



**Hurst Publishers**

**Autumn / Winter 2026**

**‘At a time of rapid and dislocating change, no range of books casts a more valuable light onto the convulsions of the present than those published by Hurst.’  
— Tom Holland**

Dear Reader,

Welcome to our Autumn/Winter 2026 list.

In an era when news moves at warp speed, often outpacing our ability to fully understand it, books remain essential tools for grasping the deeper forces shaping the world: regional conflict and regime change, public protest and economic upheaval. Hurst’s long-established list in global affairs is dedicated to providing that context—rigorous, independent and historically informed.

In this season’s list, Roger Boyes, Diplomatic Editor of *The Times* and once a journalistic target of Cold War surveillance, examines the expanding reach of secret police and security states—from China’s AI-driven systems of total monitoring to America’s heavy-handed mass deportation of migrants. In *American Overthrow*, Keir Giles—author of *Who Will Defend Europe?* and a leading analyst of Russian strategy—offers a disturbing account of Moscow’s long-term subversion of the American body politic. Ayesha Harruna Attah brings a novelist’s eye to global history in her lyrical study of the West African kola nut, tracing its journey from sustenance for desert caravan travellers to its central place in the international brand of Coca-Cola. And as ‘realism’ returns to prominence in international relations, David M. Sacks revisits the life and thought of its founding theorist in *The Realist*, a biography of Hans Morgenthau, who fled Nazi Germany and reshaped twentieth-century political thinking.

This season we have numerous new paperback releases, including updated editions of topical books: *So You Want to Own Greenland?: Lessons from the Vikings to Trump*; *Zero Sum: The Arc of International Business in Russia*; and *The Retreat from Strategy: Britain’s Dangerous Confusion of Interests with Values*. Other recent bestsellers soon to be available in paperback include *Vatican Spies: From the Second World War to Pope Francis*; Robert D. Kaplan’s *Waste Land: A World in Permanent Crisis*; and *Italy in a Wineglass: The Taste of History*, winner of the ‘Drinks Writer Award’ from the Guild of Food Writers and ‘Best Wine History Book’ from the Gourmand World Cookbook Awards. Our ‘Recent Highlights’ flag books of the moment, such as Jean-Pierre Filiu’s urgent and passionate *A Historian in Gaza* and *Troublemaker*, the acclaimed biography of Jessica Mitford, shortlisted for the PEN/Jacqueline Bograd Weld Award and the National Book Critics Circle Award.

Finally, if you are an author with a project that fits our remit, we warmly encourage you to consult the submission guidelines on our website and to send proposals to [editorial@hurstpub.co.uk](mailto:editorial@hurstpub.co.uk).

With best wishes,  
Michael Dwyer (Publisher)  
Kathleen May (Associate Publisher)

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ROGER BOYES

# The Watchers

## How the Secret Police Shape the Future

How much freedom must we surrender to feel safe? Is China's all-round AI-enhanced surveillance becoming a model for other countries? Could cascading fears about failing states and welfare systems steer citizens towards accepting repressive measures, even in well-established democracies?

*The Watchers* is a timely, indispensable account of the modern police state. Establishing its historical antecedents, Roger Boyes shows how it became an instrument of control under the Nazis and in the Eastern Bloc—and is still central to the governance of Iran, North Korea, China and Russia today. Is America now adopting police-state methods to facilitate the mass deportation of migrants? What are the limits to political control over the judiciary? And what is happening to democratic guardrails worldwide?

Boyes speaks with the police state's victims and insiders: to former inmates of Iran's Evin Prison, to Hongkongers fighting for democracy, and to those who chronicled the vicious abuses of Syria's torture factories. He also tracks down the people who informed on him when he was a correspondent in East Germany and in martial-law Poland. Understanding the motives of willing accomplices, he argues, is as important as outlining the secrets of the new caste of securocrats and their seemingly unstoppable rise.

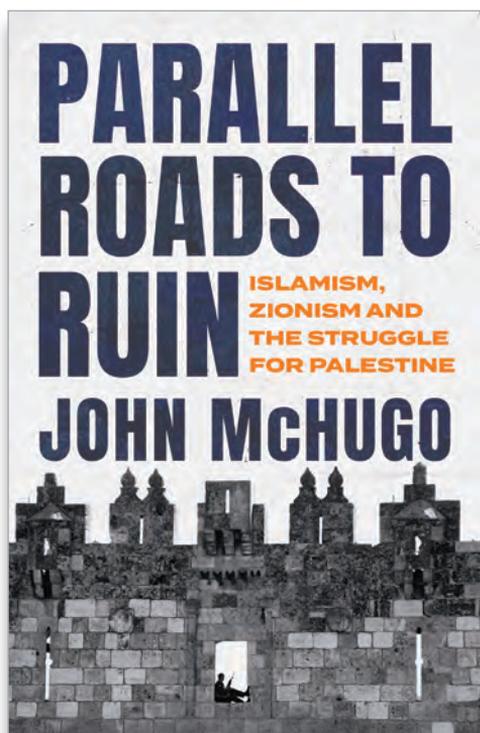


November 2026  
9781805266662  
216mm x 138mm  
352pp  
£20.00 Hardback  
Current Affairs / Politics  
World rights

A chilling global investigation into how modern surveillance states are built and why they endure—from a journalist once spied upon in Cold War Europe.



