# HURS SUMMER | AUTUMN 2013



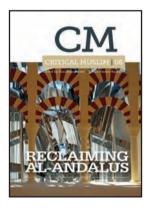




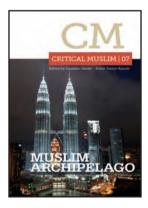
# Edited by Ziauddin Sardar and Robin Yassin-Kassab

A quarterly of ideas and issues presenting Muslim perspectives on the great debates of our times. *Critical Muslim* aims to emphasise the plurality and diversity of Islam and Muslims.

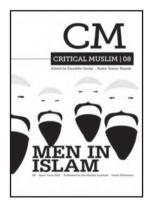
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Founded in 1969, Hurst is an independently owned non-fiction publisher specialising in books on global affairs, particularly religion, conflict, IR and area studies in Europe, Africa, the Middle East and Asia. Hurst releases approximately sixty new titles per year and publishes internationally.

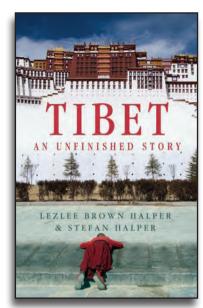
# **Tibet**

An Unfinished Story

#### Lezlee Brown Halper & Stefan Halper

The mythologising of Tibet in the West and the Himalyan state's subsequent abandonment to China are recounted in this briskly-paced and revealing new history.

November 2013 £20.00



Tibet's enduring myth, animated by the tales of Himalayan adventurers, British military expeditions, and the novel, *Lost Horizon*, remains an inspirational fantasy, a modern morality play about the failure of brutality to subdue the human spirit. Tibet also exercises immense 'soft power' as one of the lenses through which the world views China.

This book traces the origins and manifestations of the Tibetan myth, as propagated by Younghusband, Madam Blavatsky, Himmler, Acheson and Roosevelt. The authors discuss how, after WW2, Tibet — isolated, misunderstood and with a tiny elite unschooled in political—military realities — misread the diplomacy between its two giant neighbours, India and China, forlornly hoping London or Washington might intervene. The PLA sought nothing less than to deconstruct traditional Tibet, unseat the Dalai Lama and 'absorb' this vast region into the People's Republic, and Lhasa succumbed to China's invasion in 1950.

Drawing on declassified CIA and Chinese documents, the authors reveal Mao's collusion with Stalin to subdue Tibet, double-dealing by Nehru, the brilliant diplomacy of Chou en Lai and how Washington see-sawed between the China lobby, who insisted there be no backing for an independent Tibet, and Presidents Truman and later Eisenhower, who initiated a covert CIA programme to support the Dalai Lama and resist Chinese occupation. It is an ignoble saga with few, if any, heroes, other than ordinary Tibetans.

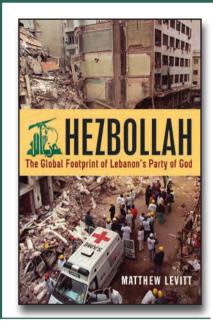
**Lezlee Brown Halper** is a scholar and writer specialising in the Himalayas.

**Stefan Halper** is Director of American Studies, Department of Politics and International Studies, University of Cambridge.

November 2013 • 336pp

Hardback • 9781849043595 • £20.00

Asia / History



## Hezbollah

The Global Footprint of Lebanon's Party of God

#### MATTHEW LEVITT

The first thorough investigation of Hezbollah's covert activities beyond Lebanon's borders, including its financial and logistical support networks and its criminal and terrorist operations worldwide.

October 2013 £25.00

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'Matthew Levitt has made a significant contribution to public understanding of Hezbollah's worldwide operations. He has shone a bright light into some of the darkest corners of the group's activities overseas.' — Richard Barrett, former head of SIS's Counter Terrorism Department and coordinator of the UN Al-Qaeda—Taliban Monitoring Team

**Matthew Levitt** is a senior fellow and Director of The Washington Institute for Near East Policy's Stein Program on Counterterrorism and Intelligence. He is the author of *Hamas: Politics, Charity, and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad* (2006).

October 2013 • 256pp

Hardback • 9781849043335 • £25.00

Middle East / Politics

Hezbollah — Lebanon's 'Party of God' — is a multifaceted organisation: it is a powerful political party in Lebanon, a Shia religious and social movement, Lebanon's largest militia, a close ally of Iran, and a terrorist organisation. Drawing on a wide range of sources, including recently declassified government documents, court records, and personal interviews with intelligence officials, Matthew Levitt examines Hezbollah's beginnings. its first violent forays in Lebanon, and then its terrorist activities and criminal enterprises abroad in Europe, the Middle East, South America, Southeast Asia. Africa, and finally in North America. He also discusses Hezbollah's unit dedicated to supporting Palestinian militant groups and the group's involvement in training and supporting insurgents who fought US troops in post-Saddam Iraq. The book concludes with a look at Hezbollah's integral and ongoing role in Iran's 'shadow war' with Israel and the West, including plots targeting civilians around the world. Levitt shows convincingly that Hezbollah's willingness to deploy violence at home and abroad, its global reach, and its proxypatron relationship with the Iranian regime are all matters worthy of the utmost concern.

North American rights: Georgetown University Press

## Out of the Mountains

The Coming Age of the Urban Guerrilla

#### DAVID KILCULLEN

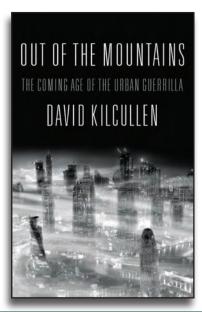
A renowned interpreter of contemporary warfare warns that in the future, conflict will be urban, coastal, and digitally networked.

November 2013 £20.00 In his third book, David Kilcullen takes us out of the mountains: away from the remote, rural querrilla warfare of Afghanistan, and into the marginalised slums and complex security threats of the world's coastal cities, where almost 75 per cent of us will be living by mid-century. Scrutinising major environmental trends — population growth, coastal urbanisation — and increasing digital connectivity, he projects a future of feral cities, urban systems under stress, and increasing overlaps between crime and war, internal and external threats, and the real and virtual worlds. Informed by Kilcullen's own fieldwork in the Caribbean, Somalia, the Middle East and Afghanistan, and that of his field research teams in cities in Central America and Africa. Out of the Mountains presents detailed, on-the-ground accounts of the new faces of modern conflict - from the 2008

Mumbai terrorist attacks, to transnational drug

networks, local street gangs, and the uprisings of

the Arab Spring.



Praise for The Accidental Guerrilla:

'This book should be required reading for anyone involved in the War on Terror. Kilcullen's central concept of the "accidental guerrilla" is brilliant and the policy prescriptions that flow from it important. And that's not all; the book has many more insights drawn from various battlefields.'

— Fareed Zakaria. Newsweek

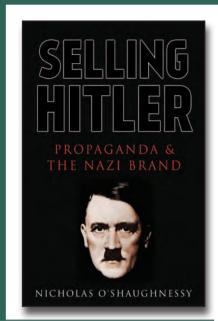
David Kilcullen is one of the world's foremost thinkers on counterinsurgency and military strategy. He is the author of *The Accidental Guerilla*, a *Washington Post* bestseller, and *Counterinsurgency*. He was formerly Senior Counterinsurgency Advisor to General David Petraeus in Iraq and to the NATO Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan. He is currently Chief Executive Officer of Caerus Associates, a Washington-based strategy and design firm.

November 2013 • 288pp

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Hardback • 9781849043243 • £20.00

Conflict



# **Selling Hitler**

Propaganda and the Nazi Brand

#### NICHOLAS O'SHAUGHNESSY

A radical reappraisal of how Hitler and the Nazis conceived of themselves from the outset as a propagandistic state, rather than propaganda being merely an accessory to power.

December 2013 £25.00

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Hitler was one of the few politicians who understood that persuasion was everything, deployed to anchor an entire regime in the confections of imagery, rhetoric and dramaturgy. The Nazis pursued propaganda not just as a tool, an instrument of government, but also as the totality, the raison d'être, the medium through which power itself was exercised. Moreover, Nicholas O'Shaughnessy argues, Hitler, not Goebbels, was the prime mover in the propaganda regime of the Third Reich — its editor and first author.

