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MARY FISSELL

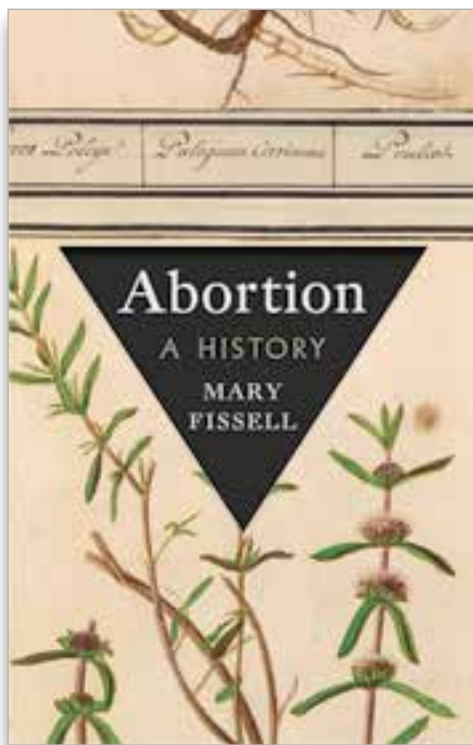
# Abortion

## A History

An ancient entertainer robbed of her livelihood while pregnant; a medieval holy woman performing a ‘miraculous termination’; an abortion provider prosecuted as a witch during the Reformation; a Victorian midwife saving her patients from the workhouse. Women have always sought to end pregnancies, and have long succeeded. This book tells their stories.

From enslaved and Indigenous herbal knowledge on early plantations to Planned Parenthood’s unlikely alliance with postwar churches, Mary Fissell reveals abortion’s long politics, uncovering how Western societies have policed the practice—or chosen not to. For long periods in our past, abortion was widely tolerated by authorities and ordinary people, and far from black and white in Christian morality: it was not a crime in Britain until 1803, nor a religious issue in America until the twentieth century. But those histories of calm have been punctuated by moments of acute repression—as we’re seeing today.

From France and Scotland to Germany and Italy, abortion controls through the centuries have always emerged from wider panics around social change—whether times of war, revolution and economic upheaval, or patriarchal anxiety about women’s growing independence. As restrictions tighten once more, this vividly illuminating history reminds us that such limits never endure.



March 2025

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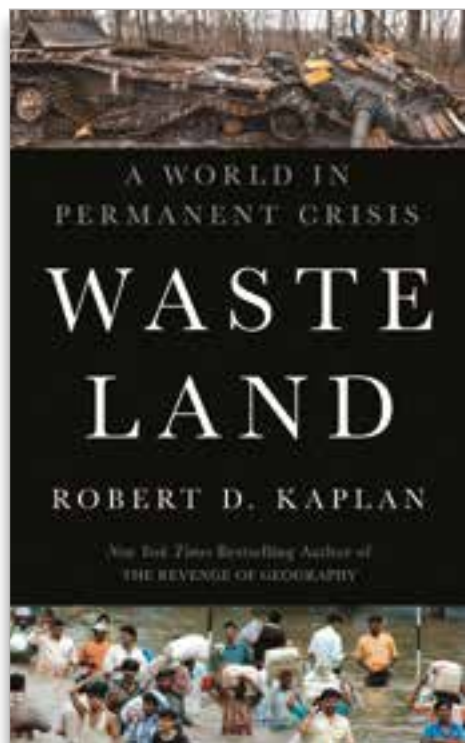
From classical Greece to *Roe v. Wade*, a long-overdue history of abortion through changing social and cultural climates.

© Roman N. Sherbakov



**Mary Fissell** is the inaugural J. Mario Molina Professor in the History of Medicine at Johns Hopkins University, focusing on sex, gender and reproduction. The author of *Vernacular Bodies*, among others,

she has featured on the BBC, and in *Vice*, *Slate*, *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*.



January 2025  
 9781911723493  
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 224pp  
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 Politics  
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A darkly brilliant,  
 wide-angled vision of  
 our chaotic, globalised  
 world, where present  
 crises resonate with  
 past tyrannies—from  
 a renowned bestselling  
 author.

ROBERT D. KAPLAN

## Waste Land

### A World in Permanent Crisis

We are entering a new era of global cataclysm, with the world facing a deadly mix of war, climate change, great power rivalry, rapid technological advancement, the end of empire, and countless other dangers. In *Waste Land*, Robert D. Kaplan, geopolitical expert and author of over twenty books on world affairs, explains incisively how we got here and where we are going.

As in much of his work, Kaplan looks to history, literature, politics and philosophy to interpret our world, drawing parallels between today's challenges and those of Germany's interwar Weimar Republic. Weimar faced myriad crises inextricably bound up with international systems, and its emergency became a global one. Today, too, every disaster in one country could spiral across the world, given the singular dilemmas of our century—pandemics, recession, urbanisation, mass migration, destabilisation under large-scale democracy and great power conflicts, and digital media's intimate bonds. Could stability and historic liberalism, rather than mass democracy per se, save world populations from anarchic breakdown?

*Waste Land* is a bracing glimpse into a future defined by twenty-first-century technology, but remarkably resonant with the past. The situation may be spiralling out of our control—unless our leaders act first.



© John Stannmeyer

**Robert D. Kaplan's** books include *The Loom of Time*; *The Tragic Mind*; and *The Coming Anarchy*. The Foreign Policy Research Institute's Robert Strausz-Hupé Chair in Geopolitics, formerly a Pentagon and U.S. Navy advisor, and for three decades an *Atlantic*

foreign affairs reporter, he twice made *Foreign Policy's* 'Top 100 Global Thinkers'.

CATHY SCOTT-CLARK

# Russia's Man of War

## The Extraordinary Viktor Bout

Viktor Bout was a warlord's warlord, according to MI6, the US National Security Council and the CIA—a terrorist facilitator, and the world's most prolific arms dealer. They tracked him everywhere, smuggling weapons from North Korea and the former Soviet Union into the world's bloodiest conflict zones, from Liberia to Afghanistan. Intelligence services called him a secret KGB asset; the White House, the most dangerous man in the world. But Bout strenuously denied this, describing himself as a businessman.

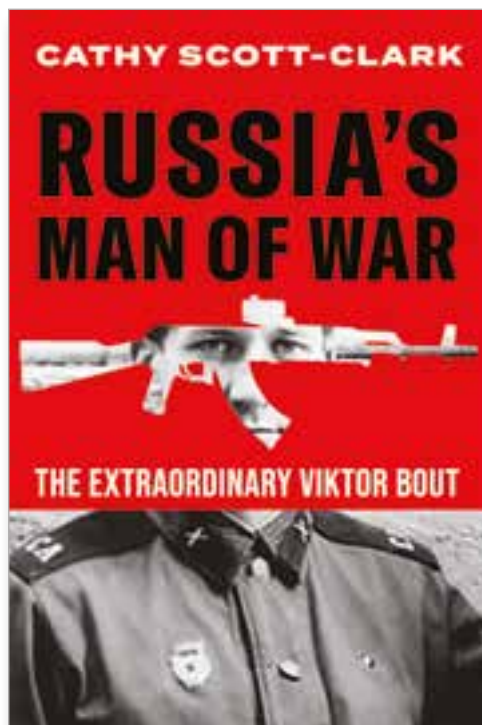
Washington hunted Bout for more than a decade, before finally trapping him and jailing him for 25 years. Then, in December 2022, the story took an unlikely turn: President Biden pardoned Bout and sent him home to Moscow, in a prisoner exchange to rescue basketball superstar Brittney Griner, jailed in Russia on drugs charges. Soon enough, Bout cosied up with doomed Wagner boss Yevgeny Prigozhin, Chechen strongman Ramzan Kadyrov and the Russian governors Putin had installed in occupied Ukraine.

Has America's extraordinary decision to swap Bout undermined Western interests? Has Putin put him back to work in his old business? Through candid interviews with US investigators and Viktor Bout himself, this book reveals the true story of the 'Merchant of Death'.



**Cathy Scott-Clark** is an award-winning investigative journalist and filmmaker. She has worked with HBO, the BBC, *The Sunday Times* and *The Guardian*, and co-authored books with Adrian Levy including *The Exile: The Flight of Osama bin Laden*; *The*

*Siege: The Attack on the Taj*; and CIA exposé *The Forever Prisoner*.



February 2025

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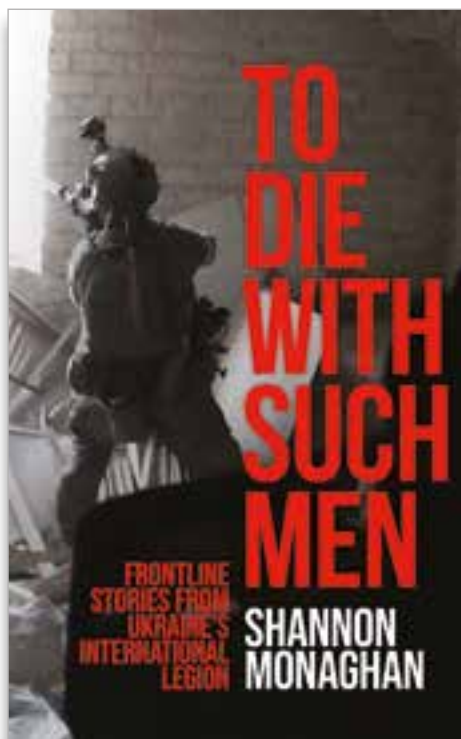
424pp, 16 colour illus

£25.00 Hardback

Current Affairs / War Studies

World English rights

An intrepid reporter's fast-paced investigation into the extraordinary life of Viktor Bout, the much-mythologised Russian fixer known as the 'Merchant of Death'.



February 2025  
 9781911723899  
 234mm x 156mm  
 392pp, 8pp colour illus  
 £20.00 Hardback  
 Current Affairs / Ukraine  
 World rights

Based on interviews  
 and body-cam footage,  
 a gripping account of the  
 British and American  
 volunteers fighting in  
 Ukraine's International  
 Legion, from Kyiv to  
 Bakhmut.

SHANNON MONAGHAN

## To Die With Such Men

### Frontline Stories from Ukraine's International Legion

This book is *Black Hawk Down* meets *Enemy at the Gates* meets *Band of Brothers*, and it's all true. It tells the story of what happens when careless Western politicians assume we're living the 'end of history', until it turns out that the Great Game is back, uglier and more callous than ever before. It's the story of the men who tried to fix those mistakes, at the risk—and sometimes loss—of their lives.

Shannon Monaghan follows a core group of Western volunteers in Ukraine, fighting together from the early days of the battle for Kyiv through to the last stands at Severodonetsk and Bakhmut. They arrived alone, but formed a family—back when nobody bothered to learn names, because they all expected to die. One of them was among the last men to leave the city of Bakhmut in the final days of May 2022.

These men knew very well that they'd be fighting without the NATO support they were used to. They knew the severe risks they would run, and the potential criticism they would face for fighting someone else's war. But they also knew it was the right thing to do. This is their story.



**Shannon Monaghan** PhD is a historian of modern war educated at Yale University and Boston College, and author of *A Quiet Company of Dangerous Men*. She has interned in international arms transfers at the US State Department, worked in strategy consulting and data analytics, and taught writing at Harvard University.

RACHEL CHARLTON-DAILEY

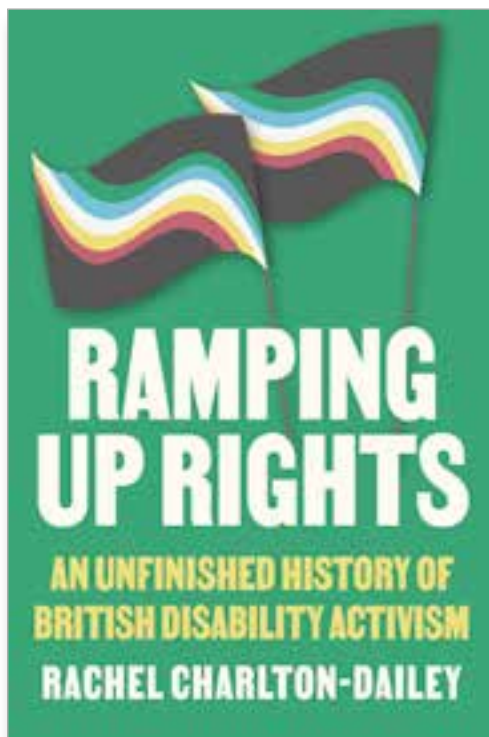
# Ramping Up Rights

## An Unfinished History of British Disability Activism

From the ‘crippled suffragette’ to 1980s punks chaining themselves to buses, from resisting government policies to changing the media narrative, this book celebrates the amazing UK activists, protest actions and campaigns that have fought for disabled people’s rights to live.

In *Ramping Up Rights*, Rachel Charlton-Dailey highlights a shockingly overlooked history: 100 years of struggle for disability rights. She unpacks what has gone so wrong with British attitudes and policy in the twenty-first century, and interviews campaigners and disabled people about how they have reclaimed power, from the inclusivity of online activism to the importance of intersectionality. She explores the live frontiers in this ongoing battle for civil rights—from the scandalous inaccessibility of our education and transport systems, to the existential debates about neurodiversity, genetic screening and ‘the right to die’.

These angry, thoughtful, hopeful pages show for the first time how a look at disability activism’s past can become a call to action for the future. As rights continue to be eroded for political gain, this urgent, powerful book will show readers how hard, and how often, disabled people and their allies have fought and won—and will give them the energy to keep fighting back.



July 2025

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Society &amp; Culture / Current Affairs

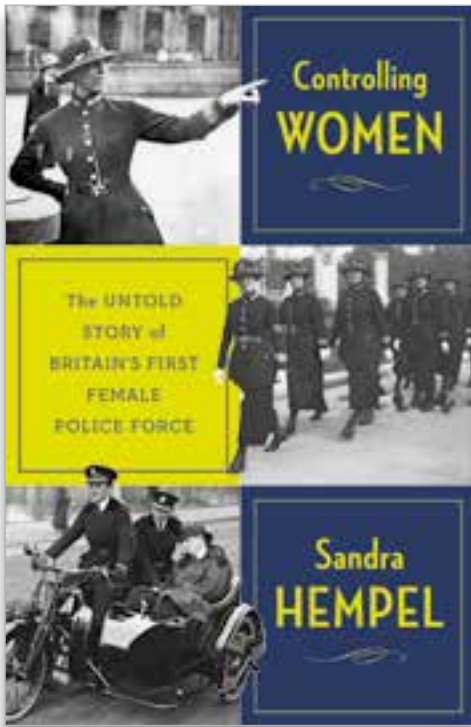
World rights

A vivid history of the 100-year battle for British disability rights, spotlighting enraging injustices and inspiring campaigns, past and present: this fight isn’t over.



**Rachel Charlton-Dailey** (she/they) is an award-winning disabled journalist, activist and author. A columnist at *The Canary*, she has previously reported for the BBC, *The Unwritten*, *The Big Issue*, *Metro*, *The Guardian*

and the *Daily Mirror*. When Rachel isn’t writing, they can be found walking their sausage dog, Rusty.