**Roger Boyes**, a foreign correspondent for almost fifty years, is Diplomatic Editor of *The Times*. He writes a widely read weekly column on geopolitics, as well as analyses and leaders on international affairs. He is also the author of twelve books.



December 2026

9781805266679

234mm x 156mm

368pp

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Current Affairs / Middle East Studies

World rights

Examines the entwined destinies of Zionists and Islamists and the political outcome of their deadly embrace.

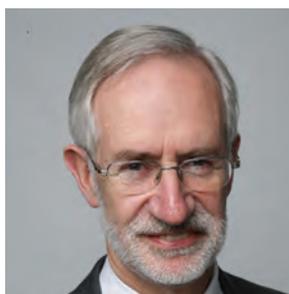
JOHN MCHUGO

## Parallel Roads to Ruin Islamism, Zionism and the Struggle for Palestine

Zionism and Islamism both emerged in response to oppression and injustice, and started with the best intentions to bring dignity, freedom and security to the downtrodden followers of one of the world's great religions. Yet both have created oppression and injustice and used violence to attain their goals, fomenting bitter hatreds. These led directly to the horrifying October 7 attacks and ensuing destruction of Gaza.

John McHugo calls for a radical rethink of these two ideologies. He traces the problematic relationship of Europe and 'the West' with Jews and Muslims, from the Middle Ages to nineteenth-century nationalism and the Israel–Palestine conflict. He focuses on the personalities involved as much as their ideology—from Theodor Herzl, Chaim Weizmann, David Ben-Gurion and Ze'ev Jabotinsky to Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, Rashid Rida, Izz al-Din al-Qassam and Hajj Amin al-Husseini; and from Menachem Begin, Yitzhak Shamir, Ariel Sharon and Benjamin Netanyahu to Hassan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb, Usama bin Laden and Shaykh Ahmad Yassin.

Wrestling with the unwelcome facts of this intertwined history is a precondition for reaching a settlement respecting the rights of all, and for securing lasting peace. *Parallel Roads to Ruin* makes these essential truths plain.



After studying Arabic and Islamic Studies at the University of Oxford and the American University in Cairo, **John McHugo** practised international law in the Middle East. His books include *A Concise History of Sunnis and Shi'is*; *A Concise History of the Arabs*; and *Syria: A Recent History*.

AYESHA HARRUNA ATTAH

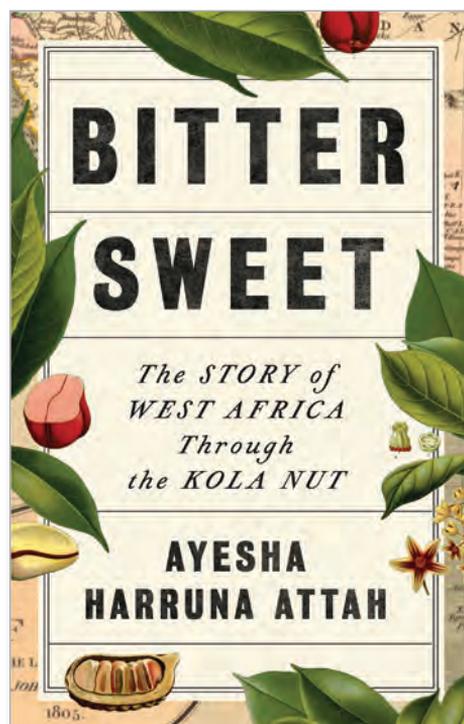
# Bitter Sweet

## The Story of West Africa Through the Kola Nut

The kola nut is a seed indigenous to West Africa, a seed that ancient caravan travellers chewed to survive their harsh desert journeys, the 'Cola' in Coca-Cola.

*Bitter Sweet* is an invitation into West Africa. Deeply involved in the lives of communities from Senegal to Cameroon, the kola nut has played a central role in customs, commerce and cuisine throughout the region's vast, varied history. Searching for stories about this caffeine-rich seed as a way to better understand her West African home, acclaimed author Ayesha Harruna Attah takes readers along the Niger River, through the red sands of the Sahel and across the Atlantic Ocean. She traces her family's roots in Ghana's forests and savannah, where they were once kola traders and cultivators. In encounters with craftspeople, cultural custodians and descendants of enslaved people who travelled with kola to the Americas, she discovers what this unique commodity can tell us about West African identity and tradition—and about the region's place in a messy, interconnected world. Along the way, she begins to fall in love with West Africa.

Blending history, travelogue and cultural exploration, *Bitter Sweet* shows us that after that first bitter bite of kola always comes sweetness.



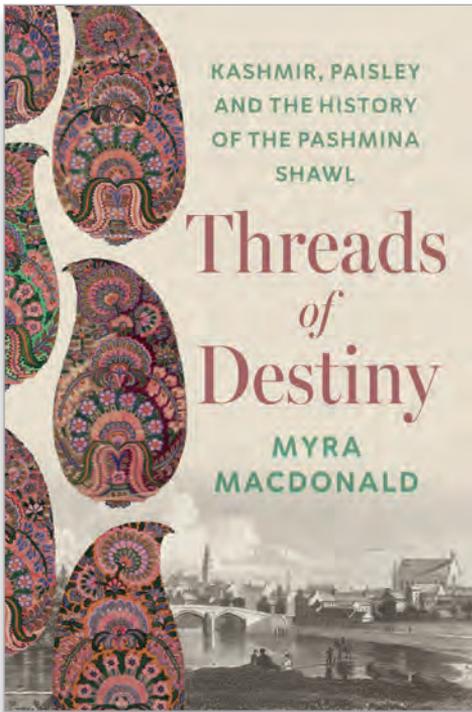
December 2026  
9781805266686  
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248pp  
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History  
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The beautifully written history of a uniquely West African nut with a truly global story.



