out to the global ... and zooms in below the provincial.’ — *The Times Literary Supplement*

‘Sympathetic but nonpolemic ... Ibrahimi has undertaken field and archival research to trace the efforts of the Hazaras to protect their identity and patrimony and to find a legitimate place in the Afghan state.’ — *Foreign Affairs*

Niamatullah Ibrahim is Lecturer in International Relations at La Trobe University in Melbourne. He completed his PhD in 2018 at the Australian National University and has published extensively on Afghanistan’s politics and history. He is the co-author, with William Maley, of *Afghanistan: Politics and Economics in a Globalising State*.



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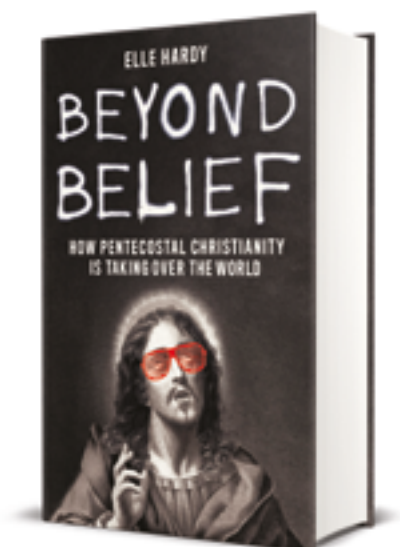
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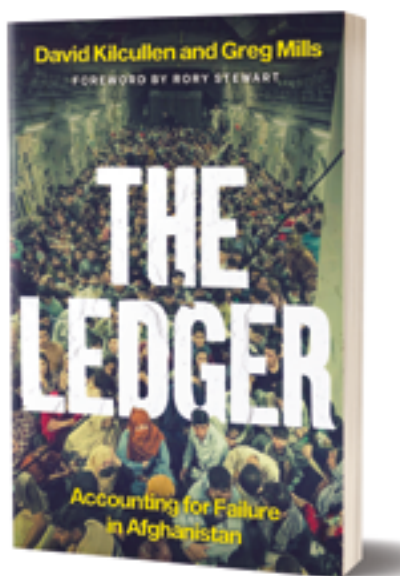
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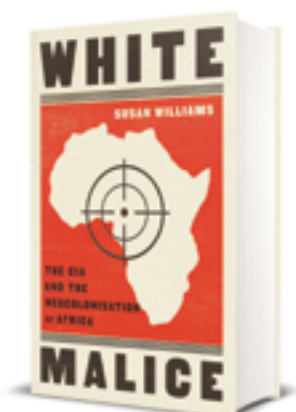
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