June 2025  
 9781911723967  
 234mm x 156mm  
 264pp  
 £22.00 Hardback

History / Society & Culture / Gender  
 UK & Commonwealth rights  
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**A compelling history of the women who started their own police force in 1914—as war, social upheaval and gender injustice gripped the UK.**

**SANDRA HEMPEL**

## Controlling Women

### The Untold Story of Britain's First Female Police Force

Violence against women is out of control. The conviction rate for rape is so low that most survivors think it pointless to report it, or live to regret doing so. Ruthless trafficking gangs run a flourishing criminal sex trade. Women have no confidence in the Metropolitan Police. The year is 1914.

As the First World War began, a group of British campaigners founded the Women Police Volunteers, hoping to protect the vulnerable both from crime and from patriarchal policing and justice. They included a bishop's widow close to the establishment, a militant suffragette with criminal convictions, a wealthy benefactress, and a court reporter born in the workhouse to a single mother. *Controlling Women* follows their incredible journey—from its inspirational beginnings through all of its troubling turns.

Sandra Hempel's remarkable narrative is both a vivid snapshot of Britain at a time of rapid change, and a rich tapestry of ethics and emotions among her fascinating characters. Navigating new worlds of political ideals and institutional compromise, these bold, complex women made history, despite constant challenges from within and without—and they show us just how far we have to go in the fight for women's justice.



**Sandra Hempel** is a former *Times* journalist, who has also written for *The Guardian*, the *Daily Mail* and other national media. Her previous books are the award-winning history *The Medical Detective*, and a Victorian 'true murder

mystery', *The Inheritor's Powder*, which was a BBC Radio 4 Book of the Week.

ROSIE WHITEHOUSE

## Two Sisters

### Betrayal, Love and Resistance in Wartime France

When the Nazis invaded France in 1940, Marion and Huguette Müller's family was torn apart. After their mother was deported to Auschwitz, the two young Jewish women fled to the Alpine skiing town of Val d'Isère, where they were rescued by an incredibly courageous doctor.

Through intrepid reporting, sensitive family interviews, and thousands of records, Rosie Whitehouse traces decades-old mysteries of the Müller sisters' story, seeking closure and justice for her family and the doctor's. Why did he shelter them? Who had betrayed their mother? How did this national tragedy happen?

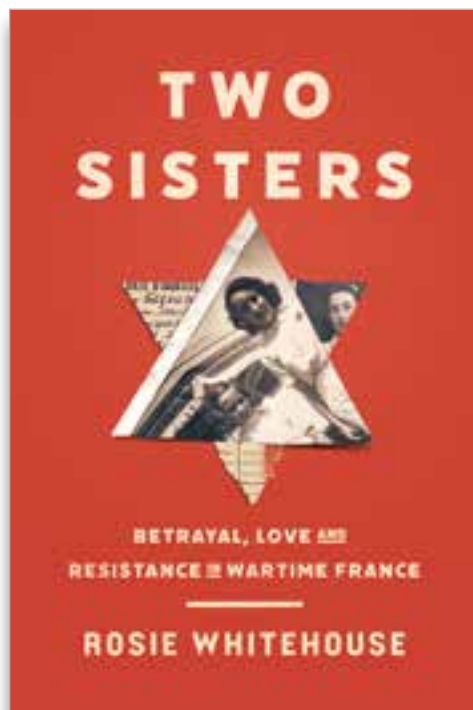
Whitehouse's discoveries raise deep moral questions about France's Holocaust, with urgent resonance for today's politics: questions about French complicity, minority agency, collective culpability, duty to your country and duty to other people. She pieces together not only how the sisters were saved, but how so many others were lost.

From villagers to Vichy officials, antisemitism to resistance, this is a sweeping yet intimate history of French choices before, during and after the Nazi occupation; and a moving, gripping tale of forged documents, narrow escapes, one family's trauma, and the grace of human connection.



**Rosie Whitehouse**, a journalist, writes about Holocaust survivors for BBC Online, *Tablet* magazine, *The Observer*, *The Jewish Chronicle* and *Haaretz*. She is the author of *The People on the Beach* (also published by Hurst), and the Bradt

guide to Europe's Holocaust memorials, museums and sites.



January 2025

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History / Holocaust / France

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**A riveting, poignant account of two young women—the author's own mother-in-law, and her sister—and their miraculous escape from the murderous authorities of Vichy France.**

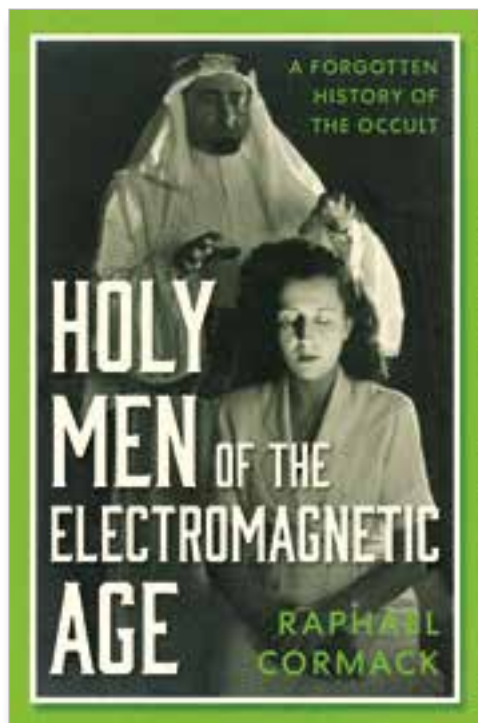
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Exploring death, religion,  
 science and metaphysics,  
 this is a startling history  
 of Spiritualism in the  
 interwar years, when the  
 uncanny was truly an  
 international obsession.

**RAPHAEL CORMACK**

## Holy Men of the Electromagnetic Age

### A Forgotten History of the Occult

'Extraordinary. A delightfully engaging and highly original chronicle of our willingness to believe six impossible things before breakfast.'

Alberto Manguel, author of *A History of Reading*

The interwar period was a golden age for the occult. Spiritualists, clairvoyants, fakirs, Theosophists, mind-readers and Jinn summoners all set out to assure the masses that, just as newly discovered invisible forces of electricity and magnetism determined the world of science, so unseen powers commanded an unknown realm of human potential. This was an international movement of eccentrics, gurus and prophets, with East and West interacting in unexpected ways.

Drawing on untapped sources in Arabic as well as European records, Raphael Cormack follows two of the most unusual and charismatic figures of this age: Tahra Bey, who took 1920s Paris by storm in the role of a missionary from the mystical East; and Dr Dahesh, who transformed Western science to create a pan-religious faith of his own in Lebanon. Travelling between Paris, New York and Beirut, while claiming esoteric apprenticeships among miracle-workers in Egypt and Istanbul, the two mystics reflected the desires and anxieties of a troubled age. These forgotten holy men, who embodied the allure of the unexplained at a time of dramatic change, intuitively speak to our own unsettling world today.



© Nina Subin

**Raphael Cormack** is an award-winning editor, translator and writer. The author of the widely acclaimed *Midnight in Cairo*, he is Assistant Professor of Modern Languages at Durham University.

MARK VERNON

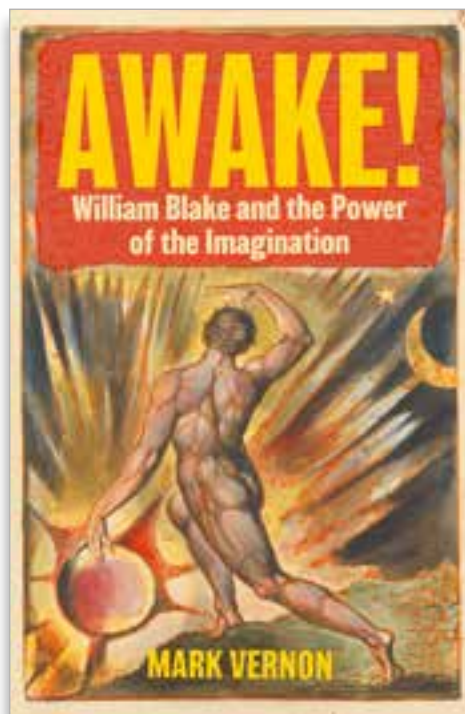
# Awake!

## William Blake and the Power of the Imagination

In the 200 years since his death, William Blake has become a household name. Many love the visionary artist, poet and writer. Yet many also struggle to comprehend his kaleidoscopic ideas; how they speak to human longings and the challenges of living in anxious times.

Philosopher and psychotherapist Mark Vernon provides a fresh route into Blake, one that takes him at his word. Bringing together Blake's poetry, his arresting images and his passionate writings, alongside lively biographical sketches, Vernon shines a new light on this brilliant thinker's vivid worldview. Like us, Blake lived in a tumultuous era of warfare, discontent, rapid technological change, and a deepening estrangement of humanity from nature. He exposed the dark sides of political fervour and social moralising, while unashamedly celebrating love and liberty. But he also conversed with prophets and angels, and was powerfully, if unconventionally, religious. If we take this seriously—not easy, in secular times—then Blake can help us to unlock the transformative power of imagination, key to his importance in today's world.

Written both for longstanding Blake-lovers and for those unfamiliar with his work, *Awake!* reveals Blake's potential as an invigorating and hopeful guide for our modern age.



June 2025

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368pp, 50 b&amp;w illus, 8 colour illus

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Literary Studies / Philosophy

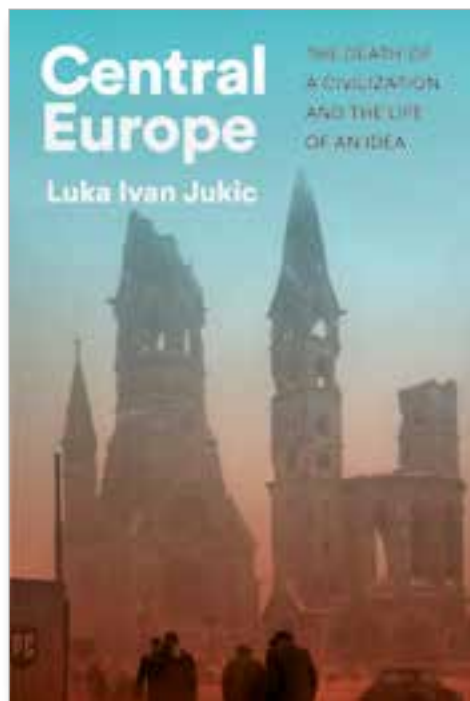
World English rights

**A new look at the life and works of William Blake, revealing the full complexity and enduring legacy of this deeply spiritual, politically radical figure.**



**Mark Vernon** is a London-based psychotherapist, writer and former Anglican priest. A keen podcaster and a columnist with *The Idler*, he speaks regularly at festivals and on the BBC. He has a PhD in Philosophy, and degrees in Theology and Physics.

His previous book topics include Dante, Plato and Christianity.



June 2025

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344pp

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History / International Studies

World rights

An absorbing journey  
through a region  
caught between history,  
geography and ideology.

LUKA IVAN JUKIC

## Central Europe

### The Death of a Civilization and the Life of an Idea

What is 'Central Europe'? Where do its borders lie? Does it even exist? Attempts to define it usually yield more questions than answers. But perhaps the wrong questions are being asked.

Luka Ivan Jukic disentangles the enigma of Central Europe through its history of birth, death and rebirth. Countries like Poland, Croatia and even Ukraine proudly proclaim themselves part of this region, and so part of Western civilisation. But the term originally described an unrecognisably different world—one formed in the eighteenth century by the unique inheritance of the House of Habsburg across a decentralised Germany and a sprawling Danubian realm; by the rise of standard High German; and by an intermediate position within a continent defined by the 'advanced West' and 'backwards East'.

Amid the displacement and destruction of the world wars and their aftermath, this extraordinary civilisation was shattered, reduced to the frontline of a global Cold War. Its unexpected reincarnation in the 1980s, as an ideological antidote to the Soviet East, spawned myths and polemics, but little clarity. Yet 'Central Europe' still seems to feature in every crisis today, from Russian aggression to European disunity. Why does it remain such a powerful political idea in our times?



**Luka Ivan Jukic**

is a journalist and historian based in London. His work has appeared in *The Atlantic*, the *Financial Times*, *New Lines Magazine*, *Engelsberg*

*Ideas*, *Foreign Policy*, *History Today*, and other publications.

MATTHEW FORD

# War in the Smartphone Age

## Conflict, Connectivity and the Crises at Our Fingertips

Thanks to smartphones, war is everywhere, all the time. Anyone can view, analyse and comment on photos, videos or other warzone media, far from the frontlines. Where did this technology come from? And what does it mean for the future of war?

This book explains why you see what you do on your phone. It asks how these devices shape our knowledge, conduct and representation of war in the 2020s. It shows why the smartphone is indispensable in peace and wartime, with a profound impact on modern conflict. Every smartphone is a potential weapon: lines blur between war and daily life, and conflict becomes a shared digital experience. Global tech giants orchestrate connectivity, displacing state-controlled narratives. Through social media, smartphones become powerful tools amplifying violence and shaping war's legitimacy. Apps democratise conflict, enabling anyone to identify and attack perceived enemies. As the Ukraine war has shown, this new reality involves complex, unevenly distributed infrastructures, merging civilian communication with military targeting.

With war accelerating beyond our comprehension, militaries have raced to exploit and adapt to the smartphone age. As technology distorts our understanding of conflict, even while offering the hope of progress, Matthew Ford explores critical questions about today's hyper-connected battlefield.



**Matthew Ford** is Associate Professor in War Studies at the Swedish Defence University. The author of *Weapon of Choice* and co-author of *Radical War* (both published by Hurst), he was the founding editor of the *British Journal for Military*

*History*. His research focuses on technology and the conduct of war.



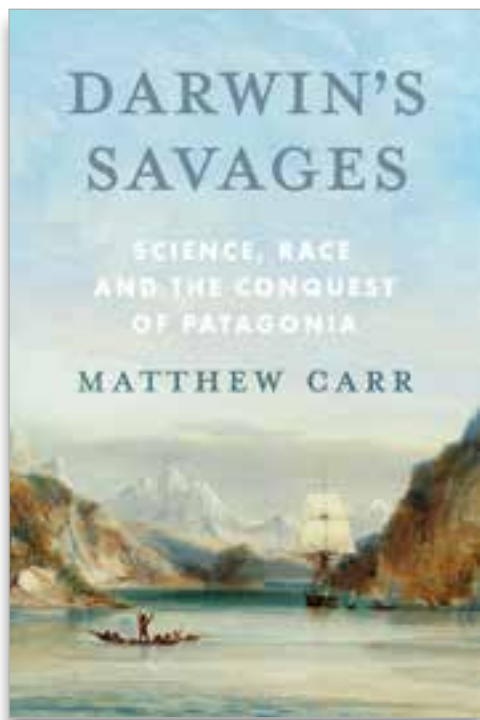
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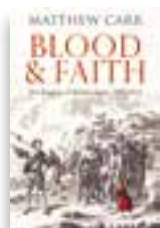
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An unsettling journey through the calamitous consequences of settler colonialism in Patagonia—and the story of the world-renowned scientist who witnessed it.