Under the Reich everything was a propaganda medium, a building-block of public consciousness, from typography to communiqués, to architecture, to weapons design. There were groups to initiate rumours and groups to spread graffiti. Everything could be interrogated for its propaganda potential, every surface inscribed with polemical meaning, whether an enemy city's name, an historical epic or the poster on a neighbourhood wall. But Hitler was in no sense an innovator — his ideas were always secondhand. Rather his expertise was as a packager. fashioning from the accumulated mass of icons and ideas, the historic debris, the labyrinths and byways of the German mind, a modern and brilliant political show articulated through deftly managed symbols and rituals. The Reich would have been unthinkable without propaganda — it would not have been the Reich.

#### Nicholas O'Shaughnessy is

Professor of Communication at Queen Mary, University of London. He studied at Cambridge, Oxford and Columbia universities and among his many publications are *The Marketing Power Of Emotion* (OUP) and *The Phenomenon of Political Marketing* (Macmillan).

December 2013 • 320pp

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Hardback • 9781849043526 • £25.00

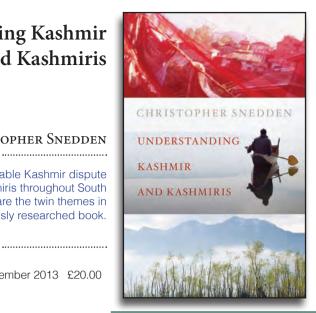
History / Media

# **Understanding Kashmir** and Kashmiris

#### CHRISTOPHER SNEDDEN

The seemingly intractable Kashmir dispute and the fate of Kashmiris throughout South Asia and beyond are the twin themes in Snedden's meticulously researched book.

November 2013 £20.00



Praise for The Untold Story of the People of Azad Kashmir:

'This is the most authoritative modern history of one of South Asia's most sensitive yet overlooked regions. It is meticulously researched and clearly written, and the account of the origins of the Kashmir conflict, while certainly controversial, demands attention. Andrew Whitehead, former BBC South Asia correspondent

In 1846, the British created the state of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) — popularly called 'Kashmir' - and then quickly sold this prized region to the wily and powerful Raja, Gulab Singh. Intriguingly, had they retained it. the India-Pakistan dispute over possession of the state may never have arisen, but Britain's concerns lay elsewhere expansionist Russia, beguiling Tibet and unstable China 'circling' J&K — and their agents played the 'Great Game' in Afghanistan and 'Turkistan'.

Snedden contextualises the geo-strategic and historical circumstances surrounding the British decision to relinquish prestigious 'Kashmir', and explains how they and four Dogra maharajas consolidated and controlled J&K subsequently. He details what comprised this diverse princely state with distant borders and disunified peoples and explains the Maharaia of J&K's controversial accession to India on 26 October 1947 - and its unintended consequences.

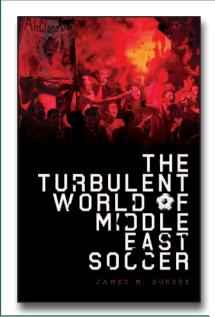
Snedden weaves a compelling narrative that frames the Kashmir dispute, explains why it continues, and assesses what it means politically and administratively for the divided peoples of J&K and their undecided futures.

Christopher Snedden is an Australian politico-strategic analyst who has visited J&K often and interviewed many elder statesmen involved in the Kashmir dispute. He is author of The Untold Story of the People of Azad Kashmir.

> ••••• November 2013 • 288pp

Paperback • 9781849043427 • £20.00

History / Geopolitics



# The Turbulent World of Middle East Soccer

James M. Dorsey

A fascinating look at Middle Eastern and North African football, a key battleground for political control, social justice, identity and gender rights.

December 2013 £17.99

James M. Dorsey introduces the reader to the world of Middle Eastern and North African football — an arena where struggles for political control, protest and resistance, self-respect and gender rights are played out. Politics was the midwife of soccer in the region, with many clubs being formed as pro- or anti-colonial platforms and engines of national identity and social justice. This book uncovers the seldom-told story of a game that evokes deep-seated passions.

Football fans are shown to be a major political force and one of the largest civic groups in Eavpt after the Muslim Brotherhood: their demands for transparency, social justice, and an end to corruption sparked vicious street battles that left scores dead and thousands wounded. Discontent in Algeria erupts regularly at matches where fans demand the ouster of military leaders. A folk-song crooning national goalkeeper leads protests in Homs, Syria's third largest city and scene of some of the worst violence perpetrated by Bashar al-Assad's regime. In a country that bans physical education for girls, Saudi women have established clandestine football clubs and leagues. The book further tells the story of Somali child soldiers turned soccer stars and Iranian women who dress as men to smugale themselves into stadiums to watch matches.

James M. Dorsey is an award-winning journalist and a senior fellow at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies at Singapore's Nanyang Technological University. He is Co-Director of the University of Würzburg's Institute of Fan Culture, a visiting scholar at its Institute of Sport Science, and author of the The Turbulent World of Middle East Soccer blog.

December 2013 • 256pp

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Paperback • 9781849043311 • £17.99

Middle East / Politics

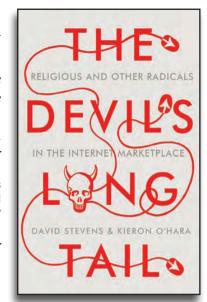
# The Devil's Long Tail

Religious and Other Radicals in the Internet Marketplace

#### David Stevens & Kieron O'Hara

An investigation of our social and moral fragmentation and how the internet serves as a 'marketplace' for extreme religious and political ideas where self-worth, solidarity and belonging are easily obtained online.

December 2013 £18.99



The internet may be a utopia for free expression, but it is also a haven for nihilistic groups and individuals spreading bizarre creeds unhindered by the risk-averse gatekeepers of the mass media — and not all are as harmless as the Virtual Church of the Blind Chihuahua or Sexastrianism.

With few barriers to entry, ready anonymity and no centralised control, the internet provides wired extremists with unprecedented access to a potential global audience of billions. Technology allows people to select the information they receive — so extremists can filter out moderating voices and ignore arguments that counter their ideas, retreating into a virtual world of their own design.

In *The Devil's Long Tail*, the authors argue that we misunderstand extremism if we think intervention is the best way to stop it. Policies designed to disrupt extremist networks fail because they ignore the factors that push people to extremes. Extremists are driven less by ideas than by the benefits of membership of a tightly-knit group. Rather, extreme ideas should be left to sink or swim in the marketplace of ideas that the Internet has created. The internet and the web are valuable creations of a free society. Censoring them impoverishes that society while leaving the radical urge intact.

**David Stevens** is Lecturer in the School of Politics and International Relations, University of Nottingham

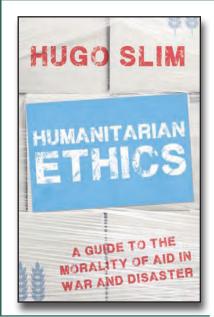
**Kieron O'Hara** is a philosopher and Senior Research Fellow, Dept. of Electronics and Computer Science, University of Southampton.

> In 2006 they co-authored Inequality.com: Power, Poverty and the Digital Divide.

> > December 2013 • 288pp

Paperback • 9781849043434 • £18.99

Religion / Politics



# **Humanitarian Ethics**

A Guide to the Morality of Aid in War and Disaster

#### Hugo Slim

An indispensable guide to the moral quandaries confronting those engaged in humanitarian action.

January 2014 £18.99

#### Praise for Killing Civilians:

'This is a clear, impartial, honest work. It is scholarly yet free of jargon, compassionate yet not over-emotional, moral without being preachy, stuffed with facts and figures, yet brought alive by a myriad of vivid historical, contemporary and personal anecdotes. In short, it is very good.' — The Economist

**Hugo Slim** is a leading scholar of Humanitarian Studies with particular expertise in humanitarian ethics, the protection of civilians, conflict resolution, and international business ethics. He is Senior Research Fellow at the University of Oxford Institute for Ethics, Law and Armed Conflict and author of *Killing Civilians: Method, Madness and Morality in War* (Hurst, 2008).

January 2014 • 224pp

Paperback • 9781849043403 • £18.99

Peace and Conflict Studies

Humanitarians are required to be impartial, independent, professionally competent and focused only on preventing and alleviating human suffering. It can be hard living up to these principles when others do not share them, while persuading political and military authorities and non-state actors to let an agency assist on the ground requires savvy ethical skills.