© Henry Robinson

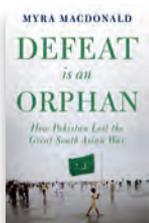
**Ayesha Harruna Attah** is the author of five novels, including *The Hundred Wells of Salaga*, a finalist for the William Saroyan International Prize for Writing. Her writing has appeared in *The New York Times*, *Newsweek*, *Elle Italia* and other media. Born and raised in Ghana, she lives in Senegal.



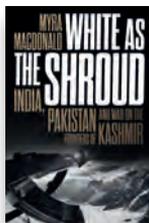
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Exploring empire,  
 fashion and technology, a  
 pathbreaking history of the  
 renowned pashmina shawl  
 and the concurrent lives of  
 weavers in Scotland and  
 British India.

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**Myra MacDonald**, a journalist specialising in South Asia, grew up near Paisley. A former Reuters correspondent, her books include *Defeat is an Orphan: How Pakistan Lost the Great South Asian War* and *White as the Shroud: India, Pakistan and War on the Frontiers of Kashmir*, both published by Hurst.

**MYRA MACDONALD**

## Threads of Destiny

### Kashmir, Paisley and the History of the Pashmina Shawl

In the late seventeenth century, Kashmir was renowned worldwide for the beauty of its pashmina shawls, woven from the fine, warm wool of the Tibetan mountain goat. Paisley was a provincial Scottish town where weavers produced plain cloth in homespun wool and flax. But by the 1800s, these Scottish weavers had become so adept at imitating Kashmiri shawls that their characteristic swirling colours and tear-drop motifs came to be known by a new name: 'the Paisley pattern'. How did it happen?

*Threads of Destiny* is a fresh history of the celebrated Kashmiri shawl and the copies it inspired. Myra MacDonald tracks the rise of Paisley's handloom weavers during the British Empire and Industrial Revolution, and the concomitant slide in fortunes of their Kashmiri counterparts. The shawl trade was driven by the vagaries of fashion and foreign conquest, and the pursuit of *pashm* wool spurred exploration, political intrigue and wars. Then in the late nineteenth century, handloom weavers in Paisley and Kashmir found their fates unexpectedly united, as the ascent of power looms swept them out of business.

MacDonald tells a riveting human story of empire, fashion and technology—and of the intertwined destinies of two peoples thousands of miles apart.

PAT YALE

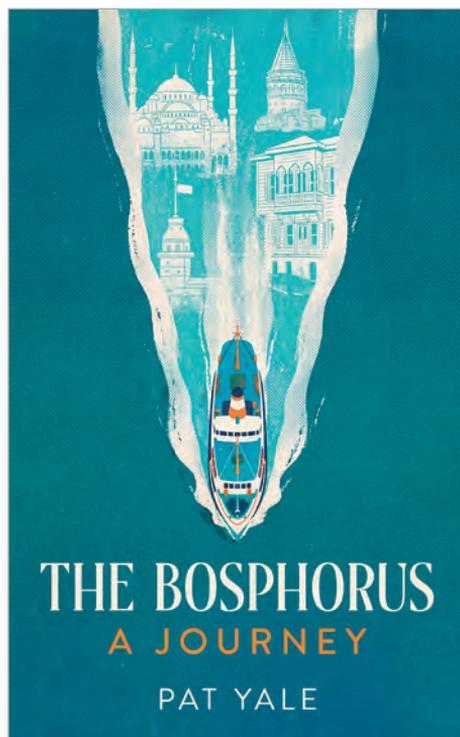
# The Bosphorus

## A Journey

Right at the heart of Istanbul, separating its European and Asian shores, the Bosphorus is not just one of the world's greatest waterways. It is also one of its most magical—a strait that rose from myth and mystery to become the political hub of the Ottoman Empire, home to the sultan and his entourage and, indeed, to anybody who was anybody.

Its spectacular landscape, draped in green and blue, was extolled by every visiting writer, from Lord Byron to Virginia Woolf. But when the new Republic of Turkey chose Ankara as its capital in 1923, silence fell over the Bosphorus' palaces and mansions, many of their once powerful residents forced into exile. In a twentieth century marked by poverty, uncertainty and social upheaval, its banks were resettled, and industry and mass housing elbowed out the greenery. But as the twenty-first century brings new challenges and possibilities, waterside manors are being rebuilt and the crumbling industrial heritage repurposed.

The story of the Bosphorus is one of rulers and nobles, pilgrims and saints—but also of labourers, fishermen and boatmen. Above all, it is a story about water. What better way to explore it than from the decks of its ferries?



January 2027  
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Travel  
World rights

Crossroads of trade and culture, boundary between East and West—the Bosphorus is a waterway like no other. This evocative portrait brings it to life.



Educated at the University of Cambridge, **Pat Yale** worked in the travel industry before becoming a guidebook writer specialising in Turkey. After moving to Cappadocia to restore a cave house, she now lives in Istanbul. Her books include *Following Miss Bell: Travels Around Turkey in the Footsteps of Gertrude Bell*.



October 2026  
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 224pp  
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A disturbing account of  
 Moscow's ideological  
 capture of the American  
 ruling elite, the  
 consequences of which are  
 only now coming to light.