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MATTHEW CARR

## Darwin's Savages

### Science, Race and the Conquest of Patagonia

In December 1832, Charles Darwin sailed into Tierra del Fuego, down at the tip of South America, and encountered 'Indians' for the first time. 'I would not have believed how entire the difference between savage and civilised man is,' he wrote. 'It is greater than between a wild and [a] domesticated animal.' But he was shocked by the 'war of extermination' he witnessed in northern Patagonia, waged by the colonising army of Buenos Aires.

*Darwin's Savages* explores how these experiences influenced Darwin's writings, as well as the justifications for racial 'exterminations' that others drew from his work. In a sweeping account of soldiers, missionaries, anthropologists and skull-collecting scientists, Matthew Carr traces the connections between colonial expansionism and scientific racism, and the tragic 'extinction' of indigenous peoples in one of the most remote places on Earth.

Combining travelogue, history and essay, this is a compelling journey through Patagonia past and present, from indigenous graveyards and military memorials to archaeological sites and natural history museums. Amid global battles for historical memory, culture wars over race and empire, and ongoing struggles for indigenous rights, Carr chronicles the conquest of Argentina's First Peoples—and the ideas that made it possible.



**Matthew Carr** is the author of non-fiction books including *Blood and Faith*; *Fortress Europe*; and *Savage Frontier* (all published by Hurst), as well as two novels, *The Devils of Cardona* and *Black Sun Rising*. He has

written for *The New York Times*, *The Guardian* and others. He lives in Sheffield.

JAMES HARPUR

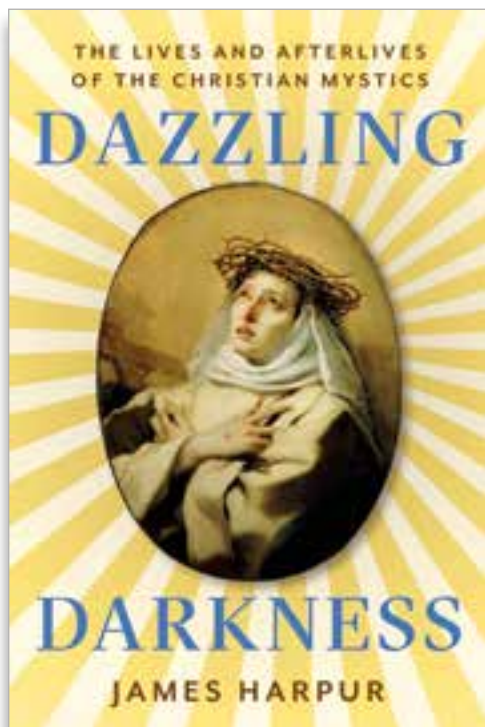
# Dazzling Darkness

## The Lives and Afterlives of the Christian Mystics

At the core of the Christian faith lies the spiritual journey to the heart of ultimate reality, or God—described by some mystics as a ‘dazzling darkness’. For over 2,000 years, certain women and men have experienced various degrees of direct communion with God, from mild illuminations to a union in which the will of the mystic has been consumed.

This book explores such spiritual figures’ lives and teachings, alongside their personal and historical backgrounds, from early Christendom to modern mystics such as Simone Weil and Thomas Merton. It reveals that the English anchoress Julian of Norwich grew up while the Black Death was devastating Europe; that the beguine Marguerite Porete lived at a time when the Church was particularly primed to burn ‘heretics’—a fate she suffered; and that Pierre Teilhard de Chardin developed his idea of spiritual evolution with Charles Darwin’s theories in the air.

Comprehensive, deeply researched and highly engaging, *Dazzling Darkness* tells the stories of towering figures like Hildegard of Bingen, Teresa of Ávila and John of the Cross. Its pages also highlight many lesser-known mystics, including Mary of Egypt, Seraphim of Sarov and Charles de Foucauld, allowing their voices to sing out to future generations.



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Religion

World rights

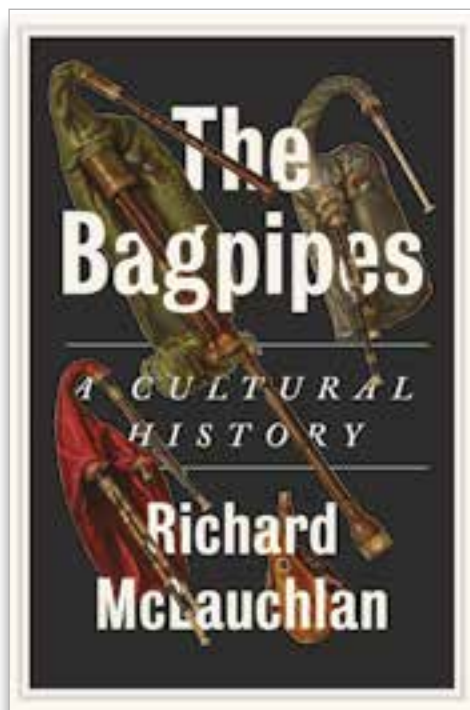
A captivating journey into the heart of divine communion and spiritual evolution, through the lives of Christian mystics—from the early Church to the 1900s.



© Dino Ignani

**James Harpur** is a poet, author and translator who lives in Ireland. He was the 2023 Writer Fellow at the Trinity Oscar Wilde Centre for Irish Writing, Trinity College, Dublin. His debut novel, *The Pathless Country*, won

the J G Farrell Award and was shortlisted for the John McGahern Prize.

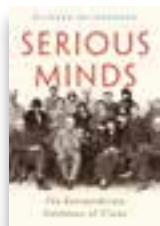


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 History / Music  
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**A captivating history  
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 Devil, inspiring terror on  
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**RICHARD MCLAUCHLAN**

## The Bagpipes

### A Cultural History

In the early second century CE, someone was described as playing a pipe ‘with a bag tucked under his armpit.’ That man, the first named piper in history, was the Roman Emperor Nero. Since then, this improbable conflation of bag and sticks has become one of the most beloved and contested instruments of all time. When another piping emperor, Tsar Peter the Great, watched his pet bear take its last breath, he decided the creature would live on—as a bagpipe.

This rich and vivid history tells the story of an instrument boasting over 130 varieties, yet commonly associated with just one form and one country: Scotland, and its familiar Great Highland Bagpipe. In fact, the pipes are played across the globe, and their story is a highly diverse one, which illuminates society in remarkable, unexpected ways. Richard McLauchlan charts the rise of women pipers; investigates how class, privilege and capitalism have shaped the world of piping; and explores how the meaning of a ‘national instrument’ can shift with the currents of a people’s identity.

The vibrancy and inventiveness characterising today’s pipers still speak to the potency of this fabled and once-feared instrument, to which McLauchlan is our surefooted guide.



**Richard McLauchlan** is a Scottish writer, educated at the Universities of St Andrews and Cambridge, and a former pipe major, taught by the renowned instructor Colin MacLellan. The author of *Serious Minds*, and John Campbell’s

collaborator on *Haldane* (both published by Hurst), Richard co-founded the educational charity Light Up Learning.

MAX SMEETS

# Ransom War

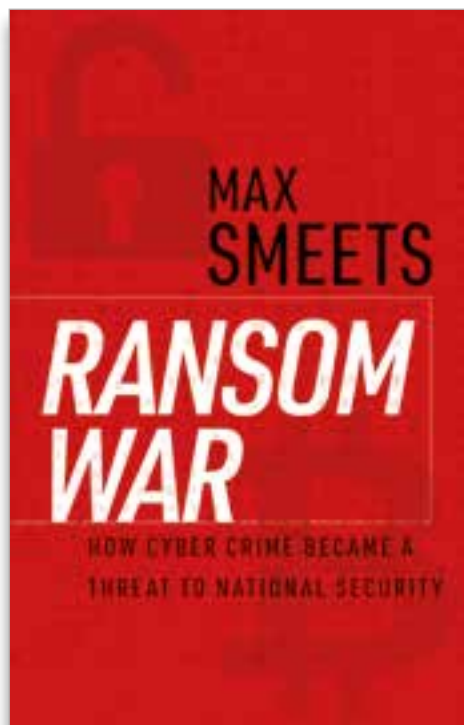
## How Cyber Crime Became a Threat to National Security

This timely book explores the alarming rise of ransomware: malicious software blocking users from their systems or data, until they've paid money to regain access or to prevent the release of sensitive information. High-profile British examples of the twenty-first century have targeted national libraries and hospital trusts; in the US, hackers of Pennsylvania's Lehigh Valley Health Network held patient data hostage—when their demands went unmet, they published topless photographs of women with breast cancer.

The issue presents formidable challenges and costs for businesses, national security and, as the Pennsylvania case showed, individuals—often society's most vulnerable. But we can watch and learn from cyber extortionists, leaving us better prepared for next time. In 2022, a series of devastating ransomware attacks prompted Costa Rica's President to declare a national emergency, describing a 'state of war'. This episode had much to tell us about how these networks arise, operate, organise—and collapse.

Max Smeets' landmark study demystifies the ransomware playbook, from funding to networking. Through one of the largest ransomware operations on record, he reveals how this challenge has evolved, how it differs in substance and style from traditional cyber/hacking threats, and how to combat it.

**Max Smeets** DPhil is a leading cyber security expert, Co-Director of the European Cyber Conflict Research Initiative/Incubator, and author of *No Shortcuts*. Holding research positions at ETH Zurich, the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) and Stanford University, he has written for *The Washington Post*, *War on the Rocks* and *Slate*.



February 2025

9781911723912

216mm x 138mm

288pp

£25.00 Hardback

Current Affairs / War Studies / Technology

World rights

Sheds light on the inner workings of the groups responsible for deploying ransomware, and on how governments and businesses can combat the threat.



June 2025

9781805262862

216mm x 138mm

384pp

£25.00 Hardback

War Studies / History

World rights

A personal history of conflict, imprisonment and unrepentance, from the only woman convicted of crimes against humanity for her role in the Bosnian war.

OLIVERA SIMIĆ

# Madam War Criminal

## Biljana Plavšić, Serbia's Iron Lady

In 2001, Biljana Plavšić made history. Indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, she became the only female political leader ever prosecuted for mass atrocities. By the time the Tribunal closed in 2017, after 24 years in operation, she remained the only woman among the 161 people it had indicted.

Charged by the Tribunal for genocide and crimes against humanity, Plavšić's plea bargain made her the first woman to be convicted by an international court since Nuremberg. The only comparably senior Bosnian Serb politician to be sentenced was Radovan Karadžić himself—President to Plavšić's Vice-President in Bosnia's autonomous Republika Srpska, a role she then took over after the Bosnian peace. Yet until the Yugoslav wars erupted in 1991, Plavšić had been an internationally renowned scientist and faculty dean at the University of Sarajevo, with over 100 journal articles to her name.

Now in her 90s, and a free woman, Plavšić is also the Tribunal's oldest convicted defendant. Olivera Simić's gripping book is based on hundreds of hours of interviews with a stridently unrepentant war criminal, recorded over seven years. How did this biology professor end up running a vengeful ethno-nationalist movement that killed tens of thousands?

**Olivera Simić** is Associate Professor at Griffith University's Law School, specialising in transitional justice, international law, gender and crime. She has authored or co-edited twelve books. Her latest, *Lola's War: Rape Without Punishment*, about sexual violence in the Yugoslav wars, was shortlisted for the Australian Legal Research Book Award.

**BEATRIX CAMPBELL &  
RAHILA GUPTA**

# Planet Patriarchy

## Global Tales of Feminism and Oppression

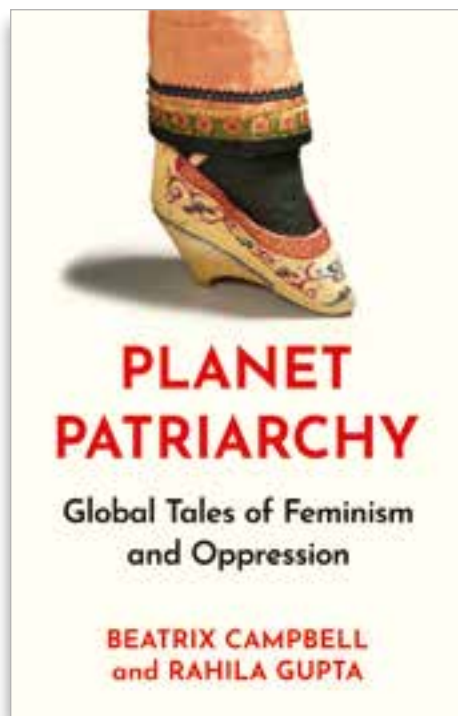
In 1995, the UN vowed to advance ‘equality, development and peace for all women, everywhere.’ Instead, in the Beijing Declaration’s thirtieth anniversary year, the world is lurching dangerously away from such democratic and progressive ideals—reinventing nationalist identities based on toxic-masculine values, and embracing economic policies against women’s interests. This reality exists in every type of country. Why does oppression, rather than feminism, still dominate our world?

This book reveals patriarchy’s many faces in the age of globalisation, exploring the political systems and cultures of eight very different societies. It takes readers from the extraordinary anti-capitalist women’s revolution in Kurdistan to the theocracies of Islamic State and Saudi Arabia; from China’s one-party state to Iceland’s democracy; and to South Africa, Russia and El Salvador—all radically changed since the fall of apartheid, communism and military dictatorship respectively.

Despite patriarchy’s remarkable shapeshifting powers to undermine feminist solidarity, *Planet Patriarchy* is equally a story of sisterhood and resistance, interviewing defenders of women’s rights about their cause and their country. Gender inequality endures, everywhere—but so does feminism. Campbell and Gupta’s fascinating discoveries show us how this timeless showdown is taking shape in, and being shaped by, the systems we live under today.

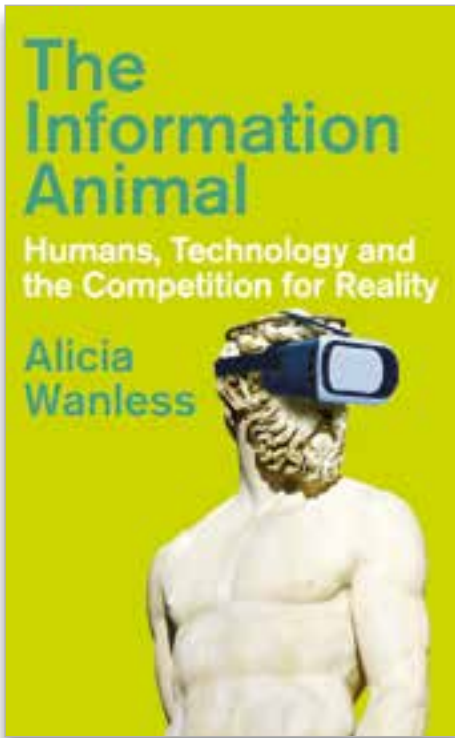
**Beatrix Campbell** OBE is a writer, broadcaster, playwright, and recipient of several honorary doctorates. Her pathbreaking *Wigan Pier Revisited* won the Cheltenham Festival Prize.

**Rahila Gupta** is a freelance journalist, author and activist, and Chair of Southall Black Sisters, which campaigns for Black/Global South women escaping violence in the UK.