Getting first to a conflict or natural catastrophe is only the beginning, as aid workers are usually and immediately presented with practical and moral questions about what to do next. For example, when does working closely with a warring party or an immoral regime move from practical cooperation to complicity in human rights violations? Should one operate in camps for displaced people and refugees if they are effectively places of internment? Do humanitarian agencies inadvertently encourage ethnic cleansing by always being ready to 'mop-up' the consequences of scorched earth warfare?

This book has been written to help humanitarians assess and respond to these and other ethical dilemmas.

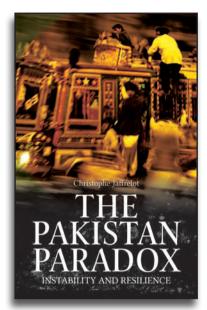
# The Pakistan Paradox

Instability and Resilience

#### CHRISTOPHE JAFFRELOT

A fresh political history of Pakistan that explains the resilience of the state and its people and how both persevere against the odds.

January 2014 £20.00



Pakistan was born as the creation of elite Urduspeaking Muslims who sought to govern a state that would maintain their dominance. After rallying non-Urdu speaking leaders around him, Jinnah imposed a unitary definition of the new nation state that obliterated linguistic diversity. This centralisation — 'justified' by the Indian threat — fostered centrifugal forces that resulted in Bengali secessionism in 1971 and Baloch, as well as Mohaiir, separatisms today.

Concentration of power in the hands of the establishment remained the norm, and while authoritarianism peaked under military rule, democracy failed to usher in reform, and the rule of law remained fragile at best under Zulfikar Bhutto and later Nawaz Sharif.

While Jinnah and Ayub Khan regarded religion as a cultural marker, since their time the Islamists have gradually prevailed. They benefited from the support of General Zia, while others, including sectarian groups, cashed in on their struggle against the establishment to woo the disenfranchised.

Today, Pakistan faces existential challenges ranging from ethnic strife to Islamism, two sources of instability which hark back to elite domination. But the resilience of the country and its people, the resolve of the judiciary and hints of reform in the army may open a new and more stable chapter in its history.



**CERI** 

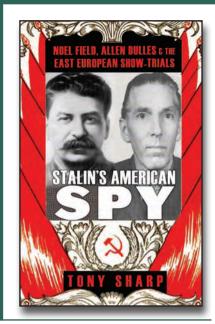
COMPARATIVE POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES SERIES, CHRISTOPHE JAFFRELOT (EDITOR)

Christophe Jaffrelot is Research
Director at CNRS and teaches South
Asian Politics and History at Sciences
Po (Paris). From 2000-8, he was Director of CERI at Sciences Po. Arguably
one of the world's most respected
writers on Indian society and politics,
his publications include India's Silent
Revolution: The Rise of the Lower
Castes in North India; Religion, Caste
and Politics in India; and Muslims in
Indian Cities, all of which are published
by Hurst.

January 2014 • 384pp

Paperback • 9781849043298 • £20.00

Politics / South Asia



# Stalin's American Spy

Noel Field, Allen Dulles and the East European Show-Trials

TONY SHARP

This new biography of Noel Field suggests he may have spied both for the Soviet Union and for the United States.

September 2013 £25.00

Stalin's American Spy tells the remarkable story of Noel Field, who, the author convincingly demonstrates, was a Soviet spy in the US State Department in the mid-1930s. Lured to Prague in May 1949, he was kidnapped and handed over to the Hungarian secret police. Tortured by them and their Soviet superiors. Field's forced 'confessions' were manipulated by Stalin and his Communist satraps and secret policemen to launch a devastating series of show-trials that led to the imprisonment and murder of tens of thousands of Czech, German and Hungarian party members. Yet there were other events in his very strange career that could give rise to the suspicion that Field was an American spy who infiltrated the Communist movement at the behest of the mercurial Allen Dulles, who later headed the CIA. One would need to have a very suspicious mind to construct this argument: Stalin had such a mind.

Never tried, Field and his wife were imprisoned in Budapest until 1954, then granted political asylum in Hungary, where they lived out their sterile last years. This new biography takes a fresh look at Field's relationship with Dulles, the show-trials in Stalinist Eastern Europe, including their anti-Semitic hue, and his role in the Alger Hiss affair. It also sheds light on the history of Soviet espionage in the United States and of life in the Cold War 'badlands'.

**Tony Sharp** has lectured in European Studies at Dundee University. He is the author of *The Wartime Alliance and the Zonal Division of Germany* and *Pleasure and Ambition: The Life, Loves and Wars of Augustus the Strong.* 

September 2013 • 320pp

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Hardback • 9781849043441 • £25.00

History / Biography

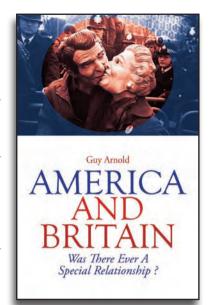
# America and Britain

Was There Ever A Special Relationship?

**GUY ARNOLD** 

A dissection of the 'special relationship' that reveals how the British perennially delude themselves about their place in America's strategic order.

November 2013 £20.00



Britain's political and military elite has for decades nurtured the idea that enduring ties bind the interests of London and Washington, in good times and bad. Irrespective of the end of the Cold War, the 9/11 attacks and the economic rise of the East, these links are allegedly impregnable. But how accurate a picture is this? Are the British engaged in a monumental act of self-delusion?

Guy Arnold investigates the 'American disease' at the heart of Whitehall, which, he argues, has tied British policies too closely to those of Washington. The 'special relationship' became a Foreign Office priority and gave Britain the illusion of power it no longer enjoyed. As Churchill put it acidly, 'the British and the Americans were stuck with each other — a junior partner and a senior partner respectively'. For the Americans it provided a way of keeping Britain 'on side' but in return Washington accelerated Britain's imperial decline.

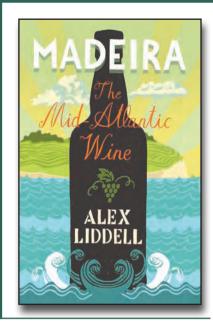
The Americans always saw Britain in Europe as a Trojan Horse to safeguard their interests and as a military outpost for their global ambitions. They derided or ignored the 'special relationship', even in their dealings with Thatcher and Blair, and latterly the Foreign Office has failed to convince President Obama of its unique importance.

**Guy Arnold** is a freelance writer specialising in international affairs with particular emphasis on Africa, and the author of some fifty books, including *Africa: A Modern History 1960-2005.* 

November 2013 • 240pp

Hardback • 9781849043281 • £20.00

International Relations



# Madeira

#### The Mid-Atlantic Wine

# Alex Liddell

A thoroughly revised new edition of this classic history of Madeira — arguably the world's longest-lived wine — by the leading authority on the subject.

September 2013 £16.99

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Who does not know the phrase 'Have some madeira, m'dear'? Madeira is one of the world's greatest wines, with a fascinating history few others can equal. Capable of evolution over decades and with seemingly indefinite longevity, precious centenarian bottles are sought by wine connoisseurs world wide, but to the ordinary wine lover more commercial wines offer a wide range of delicious and varied drinking. Once dismissed as a cooking wine, discriminating drinkers enjoy it on its own and, increasingly, as an accompaniment to food. Over a million tourists visit this small island every year, and expanding export markets indicate that the recent revival of interest in madeira continues to gain strength.

This book, originally published in 1998, was short-listed for the André Simon Award and quickly established itself as a wine classic. Alexander Liddell, recognised as the leading authority on madeira, has known the island and its wine for over forty years, and this completely revised new edition brings matters up to date.

**Alex Liddell** has been a freelance wine and travel writer since 1992. He has written three wine books — two of them nominated for the André Simon Award — published by Sotheby's, Faber & Faber and Mitchell Beazley.

September 2013 • 288pp

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Paperback • 9781849043342 • £16.99

History / Food

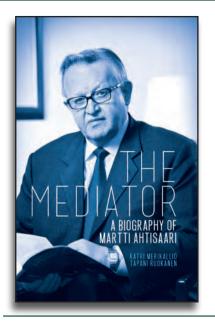
## The Mediator

A Biography of Martti Ahtisaari

# Katri Merikallio & Tapani Ruokanen

The first biography in English of the Nobel Peace Prize winning Finnish statesman and diplomat who brokered peace deals in Kosovo, Namibia and Indonesia.