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 £14.99 pb  
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KEIR GILES

## American Overthrow

### Moscow's Endgame in its Long War with Washington

The maelstrom that followed Donald Trump's return as US president in 2025 left many bemused and disoriented. But for Russia-watchers, what unfolded was grimly familiar. So much of what Trump and his inner circle have done is precisely what the Kremlin would have wanted them to do; and in too many respects, Trump's America has started to mimic Russia itself.

For all the chaos of Trump's first months back in the White House, one defining feature was common to all his destructive actions: the removal of the obstacles previously set up to prevent Russia from achieving its ambitions, whether they threatened Europe or America itself. The Trump administration's determination to coerce Ukraine into surrendering to Russia is just the clearest example of how America is embracing Moscow's objectives. And domestically, the war on facts and truth; the deployment of masked federal paramilitaries to the streets of major cities; the threats against neighbouring countries; the consolidation of power; and the favouring of a narrow circle of oligarchs all mirror Vladimir Putin's Russia of twenty years before.

Keir Giles examines the transformation of America through the prism of Kremlinology. What he reveals is disturbing not just for Americans, but for us all.

**Keir Giles** has advised governments worldwide on the Russian threat. A former senior fellow with Chatham House's Russia and Eurasia Programme, he regularly comments for the BBC and international media. His prescient books include *Who Will Defend Europe?* (also published by Hurst), a *Financial Times* Politics Book of the Year.

DAVID M. SACKS

# The Realist

## The Life and Ideas of Hans Morgenthau

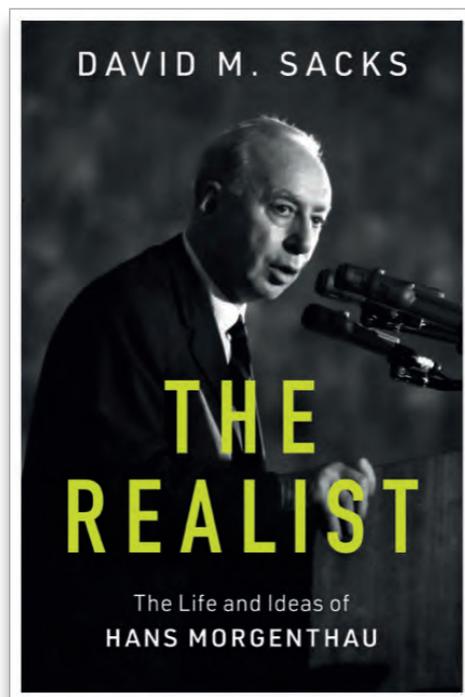
‘Sacks, in discovering Morgenthau for a new generation, also defines foreign policy realism, a concept that has been vastly misunderstood.’  
— Robert D. Kaplan

‘A gripping, definitive biography.’ — Richard Haass

‘International politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power.’ Hans Morgenthau wrote these words in 1948 as Americans were grappling with their emerging global rivalry with the Soviet Union. His *Politics Among Nations* quickly became the defining international relations textbook. Henry Kissinger stated, ‘All of us who taught the subject after him, however much we differed from one another, had to start with his reflections.’

Morgenthau’s realism was rooted in the traumas he experienced in interwar Germany. Amid the rampant anti-Semitism of this period, his classmates spat on and ostracised him. He saw Hitler break the law with impunity when he marched on Morgenthau’s hometown, Coburg. Morgenthau concluded that abstract ideals could not protect him and that power only yielded to countervailing power. Fleeing to the United States in 1937, he became that country’s most influential international relations scholar. When his peers lined up behind the Vietnam War, Morgenthau made a stand, dismantling the case for war on realist grounds.

Meticulously researched and masterfully written, *The Realist* shows how Morgenthau’s ideas continue to shape the twenty-first century. Amid growing international disorder and the reemergence of great power competition in Europe and Asia, his realism is more relevant than ever.



November 2026

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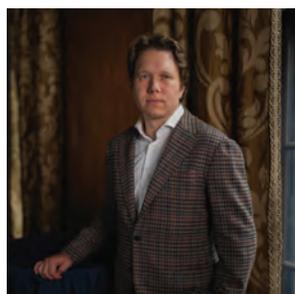
528pp

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Politics / Biography

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The first biography of Hans Morgenthau, the theoretician who escaped Nazi Germany and pioneered the ‘realist’ approach to international relations, now resurgent in global politics.



**David M. Sacks** is a fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. An expert on China and Taiwan, he has written for *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Economist*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Time* and the BBC, among other outlets. He lives in New York with his family.



January 2027  
 9781805266730  
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 History  
 World rights

The fascinating story of Labour's efforts to feed post-war Britain by leveraging its African colonies—and the enduring political consequences of the Scheme's failure.

CHRISTOPHER HALE

## The Great Groundnut Fiasco

### Colonial East Africa and the Downfall of a Labour Government

Britain in 1946 was a bruised and miserable nation. Despite its victory in World War Two, it had emerged disillusioned, hard up and chronically short of food and edible oils. The new Labour government had won a decisive mandate, but had so far failed to deliver its promised 'New Jerusalem'. Desperate to restore morale, it devised an audacious solution to Britain's post-war scarcity: the East African Groundnut Scheme.