July 2025  
9781805262879  
216mm x 138mm  
392pp  
£20.00 Hardback  
Society & Culture / Gender  
World rights

**A continent-crossing  
panorama of women’s  
rights, women’s  
oppression and women’s  
politics in the twenty-first  
century.**



May 2025

9781805262886

216mm x 138mm

272pp

£27.50 Hardback

Technology / Society & Culture

World rights

Humanity has always craved, and feared, information. Alicia Wanless offers a fresh understanding of the relationship between people, technology and knowledge, today and throughout history.

**ALICIA WANLESS**

## The Information Animal

### Humans, Technology and the Competition for Reality

Depending on which news story you read, new tools like artificial intelligence will either save or destroy the world.

The threat from emerging technology might seem unprecedented, but our response to it follows a pattern as old as civilisation. From ancient Athens to COVID-19, social media to spam, Alicia Wanless shows how humans have always consumed information, whether accurate or not. It's a familiar tale: first we develop a new technology that changes how information is shared, increasing the availability of content and the speed at which it can travel. Then, as more people engage with this new content, fresh ideas arise, often at odds with prevailing beliefs. Some use the new tools to promote their views, win power or simply profit, adding to the mounting information pollution. Competition and conflict follow. Fearing the worst, we scramble—in vain—to control flows of information and use of the new technology.

With democracies around the world lurching from crisis to crisis, knee-jerk reactions to information conflict won't suffice. What's needed is an understanding of humans' nature as 'information animals'—of our long-standing relationship with technology, and the ways in which a content-saturated world impacts the political battle for hearts and minds.

**Alicia Wanless** is a senior fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, where she runs the Information Environment Project. She completed her PhD in War Studies at King's College London, combining ecology and strategic theory in a new approach to understanding conflict within the information environment.

SURAJ MILIND YENGDE

# Caste

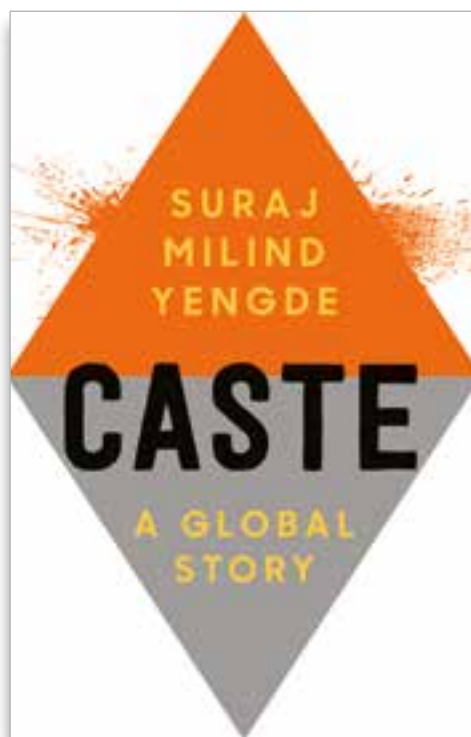
## A Global Story

Caste, and caste-based discrimination, are not just Indian issues. They are experienced throughout the world, from Britain to Bahrain, Canada to South Africa. This is a global phenomenon, demanding global solutions.

Leading scholar Suraj Milind Yengde shines a light on the Dalit experience internationally, from indentured labourers in the nineteenth-century Caribbean to present-day migrant workers in the Middle East. Combining history, biography and political activism, he offers a compelling, comparative approach to caste and race from ancient times to today. What have been the impacts of colonialism, religion and nationalism on caste-based hierarchies worldwide? What can we learn from caste-related movements in India and internationally? Why hasn't the South Asian diaspora embraced the anti-caste struggles of the homeland? And what are the limits of Dalit–Black solidarity?

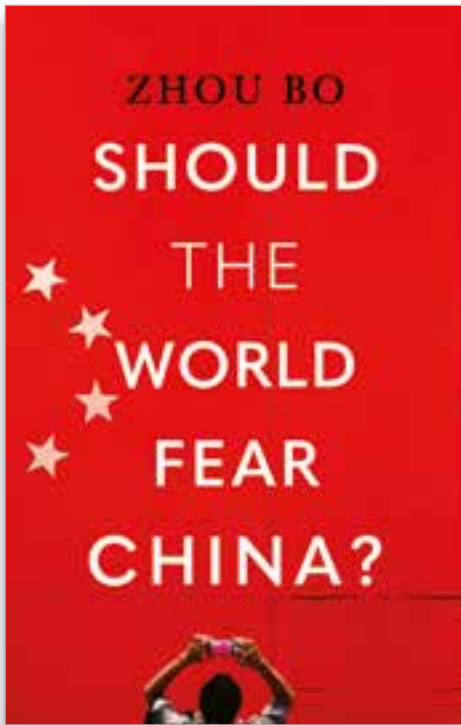
Exploring the global footprint of the anti-caste struggle—from its links with Black Lives Matter to the work of international Ambedkarite organisations—this is a powerful analysis of world politics from the perspective of one of the most oppressed communities on Earth. Asking probing questions about the nature of inequality, Yengde issues an energetic call for a cosmopolitan Dalit universalism, as a vital part of today's fight for social justice and equality.

**Suraj Milind Yengde** is a scholar and activist. Named one of the '25 Most Influential Young Indians' by *GQ* magazine and the 'Most Influential Young Dalit' by *Zee*, he is the bestselling author of *Caste Matters*. Based at Harvard University, he is completing a doctorate at the University of Oxford.



April 2025  
9781805262893  
216mm x 138mm  
360pp, 8 colour illus  
£25.00 Hardback  
History / Sociology  
World English rights  
excluding South Asia

**A unique exploration of caste oppression and caste resistance around the world, from one of India's leading public intellectuals.**



March 2025

9781805263456

216mm x 138mm

376pp

£30.00 Hardback

China / International Studies

World rights excluding the

Simplified Chinese language

A revealing assessment of  
China's place in the world,  
from one of its most  
respected foreign policy  
analysts.

ZHOU BO

## Should the World Fear China?

Our perception of China's global role and influence depends on our vantage point. For the United States, the People's Republic is a strategic competitor: the only country with both the intent to reshape the international order and, increasingly, the economic, diplomatic, military and technological means to do so. For Europe, China is a 'partner for cooperation, an economic competitor and a systemic rival'. For NATO, it is a 'decisive enabler' of Russia's war against Ukraine. Yet Beijing enjoys a far more positive image in the Global South, of which the PRC considers itself a constituent member.

In this collection of essays and opinion pieces, Zhou Bo seeks answers to some of the most important questions relating to China's role in global affairs of the twenty-first century. The landscape in which the PRC is operating is not only a world becoming less Western, but also—and more importantly—a West becoming less Western.

Are Moscow and Beijing really as closely aligned as some allege? What is the future of India–China relations? Is the West truly facing a new Cold War foe in China? Or will transnational economic links move the two power centres ineluctably closer together, rather than further apart?

**Zhou Bo** is Senior Fellow at Tsinghua University's Center for International Security and Strategy, Senior Colonel (Retired) in the People's Liberation Army, and a regular speaker at the Munich Security Conference and IISS Shangri-La Dialogue. Beyond China, he has studied at Harvard University and the Universities of Cambridge and Westminster.

DAVID LANE

# Scenes from a Roman Century

## 1924–2024

Hollywood film stars, fascist assassins. Bombs on San Lorenzo, *la dolce vita* on Via Veneto. Baroque fountains, umbrella pines. Urban planning, unregulated house-building. After half a century living in Rome, David Lane turns his eye on events and streetscapes in the Eternal City over the past 100 years.

*Scenes from a Roman Century* begins with the 1924 murder of Giacomo Matteotti—the beginning of the end for interwar democracy—and ends with the organised crime and political violence of our own era. It sketches Rome's growth under Mussolini's dictatorship, and its fortunes during the Second World War; the economic miracle of the post-war decades; and Rome's latest transformations through the turn of the millennium.

Lane sends readers meandering down the alleys, out towards the suburbs and to stand before the monumental architecture, capturing cultural and political moments from Rome's past and present. He explores fascism's material legacy across the city, terrorism and political extremism on the right and left, and the struggle to manage economic growth's burdens—ugly urban sprawl, and the crush of mass tourism in the historic centre. As pilgrims descend for the 2025 jubilee declared by Pope Francis, what is next for this ever-changing city of history?

**David Lane** has lived in Rome since 1972, has written for *The Guardian* and the *Financial Times*, and was *The Economist's* business and finance correspondent for Italy from 1994 to 2013. His books include *Berlusconi's Shadow*; *Into the Heart of the Mafia*; *Italian Electricity*; and two volumes of memoir.



March 2025

9781805262930

216mm x 138mm

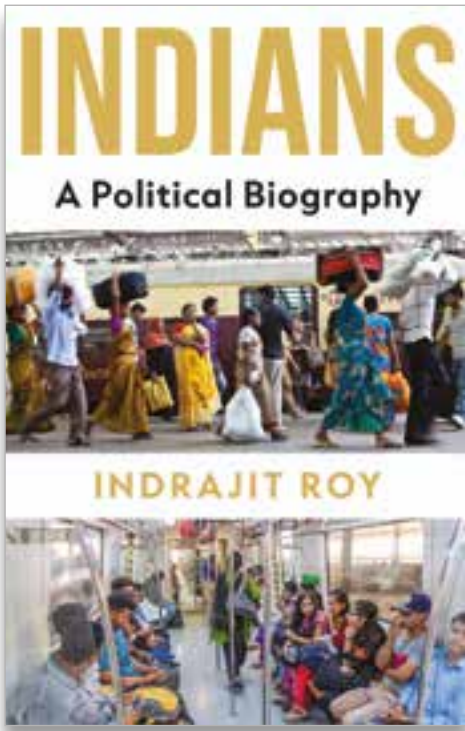
280pp

£17.99 Paperback

Europe / History / Travel

World rights

An offbeat meander  
through the streets and  
histories of the great  
Italian capital, where the  
past is always present.



July 2025  
 9781805262909  
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 £27.50 Hardback  
 History / Politics  
 World rights

What can we learn from  
 India's postcolonial  
 experience of fashioning  
 a democracy despite  
 its extensive poverty,  
 entrenched inequalities  
 and widespread illiteracy?

INDRAJIT ROY

## Indians

### A Political Biography

With India under growing scrutiny over the erosion of its democracy since 2014, worldwide media coverage has revealed our poor grasp of it as a modern nation. In this book, Indrajit Roy sets out to understand modern Indians on their own terms. Beyond the usual polarising narratives—either pious platitudes to the ‘world’s largest democracy’, or laments over its ‘democratic backsliding’—Roy reveals the remarkable 75-year achievement of building a democratic nation in a country weathering mass poverty, severe inequality and deep social conflict. He also exposes how this process unfolds on the ground, telling the story of a nation-state via glimpses into how Indians have thought of themselves, the world and their place in it.

*Indians* charts the evolution of a people’s identity since the spectacle, frenzy and hope of independence in 1947, and the republican constitution introduced in 1950. This is both a high-political history and, more importantly, an account of that history’s interplay with the nebulous complex of ideas and passions that go into making, unmaking and remaking a democratic nation.

Roy’s astute political biography of the Indian people is, ultimately, a tale of how one democracy influences, and is shaped by, its economy, society and culture.

**Indrajit Roy** DPhil is Professor of Politics at the University of York. His books on Indian democracy include *Politics of the Poor* and *Audacious Hope*. Indrajit has appeared on BBC Radio 3’s *Free Thinking*, and his commentary has been published by The Conversation, openDemocracy, *Global Policy* and *The Economic Times*.

IPSITA CHAKRAVARTY

# Dapaan

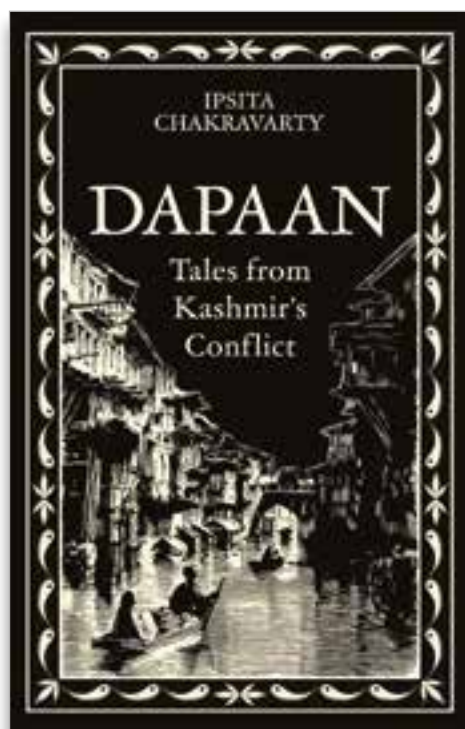
## Tales from Kashmir's Conflict

In Kashmir, folktales often begin with the word *dapaan*—‘it is said’. So too do local narratives told and retold about the past, among people who have lived through nearly eight decades of a bitter contest between India and Pakistan.

This is a story about stories. In the hyper-nationalist din over a territorial dispute, Kashmiri voices are often drowned out. Yet the region is home to long habits of storytelling, its communities intensely engaged with history-keeping. For centuries, folk traditions of theatre, song and fable have flowed into a reservoir of common talk. Mythology, hearsay and historical memory coexist here without any apparent hierarchies.

By the time armed rebellion spread through Kashmir in 1989, many of these traditions had died out, or been forced underground. But they have left traces in the way ordinary people speak about the conflict—in their songs of loss, and jokes about dark times; in fantastical geographies, and rumours turning the Valley's militarisation into a ghostly haunting. From Partition to the 2019 Indian crackdown, Ipsita Chakravarty discovers a vivid, distinctly Kashmiri vision of events that have often been narrated from the top-down. Her interviewees conjure a kaleidoscope of towns and villages shaping their own memories.

**Ipsita Chakravarty** is an award-winning journalist who has reported on politics and armed conflict in Kashmir and North-East India for a decade. She has worked as a reporter, editor and opinion writer for national dailies including *The Times of India*, *The Telegraph*, *The Indian Express* and *Scroll*.



March 2025

9781805262916

216mm x 138mm

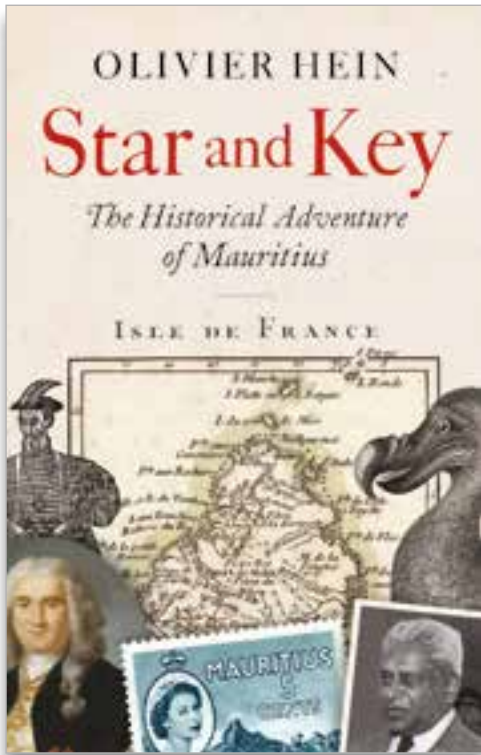
344pp

£18.99 Paperback

South Asia / Conflict / True Stories

World English rights

In this haunting, probing book, an award-winning journalist interviews ordinary Kashmiris about the tales of war told in their homes—and shaping their communities.