December 2013 £25.00



TRANSLATED FROM FINNISH BY DAVID MITCHELL

Martti Ahtisaari is the world's most renowned and successful mediator in international conflicts. In 2008 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his lead role in bringing independence to Namibia, Serbia's withdrawal from Kosovo, the decommissioning of weapons in Northern Ireland and autonomy for Aceh in Indonesia. Ahtisaari's range of international contacts and global experience are remarkable and his is the name which is still most often mentioned when the world looks for an individual to try to broker a peace deal.

Ahtisaari also served for six years as President of Finland, the first holder of that office to be directly elected. Upon leaving office, he founded Crisis Management Initiative, an international NGO specialising in conflict resolution and development issues. *The Mediator* is an authorised biography, based on extensive interviews with Ahtisaari himself as well as his family, friends and colleagues.

Katri Merikallio and Tapani Ruokanen are both Senior Editors of the leading Finnish periodical, Suomen Kuvalehti.

December 2013 • 288pp

Hardback • 9781849043182 • £25.00

History / Biography



# Shanghai Future

Modernity Remade

# Anna Greenspan

An original conceptual exploration of Shanghai which examines the emergence today of the 'City of Tomorrow'.

December 2013 £22.00 / £55.00

China is in the midst of the fastest and most intense process of urbanisation the world has ever known, and Shanghai — its biggest, richest and most cosmopolitan city — is positioned for acceleration into the twenty-first century.

Yet, in its embrace of a hopeful — even exultant — futurism, Shanghai recalls the older and much criticised project of imagining, planning and building the modern metropolis. Today, among Westerners, at least, the very idea of the futuristic city — with its multilayered skyways, domestic robots and flying cars — seems doomed to the realm of nostalgia, the sadly comic promise of a future that failed to materialise.

Shanghai Future maps the city of tomorrow as it resurfaces in a new time and place. It searches for the contours of an unknown and unfamiliar futurism in the city's street markets as well as in its skyscrapers. For though it recalls the modernity of an earlier age, Shanghai's current re-emergence is only superficially based on mimicry. Rather, in seeking to fulfill its ambitions, the giant metropolis is reinventing the very idea of the future itself. As it modernises, Shanghai is necessarily recreating what it is to be modern.

**Anna Greenspan** is a Shanghai-based philosopher who focuses on urbanism and digital culture. She teaches at New York University in Shanghai.

December 2013 • 240pp

Paperback • 9781849043601 • £22.00

Hardback • 9781849043274 • £55.00

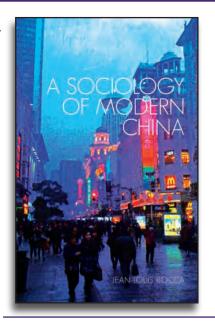
Urban Studies / Architecture

# A Sociology of Modern China

#### JEAN-LOUIS ROCCA

Rocca charts how business, private life and consumerism are being radically altered by the country's economic surge.

December 2013 £14.99 / £40.00



Jean-Louis Rocca's admirably concise *Sociology of Modern China* wears its scholarship lightly and paints an intimate and complex portrait of Chinese society in little more than a 130 pages, all the while avoiding clichés and simplifications. He delves into China's history and examines the country's many different social strata so as to better understand the enormous challenges and opportunities with which its people are confronted.

After discussing the 'long march toward reform' and the crises along the way — among them the 1989 protests which culminated in the events in Tiananmen Square and elsewhere — Rocca dedicates the second half of the book to the major questions facing the country (or, at the very least, its political elites) today: new forms of social stratification; the interaction between the market and the state; growing individualism; and the pressures exerted by social conflict and political change. In eschewing culturalist visions, Rocca thoroughly and successfully deconstructs received wisdom about Chinese society to reveal a thriving nation and its people.



**CERI** 

COMPARATIVE POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES SERIES, CHRISTOPHE JAFFRELOT (EDITOR)

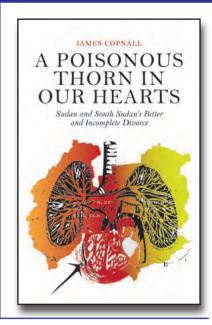
Jean-Louis Rocca is a sociologist, professor and researcher at CERI Sciences-Po in Paris and at Tsingshua University in Beijing.

December 2013 • 160pp

Paperback • 9781849043533 • £14.99

Hardback • 9781849043618 • £40.00

Sociology / East Asia



# A Poisonous Thorn in Our Hearts

Sudan and South Sudan's Bitter and Incomplete Divorce

# James Copnall

A lively and comprehensive guide to the fraught shared destinies of Sudan and South Sudan in the years after separation.

November 2013 £19.99

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What happened after Africa's biggest country split in two? When South Sudan ran up its flag in July 2011, two new nations came into being. In South Sudan a former rebel movement faces colossal challenges in building a new country. At independence it was one of the least developed places on earth, after decades of conflict and neglect. The 'rump state', Sudan, has been debilitated by devastating civil wars, including in Darfur, and lost a significant part of its territory, and most of its oil wealth, after the divorce from the South. In the years after separation, the two Sudans dealt with crippling economic challenges, struggled with new and old rebellions, and fought each other along their disputed border.

Benefiting from unsurpassed access to the politicians, rebels, thinkers and events that are shaping the Sudans, Copnall draws a compelling portrait of two misunderstood countries. A Poisonous Thorn in Our Hearts argues that Sudan and South Sudan remain deeply interdependent, despite their separation. It also diagnoses the political failings that threaten the future of both countries. The author puts the turmoil of the years after separation into a broader context, reflecting the voices, hopes and experiences of Sudanese and South Sudanese from all walks of life

James Copnall was the BBC Sudan correspondent from 2009-12, covering South Sudan's independence, the Darfur war, rebellions, and clashes between the Sudans. He has reported from over twenty African countries.

November 2013 • 272pp

Paperback • 9781849043304 • £19.99

Politics / Current Affairs

## Sierra Leone

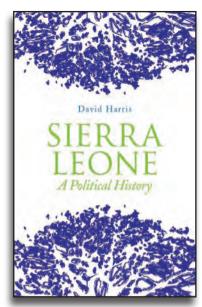
A Political History

David Harris

A new political history of the former British colony in West Africa.

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Sierra Leone came to world attention in the 1990s when a catastrophic civil war linked to the diamond trade was reported globally. This fleeting and particular interest, however, obscured two crucial processes in this small West African state. On the one hand, while the civil war was momentous, brutal and affected all Sierra Leoneans, it was also just one element in the long and faltering attempt to build a nation and state given the country's immensely problematic pre-colonial and British colonial legacies. On the other, the aftermath of the war precipitated a huge international effort to construct a 'liberal peace', with mixed results, and thus made Sierra Leone a laboratory for post-Cold War interventions.

Sierra Leone examines 225 years of its history and fifty years of independence, placing state-society relations at the centre of an original and revealing investigation of those who have tried to rule or change Sierra Leone and its inhabitants and the responses engendered. It interweaves the historical narrative with sketches of politicians, anecdotes, the landscape and environment and key turning-points, alongside theoretical and other comparisons with the rest of Africa. It is a new contribution to the debate for those who already know Sierra Leone and a solid point of entry for those who wish to know.

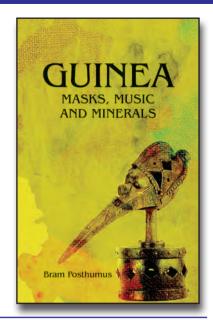
**David Harris** is Lecturer in African Studies at Bradford University and specialises in West African politics.

He is the author of Civil War and Democracy in West Africa: Conflict Resolution, Elections and Justice in Sierra Leone and Liberia.

October 2013 • 256pp

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History / Politics



## Guinea

Masks, Music and Minerals

# Bram Posthumus

An affectionately written portrait of the mineral-rich but little known West African state that voted for independence from France in 1958.

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Guinea is rich, both materially and culturally, with the world's largest bauxite reserves, gold, diamonds and iron ore. It abounds in culture and traditions and has a remarkable, if often turbulent, history. Guinea is also exceptional in that it was the first French colony proudly to declare its independence, in 1958. Thereafter, the country suffered under the tyranny of Sekou Toure. Today, headed for the first time by an elected president, Guineans are trying to put their troubled past behind them and fulfill the promise of a decent life for all.

It will not be easy. Tens of thousands perished in the years of chaos and even more human potential continues to go to waste. Guinea is the classic paradox: there are vast mineral reserves, its peoples are resourceful and the earning potential of agriculture and tourism is evident. And yet, most citizens are desperately poor and lack even the most basic services. Governance lies at the heart of this problem.