Thousands of volunteers would clear Yorkshire-sized tracts of Tanganyikan bush to grow oil-rich groundnuts. Labour championed this crusade with messianic zeal, convinced that British ingenuity could transform its colonies into agricultural powerhouses. But despite massive investment, the Scheme collapsed spectacularly, having failed to conduct adequate research and having disregarded local knowledge. Conservatives and tabloids buried it beneath ridicule, with 'groundnuts' becoming a byword for left-wing incompetence and economic bungling. The fallout would contribute to Labour's 1951 electoral defeat. But was it truly a government blunder?

Christopher Hale reveals a more complex story. The United Africa Company (a subsidiary of Anglo-Dutch giant Unilever) sold the Scheme to fraught ministers, then catastrophically mismanaged operations. The real scandal wasn't socialism gone wrong—it was the betrayal of a nation's hopes by a corporate behemoth.



**Christopher Hale** is a documentary producer and the author of five non-fiction books. Educated at the Universities of Sussex and Edinburgh, he has made documentaries for broadcasters including the BBC, Channel 4 and National Geographic. His books have focused on the Holocaust, post-colonialism and the ideologies of the Third Reich.

DANNY ORBACH

# Punishment

## Behind Japanese Military Brutality

Why was the Japanese Army so brutal before and during World War Two? This haunting question anchors a sweeping investigation into the moral universe of Imperial Japan's soldiers, tracing their path from the twilight of the samurai age to the ashes of Manila in 1945.

*Punishment* uncovers a world in which war was conceived not merely as combat, but also as justice. Officers and soldiers learned to navigate two rival visions of war: one restrained by the 'foreign gaze' of the Western world, the other rooted in older traditions that cast adversaries as 'rebels' and 'bandits' deserving exemplary punishment. However, these competing strategies were intertwined, in an interplay of mutual mitigation and brutalisation. Drawing on archival material in six languages and fieldwork conducted across Asia—from Taiwan's indigenous highlands to Manchuria's sorghum fields and the streets of Nanjing—Danny Orbach reveals how ambiguity, obedience, fear and ideology converged on the battlefield. Vague orders could become massacres, and the boundary between necessity and cruelty became perilously thin.

Part detective story, part moral history, *Punishment* illuminates how a modern state slid into devastating violence—and why that descent was neither inevitable nor easily explained.

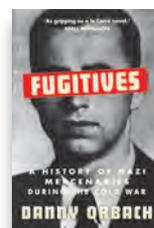
**Danny Orbach** is an associate professor in the History and Asian Studies Departments at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He received his PhD from Harvard University. He is the author of *The Plots Against Hitler*; *Curse on This Country*; and *Fugitives* (also published by Hurst).



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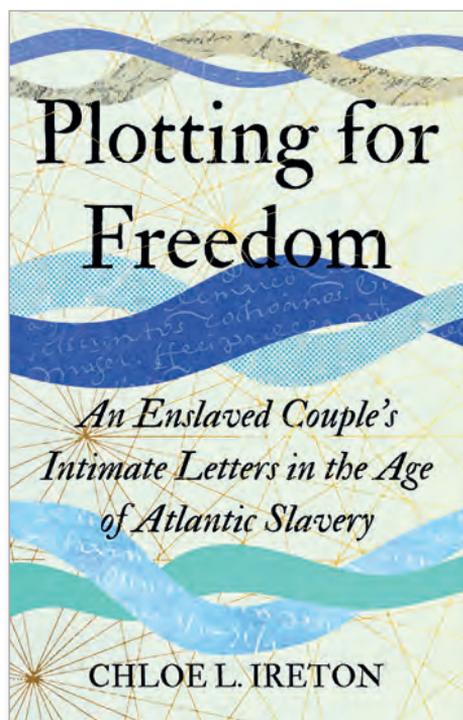
**A chilling exploration of how Imperial Japan framed war as justice—and how that moral logic helped unleash extraordinary brutality across Asia and the Pacific.**

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 History / Slavery  
 World English rights

Revealing an enslaved couple's intimate correspondence across three continents, this book redefines how freedom was imagined, planned and pursued—for themselves and their children.

CHLOE L. IRETON

## Plotting for Freedom

An Enslaved Couple's Intimate Letters in the Age of Atlantic Slavery

In the late sixteenth century, well before any whisperings of abolition, husband and wife Antón Segarra and Felipa de la Cruz plotted with each other from opposite shores of the Atlantic Ocean to raise enough funds to purchase their family's freedom. Their quest for liberty spanned West Africa, Spain and Mexico—from afar, they penned letters to share their news, their hopes and their strategies.

Drawing on over a decade of archival research, award-winning historian Chloe L. Ireton pieces together the couple's world, including the identity of Felipa's enslavers; the location of the palace where she lived in captivity; and the fate of her beloved husband. Felipa's surviving letters, two of which address the conditions of her enslavement and her desire for freedom, are the earliest known epistles by an enslaved Black woman in the Atlantic world.

This powerful story explores how a family gathered and exchanged knowledge to fight for their freedom in the first decades of Atlantic slavery. Spanning oceans and mountains, cities and ports, palaces and ships, it paints a deeply moving picture of the human consequences of European imperialism—and of the courage and resilience of two individuals yearning to be free.

**Chloe L. Ireton** is a historian and writer based at University College London, and a British Academy/Wolfson Fellow (2023–6). She is also the author of the award-winning *Slavery and Freedom in Black Thought in the Early Spanish Atlantic*.