March 2025  
 9781805262923  
 216mm x 138mm  
 336pp, 32 colour illus  
 £25.00 Hardback  
 History / Africa  
 World rights

A lively history of an  
 extraordinary island and  
 the people who call  
 it home.

OLIVIER HEIN

## Star and Key

### The Historical Adventure of Mauritius

Many countries have an interesting tale to tell about their origins and evolution. But few are as exciting and adventurous as that of Mauritius—‘Star and Key’ of the Indian Ocean.

A tiny island of volcanos, dodos and lagoons, Mauritius remained untouched by humans until Arab sailors discovered it in the tenth century. Settled by the Portuguese, Dutch, French and then British, it was passed from one empire to another, each recognising its immense strategic importance, yet all struggling fully to control it.

From a highly prized colonial chess piece to an independent success story, Mauritius has always been a place with outsized influence. This cultural melting-pot is home to peoples of Indian, Chinese, African and European descent, shaping the country’s vibrant literature, music, language and art—as well as its ethnic tensions, which have always bubbled near the surface. Olivier Hein’s sweeping history uncovers Mauritius’s fascinating yet little-known past, exploring the age of pirates; the horrors of indentured labour; the 1810 Franco-British war; the transformations in economy, landscape and climate during the twenty-first century; and much more. From its geological origins to the present day, this is the story of an island nation quite unlike any other.

**Olivier Hein** is a Mauritian-British author, whose books include *Punch a Hole in the Wind*. A regular contributor to *The Chap* magazine, he is a former UN, UK and OSCE diplomat, with postings to New York, Paris, Kosovo and Turkmenistan. He lives with his family in the Cotswolds.

LENNART MERI

# Silverwhite

## The Journey to the Fallen Sun

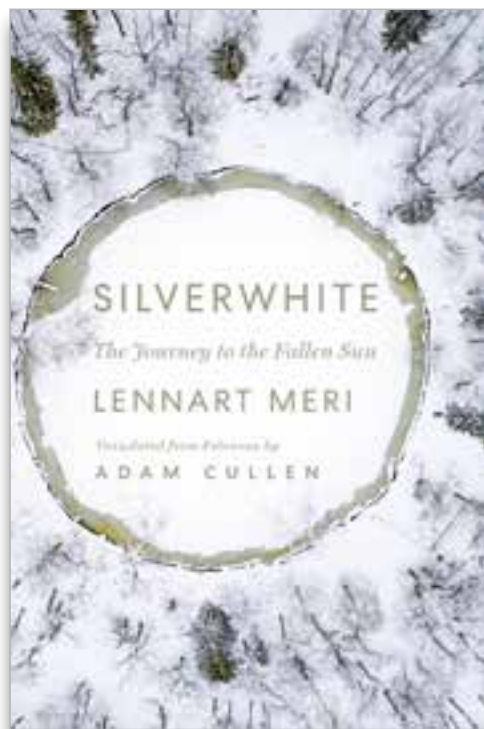
Translated by ADAM CULLEN

*Silverwhite* is a captivating exploration of the eastern Baltic nations' earliest history and interactions with peoples of the Mediterranean and the Near East. This journey meticulously outlines an answer to the true whereabouts of Thule, the unearthly northernmost land of ancient legend.

Although *Silverwhite* is grounded in classical literature and extensive historical, astronomical and geographical fact, Lennart Meri—foremost a writer and filmmaker—weaves his travelogue with poeticism. Whereas a professional historian must show caution when using fantasy to patch gaps between facts, a poet is untethered. This epic work can also be read as a thriller: millennia ago, an enormous cosmic rock crashed into the Estonian island of Saaremaa. Through this extraordinary historical event, Meri brings together a curious cast including ancient Greeks, Arabs and Estonians. All genuinely existed and met, even if their names have been lost to oblivion.

When Meri wrote *Silverwhite*, Estonia was occupied; forced into the restrictions of Soviet Russian colonialism. His work was a balm against that closed-minded and unnatural state, offering the unmistakable message that the world has never been divided into isolated islands of civilisation. Nations, eternally interconnected, have always shared knowledge and impacted one another in complex ways. Openness is inherent.

**Lennart Meri** (1929–2006) was a traveller, writer, documentary filmmaker and Estonian president (1992–2001), having defended Soviet-occupied Estonia's interests and having worked to restore sovereignty. His ten books had influence echoing across the Iron Curtain. On publication in 1976, *Silverwhite* quickly became a popular central work of Estonian literature.



May 2025

9781805262947

234mm x 156mm

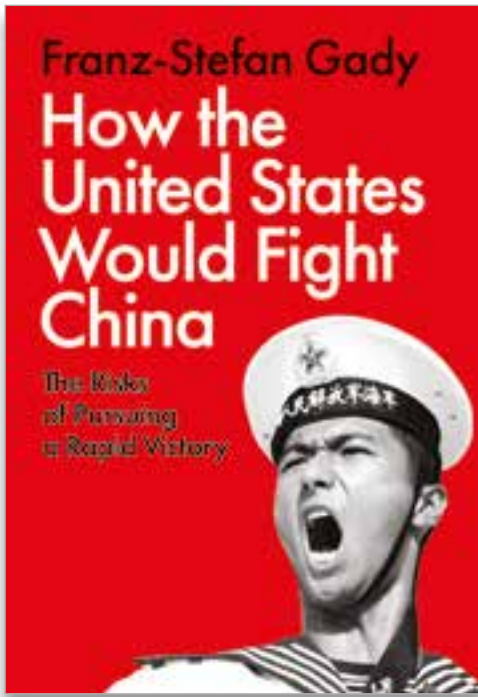
472pp

£30.00 Hardback

Europe / History

World English rights

The first English translation of this central work of Estonian non-fiction, marking the profound importance in world history of this small nation and its people.



June 2025  
 9781805263760  
 190mm x 126mm  
 256pp  
 £25.00 Hardback  
 Security Studies / China  
 World rights

Assesses the substantial risk of strategic defeat for Washington in any war with China.

FRANZ-STEFAN GADY

## How the United States Would Fight China

### The Risks of Pursuing a Rapid Victory

This is a detailed analysis of how the United States intends to fight a war against the People's Republic of China and why it risks strategic defeat—based on its doctrine, force structure and general 'way of war'. Franz-Stefan Gady contends that the US military's current approach to a potential war over Taiwan is flawed, relying heavily both on achieving rapid information superiority and on a decisive victory. This is unlikely to succeed, and may increase the risk of nuclear escalation between the world's only genuine superpowers.

A US–China war would more likely be characterised by prolonged attrition across multiple domains (cyber, space, air, sea and land)—a conflict for which America's military and society are ill-prepared. The US also lacks a viable blueprint, the military forces or the industrial capacity for a long war of attrition. This deficiency stems from a military culture prioritising advanced technology over mass, and the lack of political will or public readiness for the sacrifices such a conflict would require.

Gady's research and analysis, both of the highest order, reveal the significant risk of strategic defeat for the United States in a potential conflict with China, whether in the 2020s or 2030s.

**Franz-Stefan Gady** has advised US and European militaries on structural reform and the future of high-intensity warfare. An adjunct senior fellow with the Center for a New American Security, Washington, DC, he has conducted field research in Afghanistan, Iraq and Ukraine. His latest book is *The Return of War*.

ZIAUDDIN SARDAR

# Three Begums

## The Women Who Shaped My Life

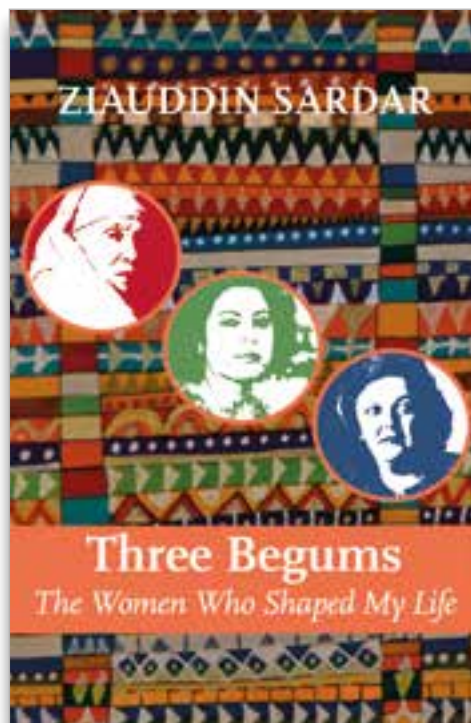
Illustrated by ZAFAR ABBAS MALIK

*Three Begums* revolves around the lives of three ordinary women—Hamida, Merryl and Saliha—who lived extraordinary, interwoven lives of fabulous joy, fierce pain, and untold trauma. Like many who came before them, they loved and dreamed. Although born in different times and places, they were united through their dedication to bettering the lives of all around them. Each fell victim to disease and premature death, without fulfilling their desires; but, like all desires, these continue beyond their lifetimes.

Flowing seamlessly between the biographical and autobiographical, Ziauddin Sardar captures the complexities of everyday living, human relationships and raw emotion, weaving lives and ambitions together. The great story of human societies unfolds through the eyes of an individual, with each chapter struggling to fulfil the aspirations of the last. Sardar shows how his own life was shaped by these women, and how their collective life undulated, sea-like, to the rhythms of Urdu poetry.

This genre-defying book takes readers on a journey that is inimitably personal, yet reverberates universally. Powerful and unforgettable, *Three Begums* is a profound reminder that, in a good life, the only thing that matters is virtue—particularly the virtue of compassion, and working for something greater than oneself.

**Ziauddin Sardar** is an award-winning, internationally renowned writer, futurist and cultural critic. His books include *Desperately Seeking Paradise: Journeys of a Sceptical Muslim*; *Reading the Qur'an*; and *Mecca: The Sacred City*. A former *New Statesman* columnist and equality and human rights commissioner, he is Editor of influential quarterly *Critical Muslim*.



March 2025

9781805263333

190mm x 126mm

276pp, 20 b&amp;w illus

£12.99 Paperback

Biography / Memoir

World rights

A poignant reflection on grief, empowerment and feminism through the lives of three women who shaped Ziauddin Sardar's destiny.



June 2025  
 9781805262954  
 216mm x 138mm  
 412pp, 36 colour illus  
 £30.00 Hardback  
 History / Colonialism  
 World rights

From war with the British to the enslavement of Indians, Ivermee uncovers the dark history of France's doomed imperial project in South Asia.

ROBERT IVERMEE

## Glorious Failure

### The Forgotten History of French Imperialism in India

This is a powerful new account of a chapter in history that is crucial to understand, yet often overlooked. For 150 years, from the reign of Louis XIV to the downfall of Napoleon, France was an aggressive imperial power in South Asia, driven by the pursuit of greatness and riches. Through their East India company and state, the French established a far-reaching empire in India, only to see their dominant position undermined by conflict with Indian rulers, competition from other European nations, and a series of fatal strategic errors.

Exploding the myth of a benign French presence on the subcontinent, Robert Ivermee's extensive research reveals how France's Indian empire relied on war-making, conquest, opportunistic alliances, regime change and slavery to pursue its ambitions. He considers influential French figures' reactions to the collapse of the imperial project, not least their deployment of new ideas, like freedom and the rights of man, to justify fresh ventures of domination—even as colonial authorities failed to acknowledge the equality of French India's diverse indigenous peoples, both before and after the French Revolution.

From great power rivalry to informal empire and entrenched inequalities, *Glorious Failure* tackles topics that remain vital and urgent in today's world.

**Robert Ivermee** is a historian of British and wider European colonialism in South Asia. He is Associate Professor at the Catholic University of Paris, and the author of *Hooghly: The Global History of a River* (also published by Hurst).

VIGNESH RAJAHMANI

# The Dravidian Pathway

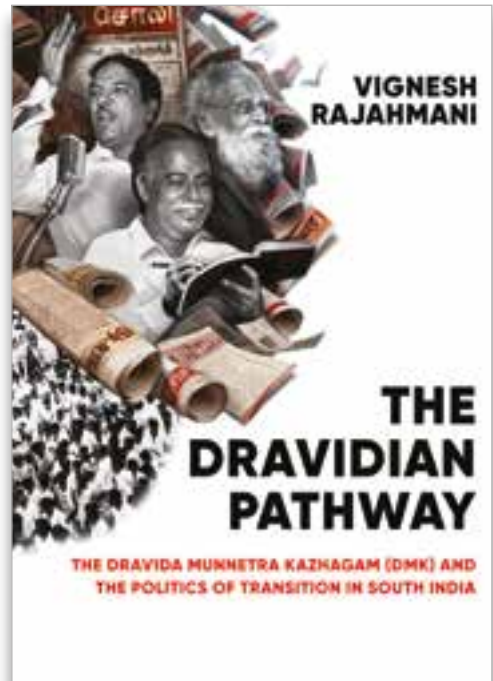
## The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) and the Politics of Transition in South India

*The Dravidian Pathway* is a timely contribution to public and scholarly understanding of South Indian politics, examining a pivotal period in the rise to power of the Tamil Nadu party Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (the Dravidian Progressive Federation, or DMK).

The scholarly canon on social movements and/or electoral politics has largely neglected the interplay between the two, focusing only on outcomes. Vignesh Rajahmani's innovative, detailed study of the Dravidian movement explores the strategic leadership of DMK and non-DMK figures like Periyar E.V. Ramasamy, C.N. Annadurai, M. Karunanidhi and K. Kamaraj. It illustrates their synthesis of anti-caste ideology, socioeconomic and educational mobility, and inclusive Dravidian-Tamil identity, and considers why that vision resonated with marginalised communities.

Tracing the early DMK years, from the party's social justice campaigns to its landmark electoral victory in 1967, Rajahmani highlights the challenges of navigating ideological commitments within the constraints of political pragmatism, while also making politics accessible to the common person. He explains how iterations on the initial ideology and political offering can reinvigorate such movements, keeping their politics agile and incentivising inclusive policymaking. He also shows how the DMK shaped Tamil Nadu's counter-hegemonic political identity, which has proven electorally resilient in spite of majoritarian onslaughts.

**Vignesh Rajahmani** is a postdoctoral research fellow in Indian and Indonesian politics at the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies, with a PhD in Political Science and Public Policy from King's College London's King's India Institute. He has worked in public policy, legislative research and political consulting.



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Chronicles the transformation of a Dravidian socio-cultural movement into an electorally viable political party in Tamil Nadu.



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COMPARATIVE POLITICS AND  
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**A revelatory account of the  
 cohabitation of religious  
 traditions and practices  
 in South Asia.**

**LAURENT GAYER, CHRISTOPHE  
 JAFFRELOT, AMINAH MOHAMMAD-  
 ARIF & GRÉGOIRE SCHLEMMER (eds)**

## **Shared Sacred Sites in South Asia**

### **Negotiating Coexistence and Belonging**

Across the world, religious and cultural identities are being weaponised for political gains. South Asia is no exception, with frequent conflicts between faith communities strengthening politico-religious organisations, and severely straining social cohesion. Yet this region also has a history of religious intermingling, exemplified by shared sacred sites such as saints' tombs, temples, churches, and natural elements serving as places of worship.