Posthumus touches on all these themes, while taking the reader to all corners of Guinea, which is captivating and exasperating in equal measure. He also highlights Guinea's remarkable cultural accomplishments, most notably its globally renowned music.

**Bram Posthumus** is a journalist who first visited Guinea in 1995, the beginning of an enduring fascination with the country, its people and its cultures. Based in Dakar, he reports on political, cultural and economic events in West Africa for the Dutch and other European media.

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History / Politics

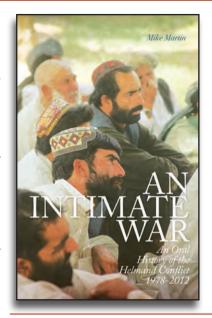
#### An Intimate War

An Oral History of the Helmand Conflict, 1978-2012

# Mike Martin

A striking insight into how well-meaning outsiders have repeatedly misunderstood the conflict in Helmand Province, Afghanistan, and inadvertently exacerbated the violence.

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An Intimate War tells the story of the last thirty-four years of conflict in Helmand Province, Afghanistan as seen through the eyes of the Helmandis. In the West, this period is often defined through different lenses — the Soviet intervention, the civil war, the Taliban, and the post-2001 nation-building era. Yet, as experienced by local inhabitants, the Helmand conflict is a perennial one, involving the same individuals, families and groups, and driven by the same arguments over land, water and power.

This book — based on both military and research experience in Helmand and 150 interviews in Pashto — offers a very different view of Helmand from those in the media. It demonstrates how outsiders have most often misunderstood the ongoing struggle in Helmand and how, in doing so, they have exacerbated the conflict, perpetuated it and made it more violent — precisely the opposite of what was intended when their interventions were launched.

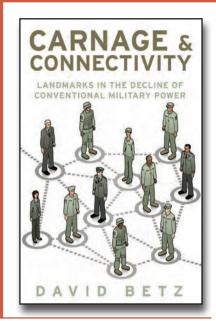
Mike Martin's oral history of Helmand underscores the absolute imperative of understanding the highly local, personal, and non-ideological nature of internal conflict in much of the 'third' world. Mike Martin is a Pashto speaker who was in Helmand with the British Army. He previously wrote A Brief History of Helmand, required reading for British commanders and intelligence staff deploying to the province.

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Afghanistan / Conflict



# Carnage and Connectivity

Landmarks in the Decline of Conventional Military Power

#### DAVID BETZ

Charts the evolution of military power in the digital age, from conventional warfare to cyberwar, and examines its implications.

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The burgeoning of global connectivity in recent decades is without historical parallel and the 'wiring up' of the world continues apace, even in the poorest regions. Flux and ever-quickening change are the leitmotifs of the 'information age' across a swathe of human enterprise from industry and commerce through to politics and social relations. This is no less the case for the patterns of war, where change has been disorientating for soldiers and statesmen whose confidence in the old, the traditional, and the known has been shaken.

David Betz's book explains the huge and disruptive implications of connectivity for the practice of warfare. The tactical ingenuity of opponents to confound or drop below the threshold of sophisticated weapons systems means war remains the realm of chance and probability. Increasingly, though, the conflicts of our time are less contests of arms than wars of hearts and minds conducted on a mass scale through multimedia communications networks. The most pernicious challengers to the status quo are not states but ever more powerful non-state actors.

**David Betz** is a senior lecturer in the Department of War Studies at King's College London. He is the author, most recently (with Tim Stevens) of *Cyberspace and the State: Toward a Strategy for Cyberpower* (IISS, 2011).

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Conflict

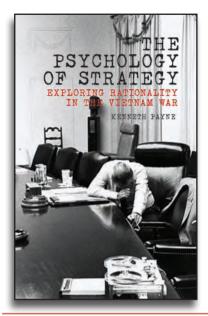
# The Psychology of Strategy

Exploring Rationality in the Vietnam War

#### KENNETH PAYNE

Drawing on emotional, evolutionary and social psychology, Payne explores the strategic behaviour of key political and military actors in the Vietnam War.

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How do strategists decide what they wish to achieve through war, and how they might accomplish it? And why does their understanding of violence regularly turn out to be wrong? In seeking answers to these questions Kenneth Payne draws on the study of psychology to examine strategic behaviour during the Vietnam War. He explores the ways in which cognitive biases distort our sense of our own agency and our decision-making, arguing that much of the latter is emotional, shaped by unconscious processing and driven by a prickly concern for social esteem.

The Nixon and Johnson administrations both proved susceptible to the processes that are familiar to students of modern neuroscience and psychology, but perhaps less appreciated within strategic studies. US strategists in the Vietnam era miscalculated in ways that would surprise rational theorists, but not evolutionary psychologists: they exaggerated the stakes, embraced risky and overly optimistic solutions, and failed to appreciate the limits of force to shatter the enemy's resolve. Their concern for reputation led to escalation, based on a flawed conception of what such escalation could achieve.

The Vietnam conflict provides an excellent illustration that war is an inherently psychological phenomenon. This challenges abstract notions of rationality in strategic affairs, suggesting that the strategists — much like the rest of us — are strangers to themselves.

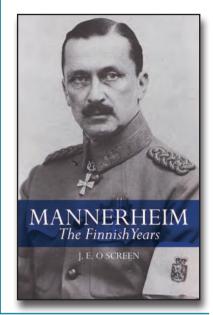
**Kenneth Payne** is a political psychologist and lecturer in Defence Studies at King's College London. He is also a research associate at the Centre for International Studies, Oxford University.

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Hardback • 9781849043373 • £45.00

Conflict



# Mannerheim

The Finnish Years

J. E. O. Screen

A new edition of a classic biography of Finland's greatest wartime leader and statesman.

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#### **NEW PAPERBACK EDITION**

J. E. O. Screen was Librarian of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies at the University of London from 1972 to 1998. He was the author of several books and articles on Finnish military history, including Mannerheim: The Years of Preparation.

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History / Finland

As soldier and statesman, Carl Gustaf Mannerheim (1867-1951) occupies a unique place in the history of Finland. He served as Commander-in-Chief of the Finnish Army in 1918 and again from 1939-1944. He was Regent of Finland in 1919 and President of the Republic from 1944-1946. In 1918 he suppressed an attempted revolution against the democratically elected Finnish Government which followed the Bolshevik revolution in Russia.

The passage of time turned him from a hero of the Right into a trusted national figure, while his leadership of Finnish resistance to Soviet agaression in the Winter War of 1939-40 won him international fame. He led the Finnish Army in the Continuation War of 1941-44, in which Finland fought as a co-belligerent with Germany, and took over as President in 1944, after which he ensured Finland negotiated an armistice with the Soviet Union, albeit with harsh terms for Finland. Under his leadership. Helsinki was one of only three wartime European capital cities that was not occupied. And only Mannerheim's authority held the nation together as it adjusted to a new relationship with the Soviet Union. This revised paperback edition describes his transformation from a Tsarist Russian General into a Finnish statesman and patriot. It sets his career in its historical context, examines his character and sums up his legacy.

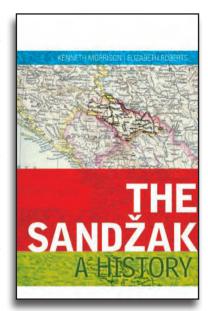
# The Sandžak

A History

# KENNETH MORRISON & ELIZABETH ROBERTS

A comprehensive history of the religious, ethnic and political forces that shaped this important part of South East Europe.

September 2013 £45.00



One of the few remaining unexamined pieces of the Balkan jigsaw, the Sandžak — a multi-ethnic region straddling the border between Serbia and Montenegro — is heir to a complex and contested history. From the emergence and collapse of the first medieval Serbian kingdom, through the Ottoman occupation, the Balkan Wars, the First and Second World Wars and the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the history of the Sandžak is one characterised by tumult and flux. Yet despite the 'Sandžak Question' being the focus of the Great Powers in the years preceding the First Balkan War, it remains something of a mystery to both scholars and students of European history.

The Sandžak: A History attempts to demystify the enigma of this little-known part of the Western Balkans. The first detailed history of the area in the English language, the book offers an intricate yet succinct analysis of the religious, ethnic and political dynamics that shaped the Sandžak. The authors lead us through conflicting narratives to provide a comprehensive and concise history of this fascinating and complex region.