OLIVIER HEIN

# Glory, Faith and Sorrow

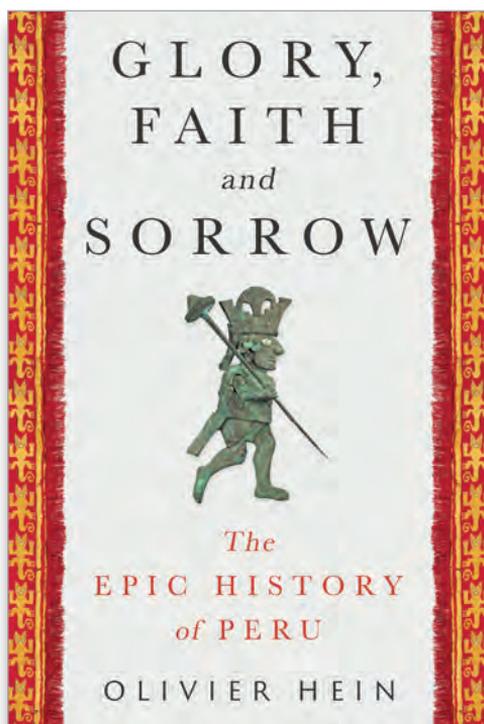
## The Epic History of Peru

Peru's story is written in stone and gold, triumph and tragedy. It is the history of a land blessed by the sun and cursed by ambition.

This is a vivid account of one of the world's most significant yet least understood nations, from ancient times to today. Interweaving the stories of Peru's three distinct geographical zones—the parched coast, the soaring Andes and the vast, near-impenetrable jungle—Olivier Hein uncovers the successive civilisations that forged the country's unique identity. More than just a chronicle of emperors and battles, *Glory, Faith and Sorrow* brings to life the visionaries and warriors, the priests and rebels who shaped this extraordinary nation. He captures the dizzying rise of the Inca Empire, an unrivalled South American powerhouse whose architectural wonders rivalled Rome, only to be shattered by a handful of single-minded conquistadors. He explores the upheavals of Spanish colonialism, the protracted struggle for independence and the modern challenges of a country that emerged from a forceful cultural collision.

*Glory, Faith and Sorrow* is the long-awaited full story of Peru: an epic tale of survival, resilience, and the enduring spirit of a people who have rebuilt their country upon the monumental ruins of the past.

**Olivier Hein** is a Mauritian-British author, whose books include *Borneo: The History of an Enigma* (also published by Hurst). Formerly a UN, UK and OSCE diplomat, posted to New York, Paris, Kosovo and Turkmenistan, he also contributes to *The Chap* magazine. He lives with his family in the Cotswolds.



November 2026

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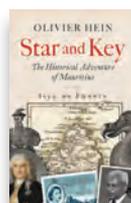
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The extraordinary history of a unique country and its diverse and resilient people, capturing the nation's adventurous story from distant origins to the present day.

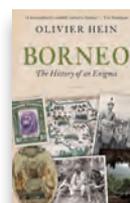
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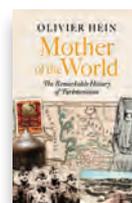
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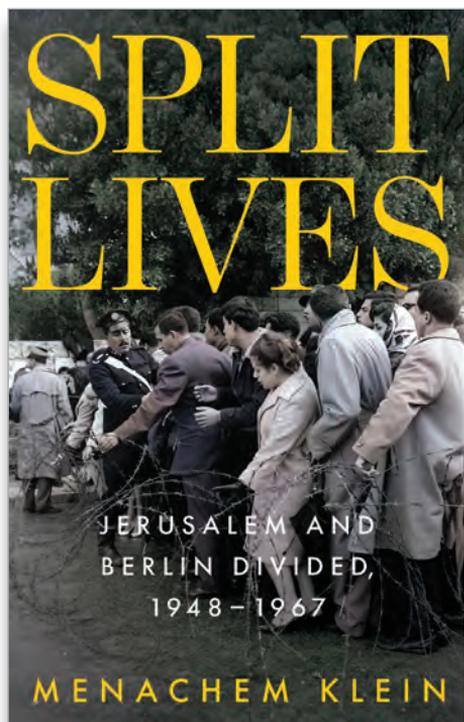


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December 2026

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280pp

£22.00 Paperback

History / Middle East Studies

World rights excluding the Hebrew language

Drawing parallels with Cold War Berlin, *Split Lives* examines the divided city of Jerusalem to show the global context of the Israeli–Arab conflict.

By the same author:



9781805266037

£19.99 pb

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**MENACHEM KLEIN**

## Split Lives

Jerusalem and Berlin Divided,  
1948–1967

This is the first comprehensive social history of Jerusalem between the 1948 and Six-Day wars—from the establishment of an international border cutting through the city for the first time in history until its reunification by arms in June 1967. Throughout his narrative, Menachem Klein draws parallels with Berlin, which was first partitioned by the Allies and later bisected by the Berlin Wall, highlighting Jerusalem’s uniqueness while also reframing the Israeli–Arab conflict within a global context.

World War Two and the 1948 War ended the short life of cosmopolitan Jerusalem. The latter was born in the twilight days of the multicultural Ottoman Empire and replaced by two mono-national cities: Palestinian-Jordanian and Israeli-Jewish, located at the edge of two young, poor and internationally inconsequential states. Mixed neighbourhoods became homogeneous, and refugees and immigrants filled the streets of the divided cities. Contrary to popular belief, this was not an insignificant period—it was a formative era whose effects on Israeli–Palestinian relations resonate to this day.