Such 'sites in common' offer rich insights into the dynamics of religious interaction. This book investigates them through two key questions. First, it examines what shared places of worship can reveal about plural societies in the midst of persistent religious and ethnic nationalism. Are they exceptional? Do they reflect or transcend socio-religious fault lines? The authors approach coexistence as a tensile equilibrium, in which conflict is no stranger to sharing: South Asia's shared sacred sites are seen as social laboratories, where communities experiment with pluralism and its challenges. Second, the contributors consider the politics of belonging, questioning the boundaries between groups and religions. They examine the logics at work in people's visits to places outside their own religious affiliation, challenging theoretical frameworks of religious demarcation and showing the importance of other markers, such as caste, class, language and gender.

**Laurent Gayer** is CNRS Senior Research Professor at CERI-Sciences Po. **Christophe Jaffrelot** is Avantha Chair/Professor of Indian Politics and Sociology at King's College London. **Aminah Mohammad-Arif** is Research Director at France's Centre national de la recherche scientifique. **Grégoire Schlemmer** is a researcher at France's Institut de recherche pour le développement.

AZMI BISHARA

# Arduous Paths

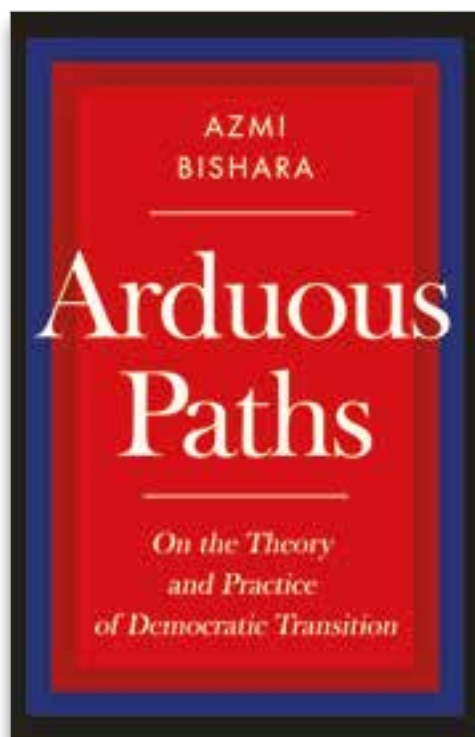
## On the Theory and Practice of Democratic Transition

Azmi Bishara's *Arduous Paths* builds on his sizeable body of work on democracy through the lenses of civil society, religion and secularism, populism and sectarianism.

Arab transition scholarship is regarded in some quarters as confined to theory, reliant on imported data, and uncritical of concepts of democratisation. However, while Bishara situates his research within a critical theoretical framework, he directly engages with the concerns of contemporary Arab societies—given the relevance of the transition to democracy for those living under authoritarianism—by testing theory and lessons learned from democratic transitions elsewhere against Arab cases, thus contributing to the scholarly debate. This English translation offers a detailed analysis of modernisation and transition theory, interwoven with empirical evidence from the modern Middle East and the author's critical commentary and evaluation.

Bishara evaluates the outcomes of transition experiences in Arab countries that have seen revolutions and popular uprisings, illustrating how—despite the centrality of the demand for democracy across the region during the 2010/2011 protests, and again in 2019—transition failed in some cases, and never took place in others. He concludes by offering the reader a distinctly Arab contribution to the field of democratic transition studies.

**Azmi Bishara** is one of the Arab world's most prominent scholars, a critic of authoritarianism and colonialism, and a staunch supporter of democratic transition in the region. His works include *Palestine*, also published by Hurst; *Religion and Secularism in Historical Context*; *The Question of the State*; and *On Salafism*.



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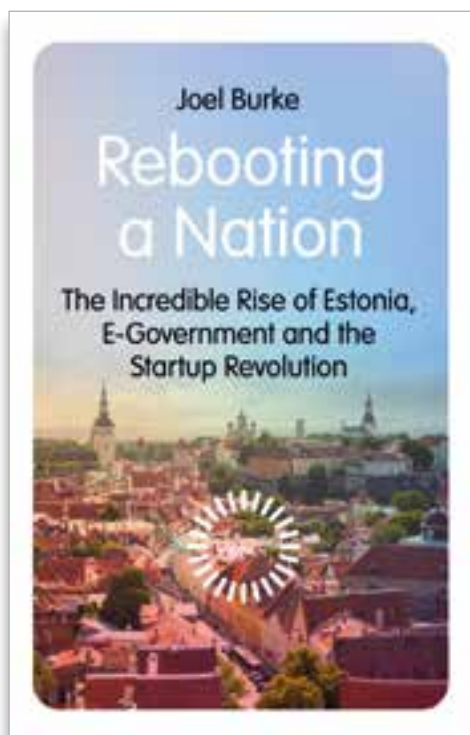
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**JOEL BURKE**

## Rebooting a Nation

### The Incredible Rise of Estonia, E-Government and the Startup Revolution

Three decades after gaining independence from the Soviet Union, Estonia is a nation transformed. Today, the country is known worldwide as a startup hub, boasting billion-dollar companies including Wise, Veriff and Bolt—but even more impressive are Tallinn’s pioneering efforts in e-government. With 99 per cent of government services digitalised and accessible online, citizens can vote via computer, or file their taxes online in minutes; and Estonia’s use of artificial intelligence to enhance and automate its offering to citizens long predates ChatGPT.

Drawing on his experience as a former official for the Republic of Estonia, Joel Burke offers unique insight into the country’s rapid rise as a tech and e-government powerhouse since the turn of the century. From the founding of Skype to the future of the e-state, he unveils the tactics and stories behind Estonia’s spectacular journey—from abject poverty, after years of Soviet occupation and mismanagement, to global tech leadership. For those hoping to learn from Estonia’s incredible journey, Burke offers insights into the government’s use of AI, its creation of a digital society, and its cultivation of a culture driving public-sector creativity and innovation. *Rebooting a Nation* is an informative and entertaining masterclass in Estonia’s modern history.

**Joel Burke** is a technologist and Georgetown University alumnus based in Washington D.C. With experience working on four continents, he has advised startups and governments—most notably, leading a team for the Republic of Estonia’s e-Residency programme, and advising members of the United States Congress on tech and AI policy.

LEILA SIMONA TALANI &  
MATILDE ROSINA

# The Migration Question

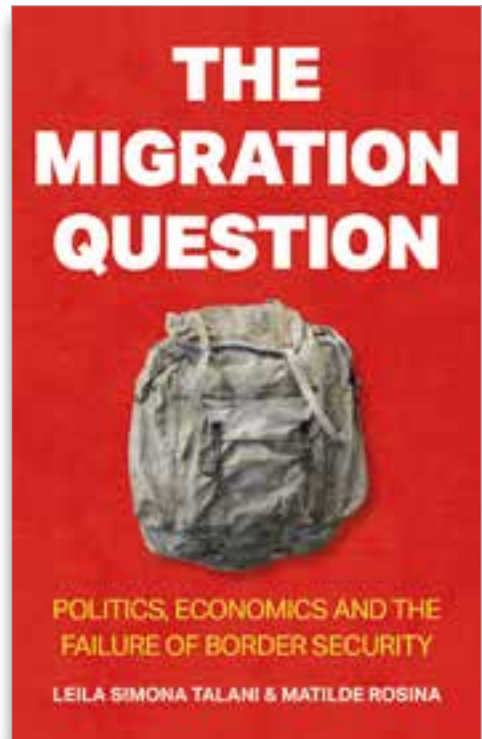
## Politics, Economics and the Failure of Border Security

This authoritative book proposes a fresh perspective on international migration, offering decisive answers to the big questions, and dismantling the main myths surrounding one of the most salient issues of today's global politics. Who are these migrants? Do they steal our jobs? Can we help them in their home countries? Do border controls improve security? Are open borders desirable? Leila Simona Talani and Matilde Rosina address these issues and more in their deeply researched study of migration into both Europe and the United States.

Assessing globalisation's impact on international migration, the authors find that it is virtually impossible to stop contemporary flows from the Global South to North. In this context, policies designed to control, limit or deter immigration simply transform some or all regular migrants into irregular ones—exacerbating insecurity for citizens of the receiving state, and criminalising the migrants.

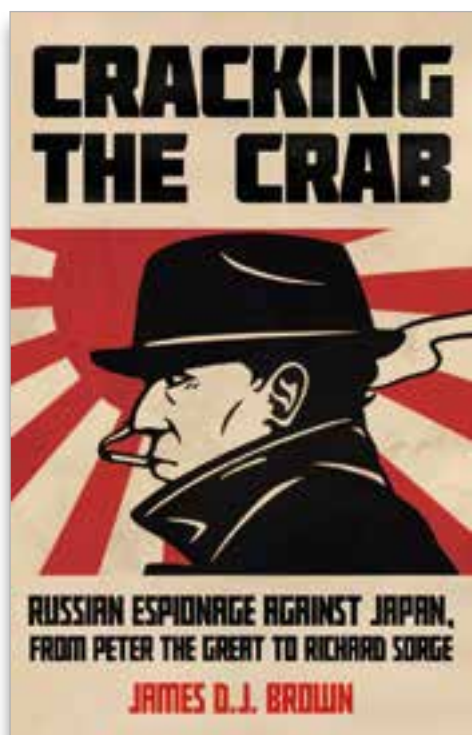
Through empirical research including original surveys and interviews, Talani and Rosina demonstrate conclusively that the only solution to this short-circuit world of securitisation and criminalisation is for the Global North to open its doors to the migrants already, inevitably, coming through—particularly since the evidence shows that regularising migration is a positive-sum game, in economic, social and security terms.

**Leila Simona Talani** is Professor of International Political Economy in the Department of European and International Studies, King's College London. **Matilde Rosina** PhD is Lecturer in Global Challenges at Brunel University London, and Visiting Fellow at the London School of Economics, specialising in European migration policy and politics.



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**A definitive study  
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into Europe and America,  
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policy efforts to stop the  
inevitable.**



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Second World War.

**JAMES D.J. BROWN**

## Cracking the Crab

### Russian Espionage Against Japan, from Peter the Great to Richard Sorge

Richard Sorge is one of history's most famous spies. This hard-drinking, womanising, motorcycle-crashing Soviet officer penetrated the German embassy in Tokyo during the 1930s and gathered intelligence credited with changing the course of the Second World War. It is an intriguing tale; but Sorge's spy ring was just one chapter in a much longer history of Russian and Soviet espionage in and against Japan.

*Cracking the Crab* tells the extraordinary full story of Russian intrigue targeting Japan, from first encounters in the eighteenth century to the Soviet declaration of war in August 1945. Colourful episodes include Gojong, King of Korea, being smuggled into the Russian legation dressed as a woman in 1896; the 1927 'Tanaka Memorial', an infamous forgery purporting to be Japan's hidden plan for world domination; and the secret intelligence of 'Nero', a Soviet agent supplying invaluable insight into Japanese strategy during the Second World War.

From Russians murdered in broad daylight in Meiji Tokyo to Soviet 'white magic' and honey traps at the Battle of Nomonhan, this is a landmark history of the covert struggle between two great powers of the modern age.

**James D.J. Brown** is Professor of Political Science at Temple University, Japan. He is a specialist on East Asian politics and a regular media contributor, including for the BBC. His books include *Japan, Russia and their Territorial Dispute*; and *Japan's Foreign Relations in Asia* and *The Abe Legacy* (both co-edited).

BRADLEY JARDINE &  
EDWARD LEMON

## Backlash

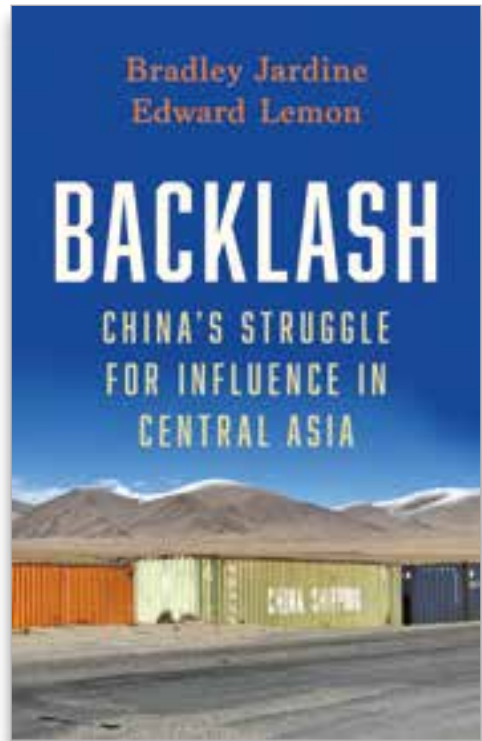
### China's Struggle for Influence in Central Asia

Central Asia is at the forefront of China's efforts to assert itself as a major world power. Since 1991, Beijing has emerged as the region's main investor, creditor and trade partner, as well as an increasingly important security provider. But its growing influence has met opposition: in recent years, anti-China protests have erupted across Central Asia, threatening Beijing's shaky regional hegemony.

Bradley Jardine and Edward Lemon examine how Central Asians are pushing back against China's global ambitions, and trace Beijing's attempts to manage its image and secure its interests in response. Drawing on over a decade of fieldwork, *Backlash* reveals the uncertainties of China's rise. Far from being the omnipotent strategist often depicted in international media, Beijing is making significant missteps, alienating local people and becoming entangled in costly interventions to protect its citizens and investments. Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in 2022 undermined Moscow's regional position, creating opportunities for China to expand its role. But to do so, it must contend with the agency of Central Asians themselves: their interests, policies and priorities.

This incisive book exposes the unravelling of China's alternative to the American-led global order, highlighting both elite and grassroots actors forcing Beijing to adapt its approach.

**Bradley Jardine** is Managing Director of the Oxus Society for Central Asian Affairs. Formerly editor of *The Moscow Times*, he has written for *The Guardian* and others. **Edward Lemon**, President of the Oxus Society, is Research Assistant Professor at the Bush School of Government and Public Service, Texas A&M University.

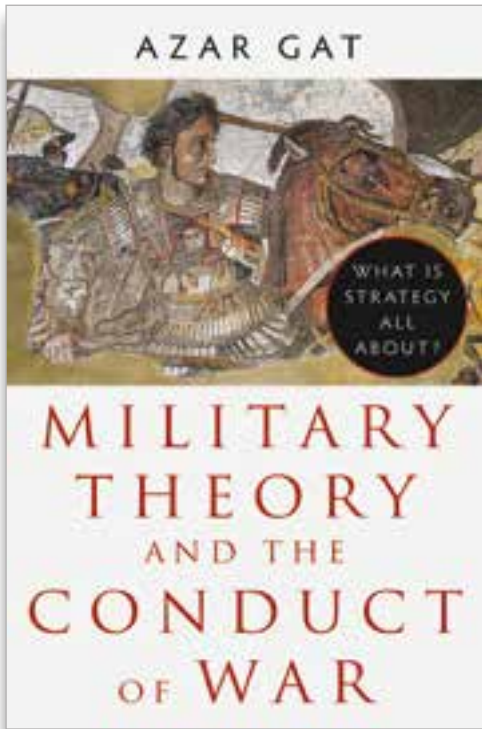


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**AZAR GAT**

# Military Theory and the Conduct of War

## What Is Strategy All About?

The question of whether there is a general, universal theory for the conduct of war has long preoccupied military thinkers, army personnel and students of conflict. Warfare has been radically transformed throughout history, under the influence of technological change. But is there anything enduring that can be determined about it, taught in military schools and applied in practice?