Kenneth Morrison is a senior lecturer in Modern European History at De Montfort University, Leicester, and was a visiting senior fellow at the London School of Economics in 2011-12. He is the author of Montenegro: A Modern History.

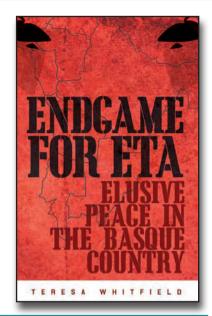
Elizabeth Roberts is a former diplomat and Balkan scholar who taught Southeast European History at universities in the Republic of Ireland and the USA. She is a recognised authority on Balkan history and is the author of The Realm of the Black Mountain:

A History of Montenegro.

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Hardback • 9781849042451 • £45.00

History / Balkans



# **Endgame for ETA**

Elusive Peace in the Basque Country

#### Teresa Whitfield

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A sober analysis of the risks and benefits of engaging with armed groups proscribed as terrorist and the sometimes contradictory impact of counterterrorist policies.

October 2013 £22.00

The violent Basque separatist group ETA took shape in Franco's Spain, yet claimed the majority of its victims under democracy. For most Spaniards it became an aberration, a criminal and terrorist band whose persistence defied explanation. Others, mainly Basques (but only some Basques) understood ETA as the violent expression of a political conflict that remained the unfinished business of Spain's transition to democracy. Such differences hindered efforts to 'defeat' ETA's terrorism on the one hand and 'resolve the Basque conflict' on the other for more than three decades.

Endgame for ETA offers a compelling account of the long path to ETA's declaration of a definitive end to its armed activity in October 2011. Its political surrogates remain as part of a resurgence of regional nationalism — in the Basque Country as in Catalonia — that is but one element of multiple crises confronting Spain.

The Basque case has been cited as an example of the perils of 'talking to terrorists'. Drawing on extensive field research, Teresa Whitfield argues that while negotiations did not prosper, a form of 'virtual peacemaking' was an essential complement to robust police action and social condemnation. Together they helped to bring ETA's violence to an end and return its grievances to the channels of normal politics.

**Teresa Whitfield** is a fellow of New York University's Center on International Cooperation. She is the author of Paying the Price: Ignacio Ellacuría and the Murdered Jesuits of El Salvador and Friends Indeed? The UN, Groups of Friends and the Resolution of Conflict.

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Terrorism / Europe

# Britain, Greece and the Colonels, 1967-74

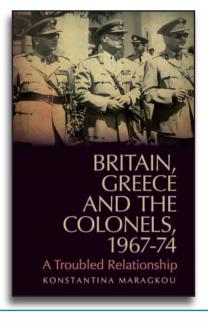
A Troubled Relationship

#### Konstantina Maragkou

Britain's murky relationship with the Greek dictatorship is revealed in this important new study.

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# LSE HELLENIC OBSERVATORY SERIES,

K. Featherstone and D. Papadimitriou (eds)

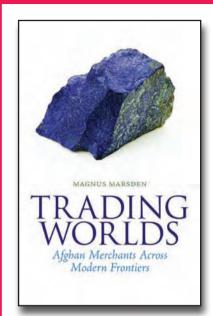
The long history of Anglo-Greek relations has deservedly attracted much attention. One of its most controversial — yet least explored phases was that spanning the Greek Colonels' seven-year military junta, from 1967-74. Drawing on a corpus of diverse, original and largely primary material, Maragkou provides the first comprehensive analysis of British policy towards Greece during this tumultuous era. Not only does she contribute to the historiography of Anglo-Greek relations, but her book also serves as a case study of British foreign policy within the Cold War. And by demonstrating that national history can be best understood by analysing the relationship between a nation state and factors beyond its control, the conclusions drawn can be applied beyond the strictly regional or the exclusively bilateral, as they also fit into a transnational paradigm. It was in the 1960s when what we now term 'globalisation' was in full swing. Henceforward, no nation — and no foreign office — was an island: it was part of a whole, in which both state and non-state actors internationally played their part in the evolution of thinking on foreign affairs. Here is the key to understanding the tortuous history of Britain and the Greek Colonels - one that has many echoes in our own time.

Konstantina Maragkou is a lecturer in History at Yale University. She received her PhD and MPhil in History from the University of Cambridge and a BA in Modern History, Economic History and Politics from the University of London.

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History / Europe



# **Trading Worlds**

Afghan Merchants Across Modern Frontiers

# Magnus Marsden

A remarkable anthropological study of Pashtun Afghan merchants that tells us much about how trading diasporas function in an era of globalisation.

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Trading Worlds is an anthropological study of a little understood yet rapidly expanding global trading diaspora, namely the Afghan merchants of Afghanistan, Central Asia and Europe, It contests one-sided images that depict traders from this and other conflict regions as immoral profiteers, the cronies of warlords or international drug smugglers. It shows, rather, the active role these merchants play in an ever-more globalised political economy. Afghan merchants, the author demonstrates, forge and occupy critical economic niches, both at home and abroad; from the Persian Gulf to Central Asia. to the ports of the Black Sea; and in global cities such as Istanbul, Moscow and London, the traders' activities are shaping the material and cultural lives of the diverse populations among whom they live.

Through an exploration of the life histories, trading activities and everyday experiences of these mobile merchants, Magnus Marsden shows that traders' worlds are informed by complex forms of knowledge, skill, ethical sensibility, and long-lasting human relationships that often cut across and dissolve boundaries of nation, ethnicity, religion and ideology.

**Magnus Marsden** is a senior lecturer in Social Anthropology at SOAS, University of London. He has spent fifteen years conducting research in both Afghanistan and Pakistan and, with Benjamin Hopkins, is the author of *Fragments of the Afghan Frontier* and editor of *Beyond Swat: History, Society and Economy Along the Afghanistan-Pakistan Frontier*.

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Anthropology / Economics

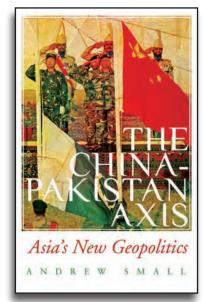
## The China-Pakistan Axis

Asia's New Geopolitics

ANDREW SMALL

The first book-length analysis of an often secretive but mutually beneficial military and strategic partnership.

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The Beijing-Islamabad axis plays a central role in Asia's geopolitics, from India's rise to the prospects for a post-American Afghanistan, from the threat of nuclear terrorism to the continent's new map of mines, ports and pipelines. China is Pakistan's great economic hope and its most trusted military partner; Pakistan is the battleground for China's encounters with Islamic militancy and the heart of its efforts to counterbalance the emerging US-India partnership. For decades, each country has been the other's only 'all-weather' friend.

Yet the relationship is still little understood. The wildest claims about it are widely believed, while many of its most dramatic developments are hidden from the public eye. This book sets out the recent history of Sino-Pakistani ties and their ramifications for the West, for India, for Afghanistan. and for Asia as a whole. It tells the stories behind some of its most sensitive aspects, including Beijing's support for Pakistan's nuclear program, China's dealings with the Taliban, and the Chinese military's planning for crises in Pakistan. It describes a relationship increasingly shaped by Pakistan's internal strife, and the dilemmas China faces between the need for regional stability and the imperative for strategic competition with India and the USA.

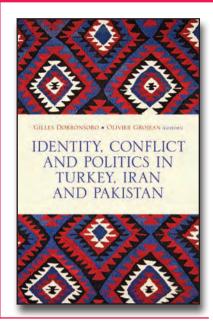
Andrew Small has researched Chinese foreign and economic policy issues in Beijing, Brussels, London, and now Washington, D.C. He is a Transatlantic Fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the United States

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International Relations / Diplomacy



# Identity, Conflict and Politics in Turkey, Iran and Pakistan

Edited by Gilles Dorronsoro & Olivier Grojean

A critical assessment of how identities shape political behaviour and violence in Turkey, Iran and Pakistan.

Ethnic and religious identity-markers compete

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with class and gender as principles shaping the organisation and classification of everyday life. But how are an individual's identity-based conflicts transformed and redefined? Identity is a specific form of social capital, hence contexts where multiple identities obtain necessarily come with a hierarchy, with differences, and hence with a certain degree of hostility. The contributors to this book examine the rapid transformation of identity hierarchies affecting Iran, Pakistan and Turkey, a symptom of political fractures, socialeconomic transformation, and new regimes of subjectification. They focus on the state's role in organising access to resources, with its institutions often being the main target of demands, rather than competing social groups. Such contexts enable entrepreneurs of collective action to exploit identity differences, which in turn help them to expand the scale of their mobilisation and to align local and national conflicts. The authors also examine how identity-based violence may be autonomous in certain contexts, and serve to prime collective action and transform the relations between communities.