Klein focuses on daily life in Jerusalem: how its residents shaped the segregated space and made it their own. His compelling narrative brings back to life the two cities as their inhabitants experienced them.

**Menachem Klein** is Professor Emeritus in Political Science at Bar-Ilan University. Formerly a fellow at St Antony’s College, University of Oxford; a visiting professor at MIT; and a visiting research fellow at King’s College London, his books with Hurst include *Lives in Common*, a *New Republic* Book of the Year.

DAVID S. TONGE

# Imperial Predator

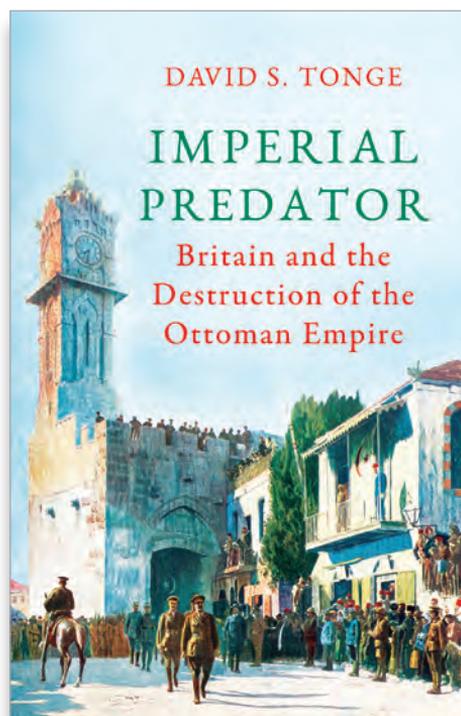
## Britain and the Destruction of the Ottoman Empire

Britain's plunder of the Ottoman Empire is one of history's great land grabs. In 1876, the Ottomans controlled territory as large as contemporary China. By 1923, nine-tenths of this grand heritage was gone, half now under British control.

From the 'civilising mission' of Lord Salisbury to the Sykes-Picot Agreement, this is the riveting story of Britain's systematic destruction of the Ottoman Empire. Nineteenth-century diplomacy was brutal, with treaties ignored and promises elided. The Ottomans sought to balance between the European powers, but Britain had a navy second to none and admirals no less impetuous than Nelson. Allying itself with Russia in 1914, Britain spurned the Young Turks, driving them into the German camp—thereby expanding World War One into Asia and increasing British costs by half. Although the Ottomans resisted more fiercely than often recorded, their fateful wartime defeat would taint the future of the whole Middle East.

Drawing on the latest archival research, David S. Tonge shows that the end of the Ottomans was far more than a collapse: it was imperial asset-stripping by a predator at the top of its game. Written in the memory of every Turk and Arab, this history forged today's world.

**David S. Tonge** has lived half of his life in Turkey. Educated at the University of Cambridge, he has reported for the BBC, *Guardian* and *Observer*, and was formerly the *Financial Times*' diplomatic correspondent. He is the author of *The Enduring Hold of Islam in Turkey* (also published by Hurst).



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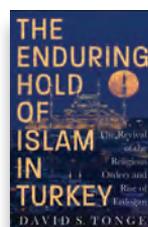
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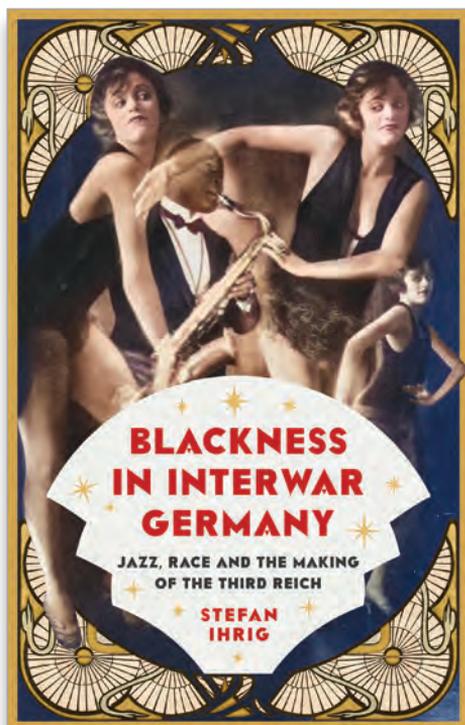


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STEFAN IHRIG

## Blackness in Interwar Germany

### Jazz, Race and the Making of the Third Reich

Germany's past in relation to Blackness is often dismissed as peripheral: its colonial enterprise lasted merely three decades, and, until the end of World War Two, the Black population in Germany was small. Yet debates about Blackness, especially in the 1920s, were part of wider discussions in which social and political problems were articulated through race—problems the Nazis later claimed to have answers for.

Through a deep exploration of Germany's imperial experiences in Africa, Stefan Ihrig reveals that ideas about Blackness played a significant role in German history, even when there were few Black people in Germany or, as under Hitler, Africa largely fell outside the regime's predatory gaze. He examines the Weimar period, when Blackness served as a symbol—and to some extent the embodiment—of the Jazz Age. And he analyses how anxieties about racial mixing, the New Woman and the perceived corrupting influence of a Black and American modernity fuelled the cultural backlash in the years up to Hitler's appointment as Chancellor. As Ihrig uncovers, anti-Blackness was a central theme in Nazi discourse.

This illuminating investigation is both a prehistory of the Third Reich and a history of an important, often overlooked dimension of modern Germany.