Azar Gat offers a fresh look at the relationship between politics and war, examining the meanings of ‘victory’, offence and defence, and the significance and role of concepts like the ‘principles of war’ and military ‘doctrine’. He analyses the successive military innovations of modernity, including the advent of nuclear weapons and the ongoing cyber and robotics revolutions of our own times. He also explains why guerrilla warfare and terrorism have grown increasingly important, and where they are heading.

With China and Russia posing a growing challenge to the global order today, Gat asks if war is truly in our nature—or if it is, in fact, declining. This is a vital text for all students of war, whether in academia, in the military or among the public at large.

Is there a universal theory  
 for the conduct of war?

**Azar Gat** is Ezer Weitzman Chair for National Security at Tel Aviv University, and the author of war and military theory books that have been translated into many languages. His ten volumes include *A History of Military Thought*; *War in Human Civilization*; and *War and Strategy in the Modern World*.

TYCHO VAN DER HOOG

# Comrades Beyond the Cold War

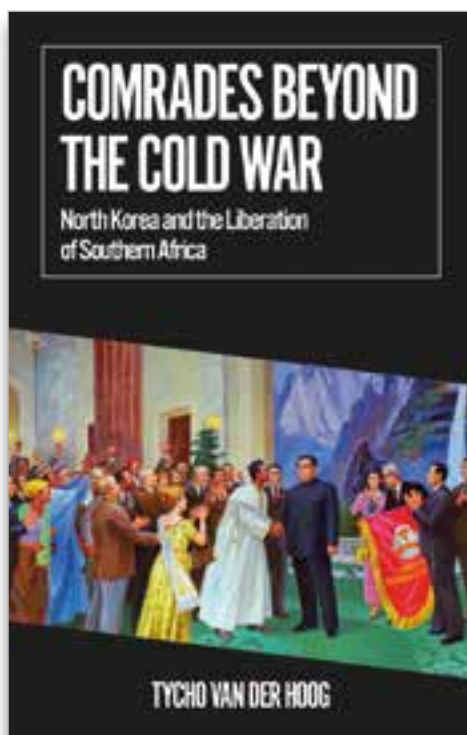
## North Korea and the Liberation of Southern Africa

North Korea was an important player in the decolonisation of Africa. Freedom fighters across the continent received vital assistance from Pyongyang, and almost all southern African independence leaders travelled to the North Korean capital at some point, in search of support. This alliance has continued into the twenty-first century, with African postcolonial governments throwing a lifeline to Pyongyang's increasingly isolated economy by hiring North Korean companies, despite United Nations sanctions.

Tycho van der Hoog examines the relations between victorious southern African liberation movements and North Korea, from the 1960s to the present. He explains why African presidents sang and danced at parties in Pyongyang, and why North Korean books were translated into Swahili and Afrikaans. He reveals how African soldiers were trained in guerrilla warfare by North Korean instructors, and how North Korean labourers construct monuments in Africa in the shape of AK-47s. And he explores the question of how revolutionary regimes, motivated by a need for survival, work together to defy the global order.

Based on extensive research across four continents—including recently disclosed African liberation archives and Korean diplomatic cables—this innovative study is the first book on African–North Korean relations.

**Tycho van der Hoog** is Assistant Professor of International Security Studies at the Netherlands Defence Academy. His work focuses on African international relations. He holds a PhD from the African Studies Centre of Leiden University, and has conducted extensive field research in Africa, Europe, the United States and South Korea.



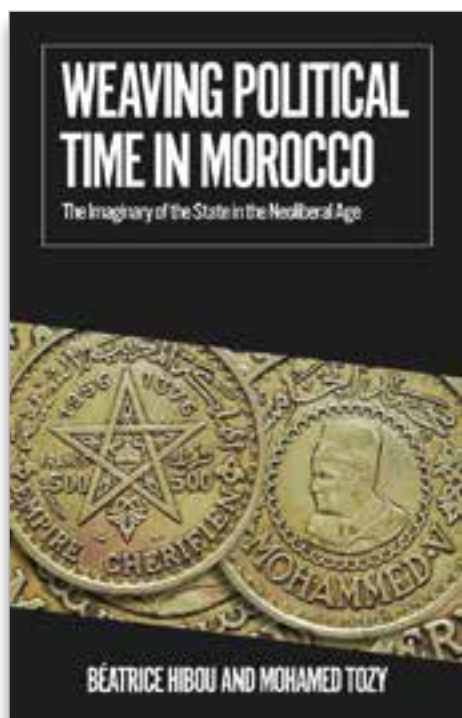
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**A pioneering account of how African revolutionaries benefitted from North Korean aid in their struggles for independence—and how they repay this support today.**

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Explores how neoliberal ideology and historic traditions of government come together in contemporary Morocco.

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**BÉATRICE HIBOU &  
 MOHAMED TOZY**

## Weaving Political Time in Morocco

### The Imaginary of the State in the Neoliberal Age

Translated by **KATHARINE THROSSELL**

Analyses of state power in Morocco have always been mired in exoticism or exceptionalism. The Kingdom is said to be a prototype of political immobility; a country caught in the authoritarian and conservative grip of its monarch, known as the ‘Commander of the Faithful’; a state in need of democratisation, but also a bastion of moderate Islam.

Drawing on thirty years of fieldwork, interviews and extensive primary documentation, Béatrice Hibou and Mohamed Tozy reveal how demographic, political and cultural changes have transformed Morocco’s government and modes of domination, from its pre-colonial past to the present. Interrogating the ideas of ‘Empire’ and ‘Nation-state’ as particular forms of rule, they examine the legacy of the centuries-long Sharifian Empire, in relation to the contemporary neoliberal government. They show how imperial traditions and the modern state co-exist today, in an intricate tapestry of seemingly contradictory power relations, different understandings of legitimacy, and competing visions of authority, sovereignty and responsibility.

Drawing on the work of Max Weber and Michel Foucault, *Weaving Political Time in Morocco* is a comprehensive, comparative examination of the evolution and continuities of state power in this complex North African country.

**Béatrice Hibou** is CNRS Director of Research at CERI-Sciences Po, Paris. Her books include *The Force of Obedience* and *The Political Anatomy of Domination*. **Mohamed Tozy**, previously at Hassan II University of Casablanca, is Professor at Sciences Po (Aix) and the author of *Monarchie et islam politique au Maroc*.

HARRY CROSS

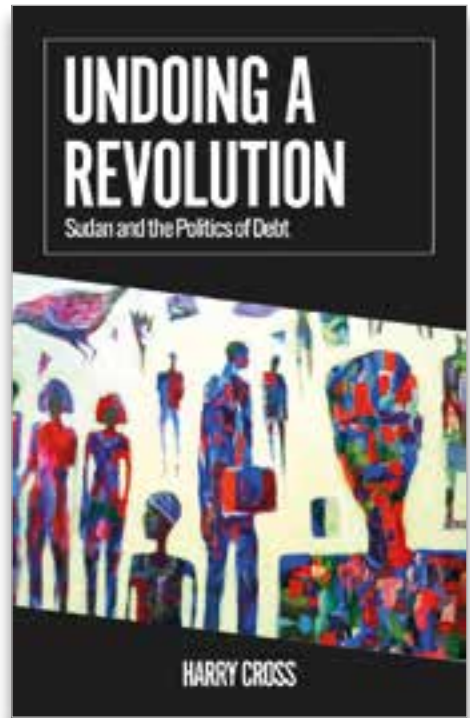
# Undoing a Revolution

## Sudan and the Politics of Debt

In 2019, a people's revolution ended the thirty-year reign of Sudan's military president Umar al-Bashir. A transitional government took power, led by esteemed international economist Abdalla Hamdok and promising a return to civilian rule. But Sudan's new government quickly imposed a shock therapy programme of cuts, privatisations and devaluation, following the diktat of foreign lenders. In 2021, as Sudan grew poorer, the army seized on popular discontent to launch a coup, burying hopes for a democratic transition. But why did Sudan's first civilian government in more than a quarter-century bend to the will of creditors at this crucial moment in the country's history? The answer lies in an unwieldy and unpayable debt burden that has long constricted Sudanese politics and society.

*Undoing a Revolution* narrates the history of sovereign debt in Sudan from independence to the present, revealing the innovative policies adopted by Sudanese governments to manage their place in the global economy. But it also shows how external actors have leveraged the power of debt to impose their will and wreak havoc. With Sudan embroiled in civil war since 2023, Harry Cross explores the political implications of sovereign debt for states and societies across Africa, and around the world.

**Harry Cross** specialises in the economic and financial systems of contemporary Sudan. He has taught at Prince Mohammad bin Fahd University in Saudi Arabia, and the University of Liverpool. Currently working on the response to Sudan's civil war for the research charity Impact, he holds a doctorate from Durham University.



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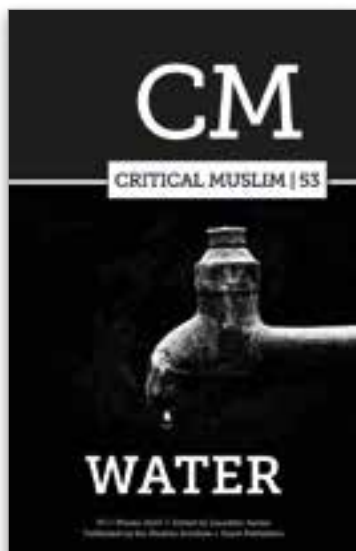
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Reveals how international finance has kept its grip in post-independence Sudan.

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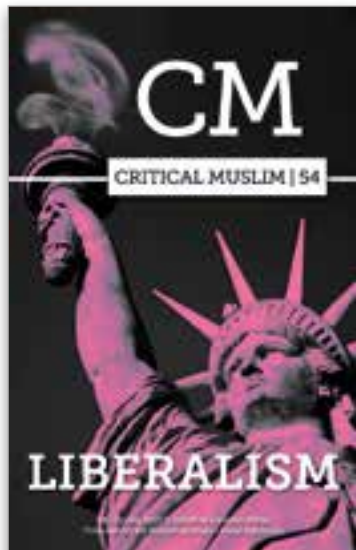


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ZIAUDDIN SARDAR (ed.)

## Critical Muslim 53: Water

Muslims have a very special relationship with water. In the desert-dwelling populations where Islam was born, it was a coveted asset. The great Muslim cities were built around rivers. Water still accompanies each of the daily prayers, through the performance of *wudu* (ritual ablution); the Sharia provides rules for using and preserving it; and the Qur'an and hadith mention, numerous times, that water is essential for life. An ancient respect for this element, which covers 71 per cent of our planet's surface, runs through Islamic teachings—but rivers are dying, ecosystems have been thrown into disarray, and pollution and plastics are making it undrinkable. While water is normally a metaphor for calm and purity, as climate change becomes climate catastrophe, we see some cities overstressed and running out of water, while others are sinking beneath the waves. This issue of *Critical Muslim* confronts the existential threats around water and seeks to restore the balance between the human and natural worlds.



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ZIAUDDIN SARDAR (ed.)

## Critical Muslim 54: Liberalism

Since its beginnings—born out of the Enlightenment—liberalism has risen to become the global standard; an almost utopian ideal, against which political and moral philosophies have been judged. Yet, one quarter of the way through the twenty-first century, we wonder if the liberal idea is all but dead. The freedoms imbued by civil and human rights, individualism and private property have built the modern world, but not without growing pains and vestigial aches. More than a simple philosophy, liberalism has informed economics, secularism, language and culture. As the global hegemon, it has at times been cast as an enemy of the 'other'; but, in fact, the liberalism that dominated in the West is not without its non-Western seeds and influences. This issue of *Critical Muslim* gives liberalism a long overdue analysis, evaluating how well it has fared up to the present, and considering how the future will continue to be shaped by its legacy.

HILKE SCHELLMANN

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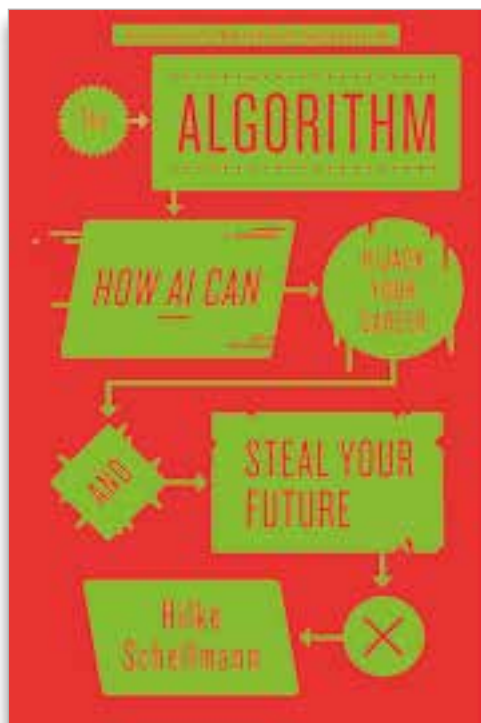
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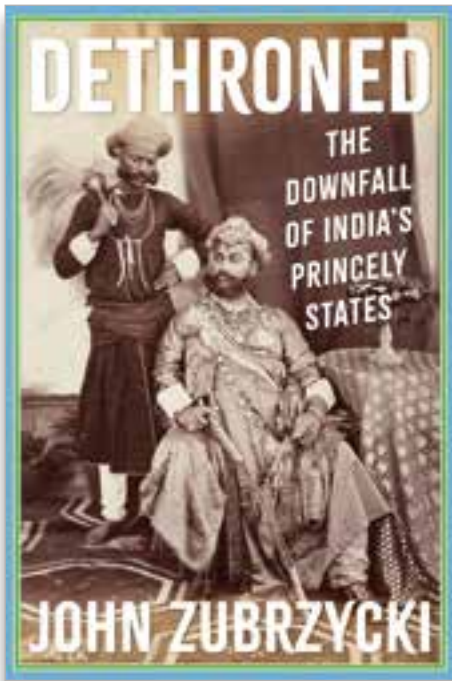
A shocking exposé of how  
AI controls the world of  
work.

© Jennifer Altman



**Hilke Schellmann** is an award-winning investigative reporter and journalism professor at New York University. She has reported for *The New York Times*, *The Guardian*, HBO, NPR and *The Wall Street Journal*, where her team

investigated how AI is changing our lives. Her PBS documentary, *Outlawed in Pakistan*, won an Emmy.



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**John Zubrzycki** PhD has worked in India as a foreign correspondent and diplomat. His books with Hurst are *Dethroned*; *The House of Jaipur*; and *Empire of Enchantment*, chosen by William Dalrymple

as a Book of the Year. He is also the author of *The Shortest History of India*.