**Gilles Dorronsoro**, a visiting scholar at the Carnegie Endowment, Washington, D.C., is an expert on Afghanistan, Turkey, and South Asia and the author of *Revolution Unending: Afghanistan*, 1979 to the Present (Hurst, 2005).

**Olivier Grojean** is a political sociologist who teaches at CERIC-CNRS, Aix-en-Provence.

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Politics / Sociology

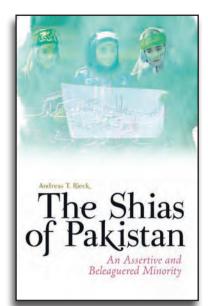
## The Shias of Pakistan

An Assertive and Beleaguered Minority

Andreas T. Rieck

As sectarian violence spirals alarmingly in Pakistan the need for a rigorous history of its Shia population is met by Rieck's definitive account.

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The Shias of Pakistan are the world's second largest Shia community after that of Iran, but comprise only 10-15 per cent of Pakistan's population. In recent decades Sunni extremists have increasingly targeted them with hate propaganda and terrorism, yet paradoxically Shias have always been fully integrated into all sections of political, professional and social life without suffering any discrimination. In mainstream politics, the Shia-Sunni divide has never been an issue in Pakistan.

Shia politicians in Pakistan have usually downplayed their religious beliefs, but there have always been individuals and groups who emphasised their Shia identity, and who zealously campaigned for equal rights for the Shias wherever and whenever they perceived these to be threatened. Shia 'ulama' have been at the forefront of communal activism in Pakistan since 1949, but Shia laymen also participated in such organisations, as they had in pre-partition India.

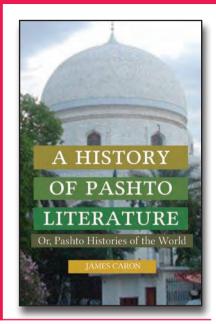
Based mainly on Urdu sources, Rieck's book examines, first, the history of Pakistan's Shias, including their communal organisations, the growth of the Shia 'ulama' class, of religious schools and rivalry between 'orthodox' 'ulama' and popular preachers; second, the outcome of lobbying of successive Pakistan governments by Shia organisations; and third, the Shia-Sunni conflict, which is increasingly virulent due to the state's failure to combat Sunni extremism.

Andreas T. Rieck has a PhD in Islamic Studies from the University of Hamburg and served with the UN Mission to Afghanistan before spending four years in Pakistan with the Hanns Seidel Foundation. Since 2007 he has been an adviser to the German Federal Criminal Police Office, Berlin.

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Religion



# A History of Pashto Literature

Or, Pashto Histories of the World

#### JAMES CARON

A remarkable contribution to scholarship and our cultural understanding of the Afghans, Caron's book is the first history of Pashto literature ever to be published.

November 2013 £30.00

This social history of Pashto verse from the Mughal period to the present tells the story of one of the world's great interregional communities through its most enduring form of verbal expression. Pashto poetry's thematic points of departure sit beyond state consolidation or cultural authority, and instead highlight avoidance, transgression, negotiation, and survival in transregional space. And Pashto poetic practices transcend time to form decentred, flexible cultural institutions, against which empires, states, and their periodisation are often traumatic yet transitory. Amid a historiography that forgets any Afghan past but warfare; and as 'knowledge' of Afghans vacillates between imperial or statist narration and clinical registers of social science, these self-told accounts and living institutions of emotion, experience, desire and potentiality are both fragile and vital as ever. If we are fortunate enough to step inside the social and temporal spaces that Pashto poetic practices have built, we find pasts, presents and futures more expansive than history itself.

**James Caron** is Lecturer in Islamicate South Asia, SOAS, University of London.

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Hardback • 9781849043212 • £30.00

History / Literature

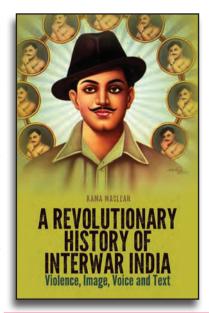
# A Revolutionary History of Interwar India

Violence, Image, Voice and Text

#### KAMA MACLEAN

Maclean's history of Indian revolutionaries in the interwar years situates their politics of violence in the broader context of the freedom struggle and Congress politics.

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Focussing on the Hindustan Socialist Republican Army (HSRA), *A Revolutionary History* delivers a fresh perspective on the ambitions, ideologies and practices of this influential organisation, formed by Chandrashekhar Azad and Bhagat Singh and inspired by transnational anti-imperial dissent. It is a new interpretation of the activities and political impact of the north Indian revolutionaries who advocated the use of political violence against the British.

Kama Maclean contends that the actions of these revolutionaries had a direct impact on Congress politics and tested its policy of nonviolence. In doing so she draws on visual culture studies, demonstrating the efficacy of imagery in constructing — as opposed to merely illustrating — historical narratives. Maclean analyses visual evidence alongside recently declassified government files, memoirs and interviews to elaborate on the complex relationships between the Congress and the HSRA, which were far less antagonistic than is frequently imagined.

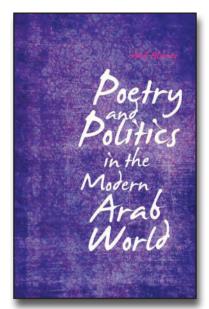
Kama Maclean is Associate Professor of South Asian and World History at UNSW in Sydney, and Editor of South Asia. Her book, Pilgrimage and Power, was awarded an honourable mention in the Ananda Coomaraswamy Prize (2009).

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Paperback • 9781849043328 • £18.99

Hardback • 9781849043663 • £55.00

History



# Poetry and Politics in the Modern Arab World

# Atef Alshaer

Alshaer's book offers a subtle and historically grounded reading of modern Arabic poetry, emphasising the aesthetic integration of politics within poetic form.

The representation in poetic form of political events and ideas in the Arab world since the

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nineteenth century is this book's principal theme. Atef Alshaer demonstrates an integral connection between poetry and politics, reflecting the holistic character of Arab culture as well as the longstanding embodiment of poetry in the sociopolitical life of the Arabs. The shared Arabic language and common cultural heritage that Arabs have encompass and mirror widespread Arab concerns about their societies and their cultural and political development. Poetry as the essence of language served as an illuminating, and often mobilising, medium of expression which brought the tensions and aspirations of each age to the fore. Beginning with the colonial empires and their colonisation of the Arab world. Alshaer illuminates the perennial concerns of major Arab poets with their societies. He discusses the poetic representation of the end of the Ottoman Empire. the onset of Arab nationalism, French and British colonialism, Palestine and the struggle against Zionism, as well as Arab inter-relationships, the emergence of Islamism and Islamist movements, and finally the Arab Spring. Each chapter highlights the mainstream historical, political and intellectual currents of the time and interprets them alongside poems and poets that evoked and

consecrated them.

Atef Alshaer grew up and studied in Palestine and London and is a post-doctoral and senior reaching fellow at SOAS, University of London. He has published numerous articles and reviews on the literature, politics and culture of the Arab World.

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Middle East Studies / Literature

# The Hizbullah Phenomenon

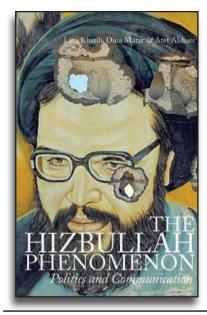
Politics and Communication

Lina Khatib, Dina Matar & Atef Alshaer

Hizbullah's management of its image and identity are scrutinised by the authors alongside analysis of the movement's communication strategy, political behaviour and performance.

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Hizbullah is not only a leading political actor in Lebanon and a dynamic force in the Middle East. but it is also distinguished by a sophisticated communication strategy. From relatively humble beginnings in the 1980s. Hizbullah's political clout and its public perception have followed an upward trajectory, thanks to a political programme that blends military, social, economic and religious elements and adapts to changes in its environment. Its communication strategy is similarly adaptive, supporting the group's political objectives. Hizbullah's target audience has expanded to a regional and global viewership. Its projected identity, too, shifted from an Islamist resistance party opposed to Israel's presence in Lebanon to a key player within the Lebanese state. At the same time, Hizbullah's image has retained fixed features, including its image as an ally of Iran; its role as a resistance group (to Israel); and its original base as a religious party representative of the Lebanese Shiites. The authors of this book address how Hizbullah uses image, language and its charismatic leader. Hassan Nasrallah, to legitimise its political aims and ideology and appeal to different target groups.