MICK BROWN

# The Nirvana Express

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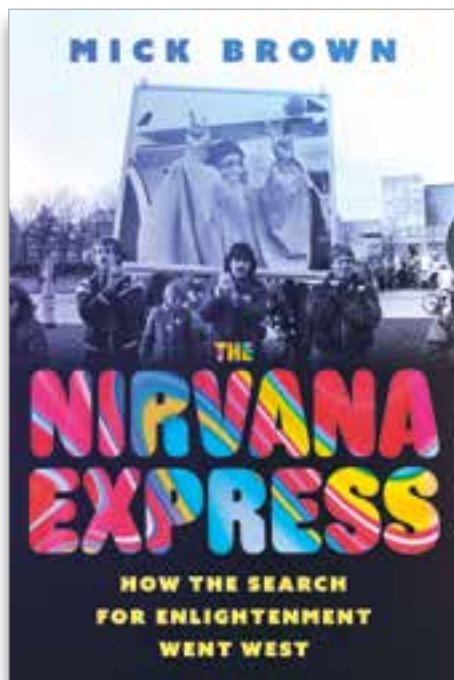
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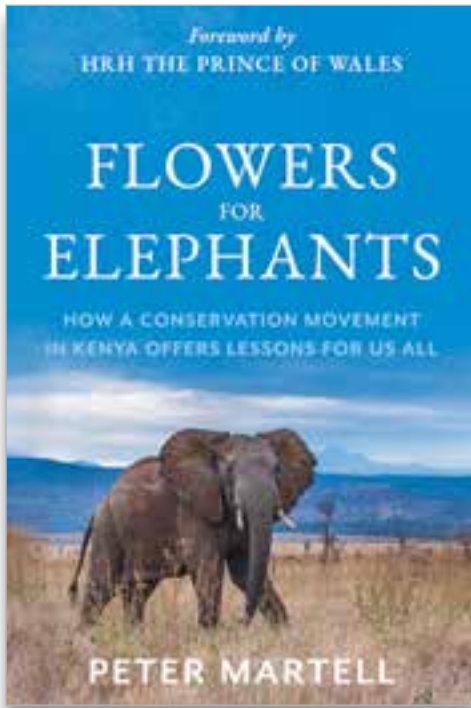
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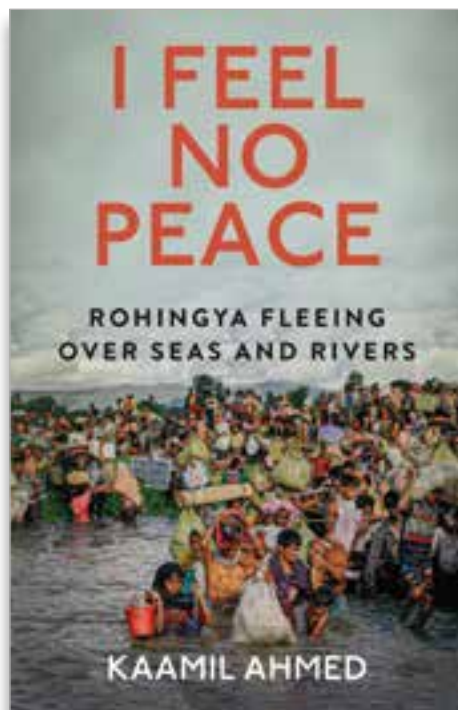
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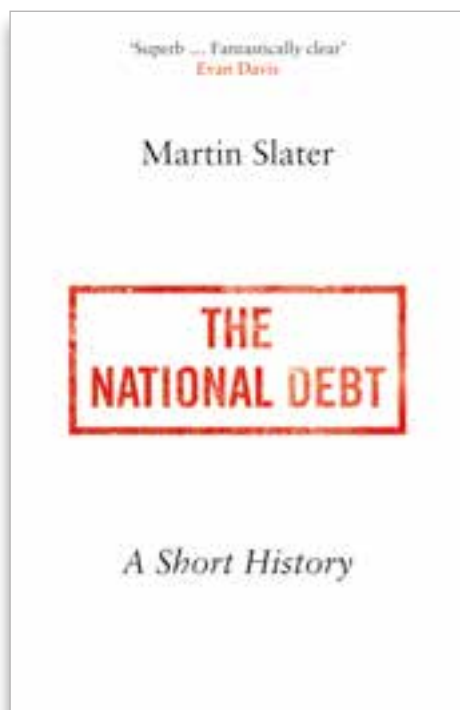
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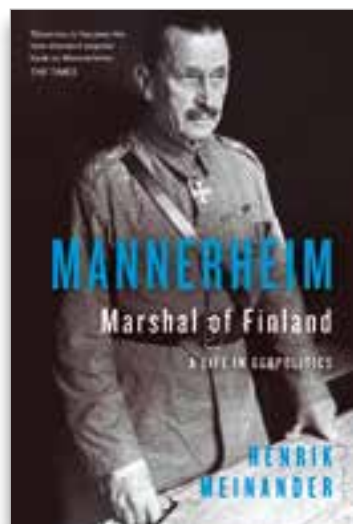
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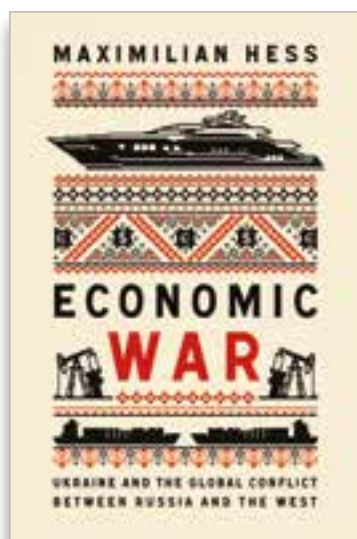
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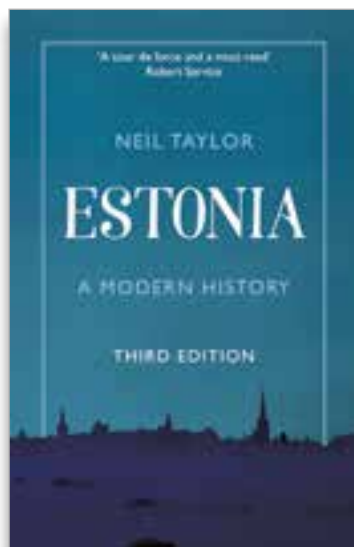
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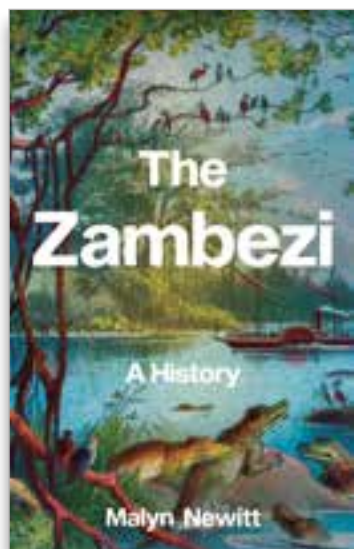
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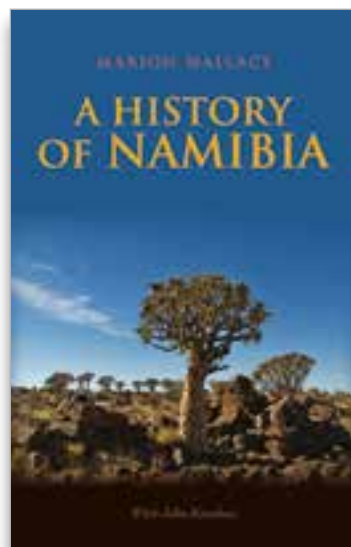
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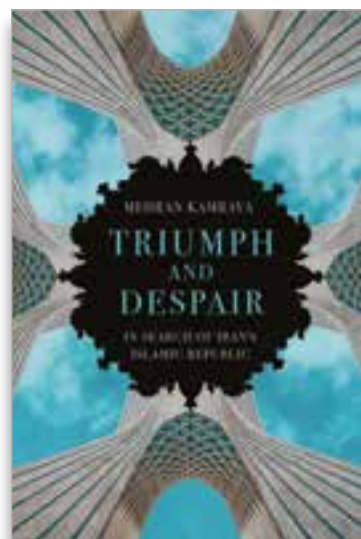
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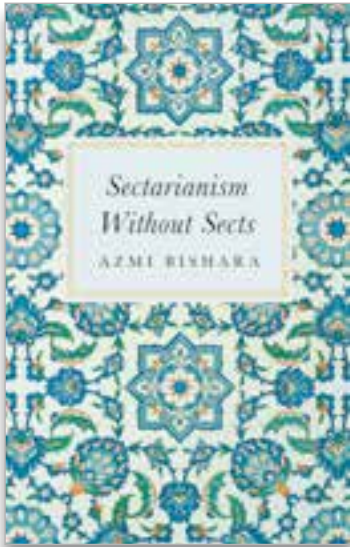
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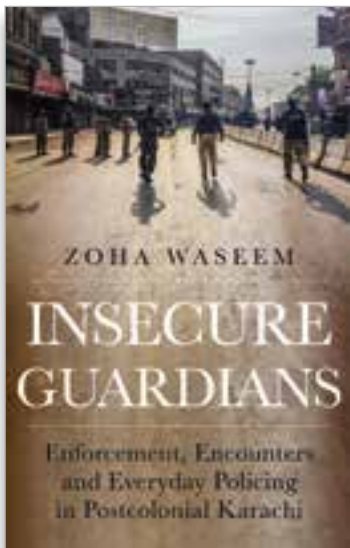
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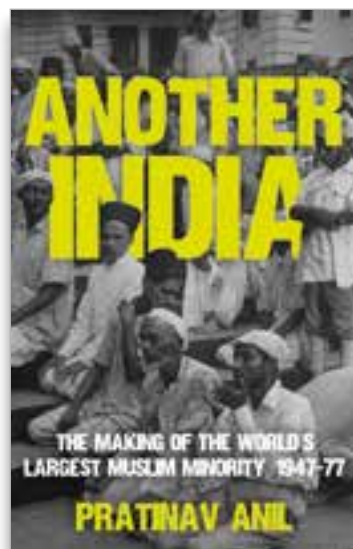
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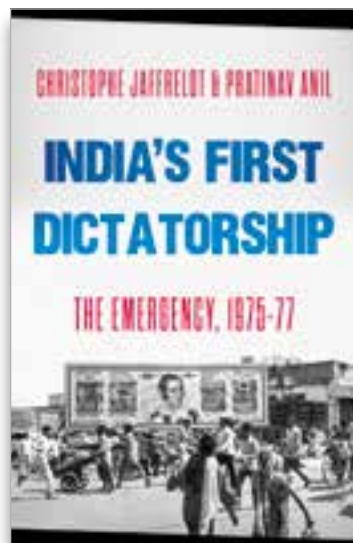
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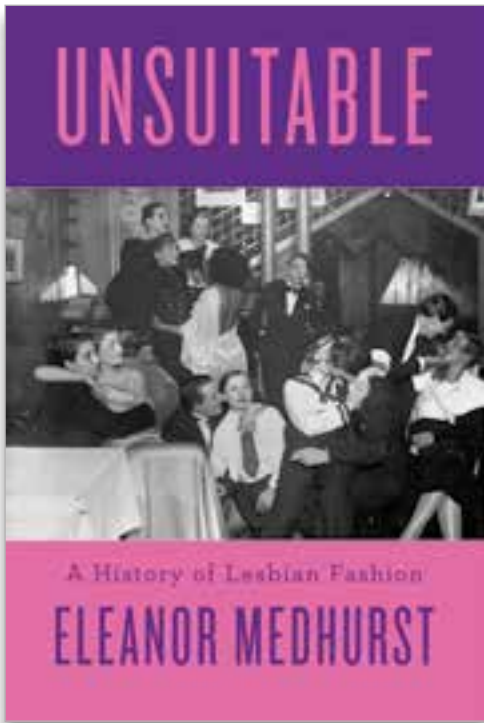
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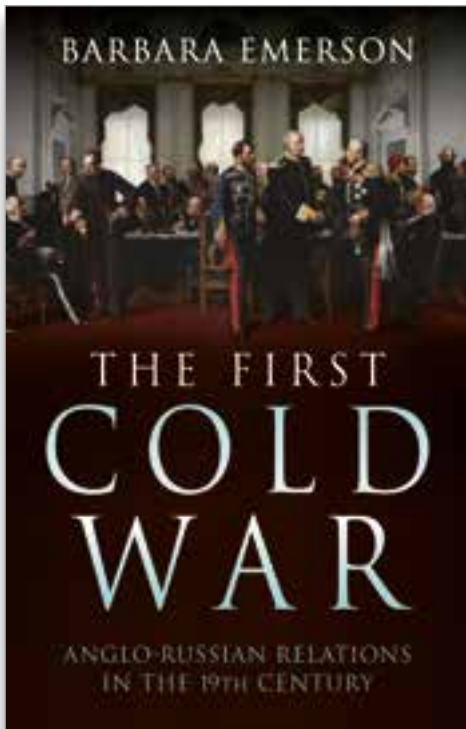
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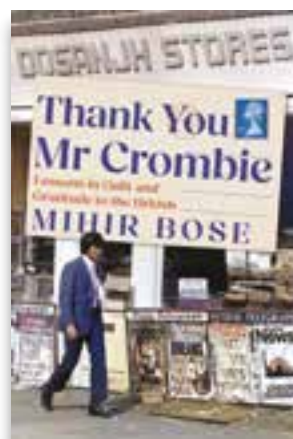
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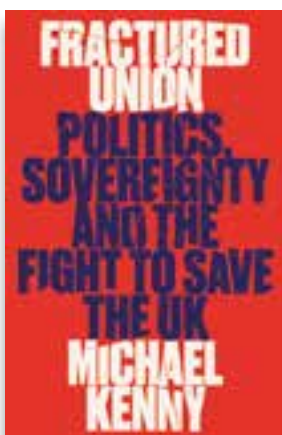
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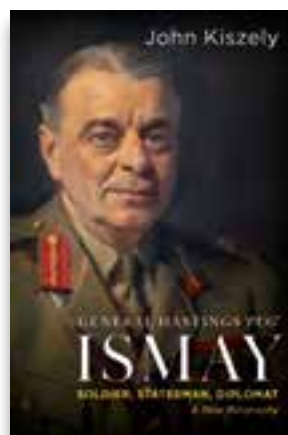
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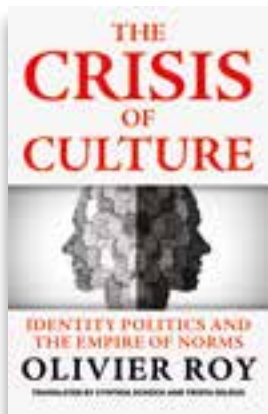
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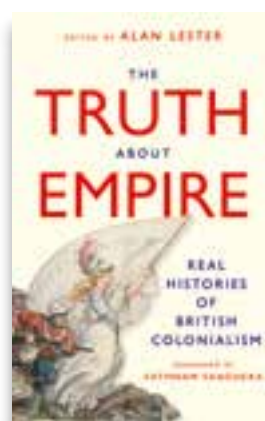
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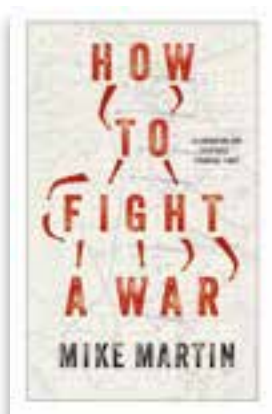
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