Lina Khatib heads the Program on Arab Reform and Democracy at Stanford University's Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law. She is the author of *Image Politics* in the Middle East (2013).

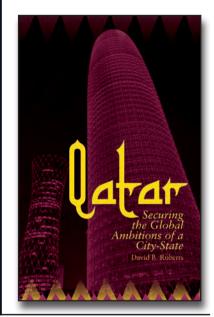
**Dina Matar** is the Director of the Centre for Media and Film Studies at SOAS, London. She is the author of What it Means to be Palestinian (2010).

Atef Alshaer is a post-doctoral and senior teaching fellow at SOAS, University of London and has published many articles and reviews on the literature, politics and culture of the Arab World.

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**David B. Roberts** is Director of the Qatar office of RUSI, the British security and defence think tank. A recognised expert on the Gulf region, he has lived, studied, researched and worked in the Gulf for nearly a decade.

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**Gulf Studies** 

# Sectarian Politics in the Persian Gulf

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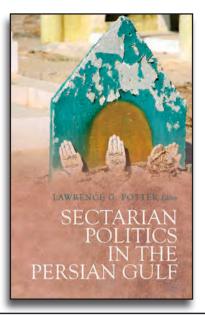
September 2013 £20.00 Long a taboo topic, as well as one that has alarmed outside powers, sectarian conflict in the Middle Fast is on the rise. The contributors to this book examine sectarian politics in the Persian Gulf, including the GCC states, Yemen, Iran and Iraq, and consider the origins and consequences of sectarianism broadly construed, as it affects ethnic, tribal and religious groups. They also present a theoretical and comparative framework for understanding sectarianism, as well as country-specific chapters based on recent research in the area. Key issues that are scrutinised include the nature of sectarianism. how identity moves from a passive to an active state, and the mechanisms that trigger conflict. The strategies of governments such as rentier economies and the 'invention' of partisan national histories that encourage or manage sectarian differences are also highlighted, as is the role of outside powers in fostering sectarian strife. The

volume also seeks to clarify whether movements

such as the Islamic revival or the Arab Spring

obscure the continued salience of religious and

ethnic cleavages.



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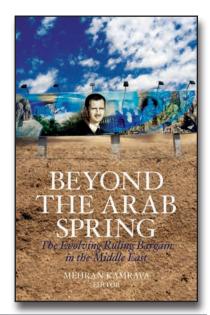
Lawrence G. Potter is Adjunct Associate Professor of International Affairs at Columbia University and Deputy Director of the Gulf/2000 Project. He holds a PhD in History and has edited six volumes on the Persian Gulf.

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The Evolving Ruling Bargain in the Middle East

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Mehran Kamrava is Professor and Director of the Center for International and Regional Studies at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service in Qatar. He is the author of a number of books, including, most recently, *The Modern Middle East: A Political History Since the First World War, Qatar: Small State, Big Politics*; and *Iran's Intellectual Revolution*.

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Middle East / Politics

The Arab Spring occurred within the context of the unravelling of the dominant 'ruling bargain' that emerged across the Middle East in the 1950s. This is being replaced by a new and inchoate system that redefines sources of authority and legitimacy through various devices (such as constitutions), experiences, and processes (mass protests, civil wars, and elections), by reassessing the roles, functions, and at times the structures of institutions (political parties and organisations, the armed forces, the executive); and by the initiative of key personalities and actors (agency).

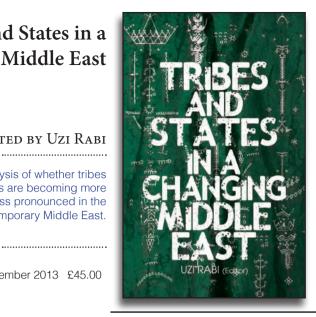
Across the Arab world and the Middle East, 'authority' and 'political legitimacy' are in flux. Where power will ultimately reside depends largely on the shape, voracity, and staying power of these new, emerging conceptions of authority. The contributors to this book examine the nature and evolution of ruling bargains, the political systems to which they gave rise, the steady unravelling of the old systems and the structural consequences thereof, and the uprisings that have engulfed much of the Middle East since December 2010.

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> Uzi Rabi is Director of the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies at Tel Aviv University. He is the author of The Emergence of States in a Tribal Society: Oman Under Sa'id bin Taymur, 1932-1970.

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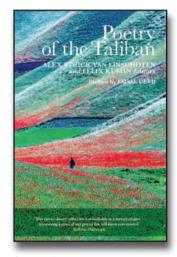
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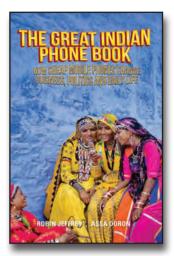
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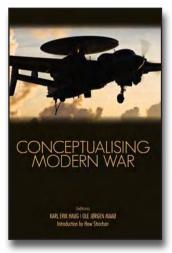
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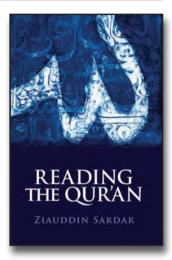
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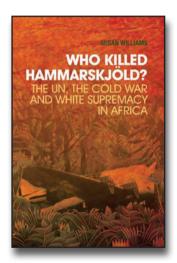
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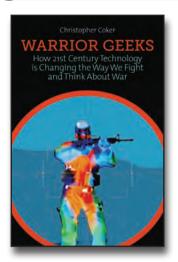
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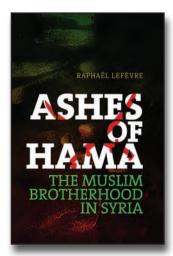
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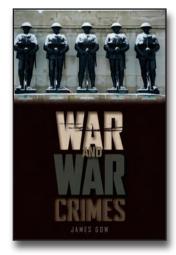
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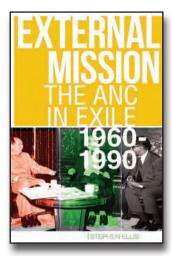
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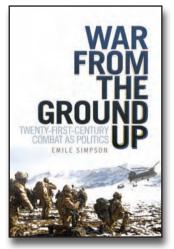
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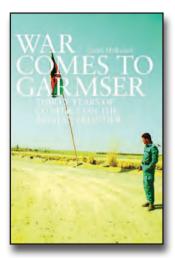
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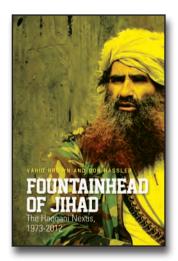
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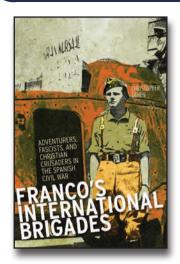
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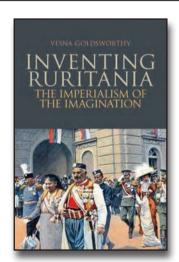
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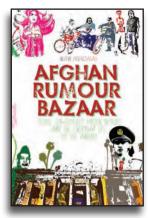
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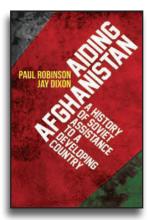
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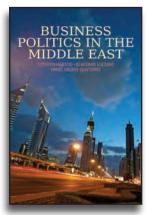
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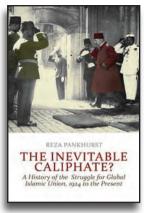
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'This is a superb volume on a critically important topic that often does not receive the careful attention it deserves. The book is impressive in both breadth and depth as it offers incisive analyses on significant issues related to business politics across the Middle East, especially insofar as public and private sector reforms and the 2011 uprisings are concerned. With essays rich in empirical data and with robust analytical frameworks, this is a significant contribution to the literature on the political economy of the Middle East.' Mehran Kamrava, Professor and Director of the Center for International and Regional Studies at Georgetown University, Qatar •••••

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# The Inevitable Caliphate?

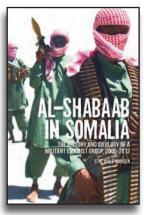
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