**Stefan Ihrig** is a historian of German and Turkish history. His book *Atatürk in the Nazi Imagination* has been translated into five languages, and *Justifying Genocide* won the 2017 Dr. Sona Aronian Book Prize for Excellence in Armenian Studies. He divides his time between the Eastern Mediterranean and northern France.

EDWARD HOWELL

# A New Axis of Upheaval

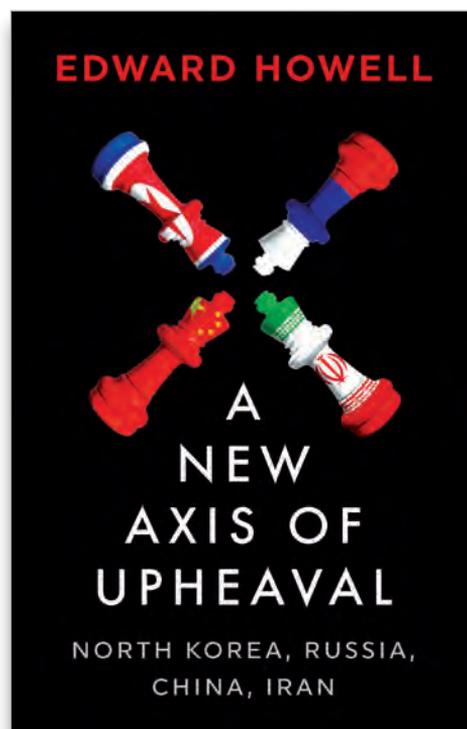
## North Korea, Russia, China, Iran

When Russia invaded Ukraine in February 2022, few expected North Korea to rush to Putin's aid. Several years later, however, North Korea and Russia praise their 'invincible alliance'. Pyongyang has supplied Moscow with millions of rounds of artillery and thousands of troops in exchange for financial, food and technological assistance. Moscow has also procured invaluable dual-use technologies from Beijing and drones from Tehran.

Edward Howell asks whether the rapprochement between North Korea, Russia, China and Iran represents a new authoritarian alliance or is merely a marriage of convenience. Taking North Korea's perspective as its starting point and drawing upon new evidence—including interviews with government officials—*A New Axis of Upheaval* argues that while these states have distinct interests, their shared opposition to the post-war international order cannot be ignored. This compelling and timely account also explores the implications of these relations for the military-political hotspot of East Asia, particularly South Korea and its neighbours.

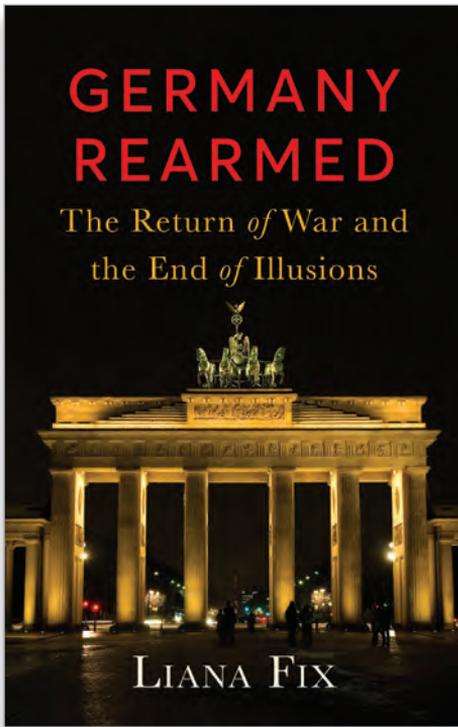
With North Korea likely to maintain its ties with Russia in a post-Ukraine War world, and China continuing to coerce the US and its allies, the West must prepare for the unsettling prospect that the axis of upheaval will persist longer than many hoped.

**Edward Howell** DPhil is Lecturer and Research Fellow at the University of Oxford. Specialising in North and South Korean politics, he offers analysis for national and international media, including *The Spectator* and *The Telegraph*. He is the author of *North Korea and the Global Nuclear Order: When Bad Behaviour Pays*.



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**What does this burgeoning anti-Western alliance mean for global security in an increasingly erratic world?**



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LIANA FIX

## Germany Rearmed

### The Return of War and the End of Illusions

After eighty years of restraint, Germany is returning to military power. For many years, German political culture rested on the conviction that military force belonged to a darker past—and that security could be outsourced to the United States or replaced by trade and diplomacy. Russia's invasion of Ukraine and Trump's return to the White House have shattered these illusions.

The threat of Russian aggression and the risk of US abandonment have triggered a German rearmament of historic proportions. But this rearmament also poses a dilemma. With right-wing populism rising at home, can Germany assume a greater military role without reviving old fears among its neighbours or undermining European stability? Can it become a credible security provider while remaining firmly anchored in liberal democratic values?

This timely, important book analyses Germany's foreign policy and its relationship with military power from 1945 to the present, and explores the choices and alternatives for European security in the next decade and beyond. Challenging Germany's 'myth of pacifism', Liana Fix argues that, as the post-war order fades, Germany can—and must—become a military power capable of protecting Europe when America will not.

**Liana Fix** is a historian, political scientist and a leading authority on German and European foreign and security policy. She is a senior fellow for Europe at the Council on Foreign Relations and an adjunct professor at Georgetown University. Her first book was *Germany's Role in European Russia Policy*.

LEONARD BENARDO (ed.)

# A World Run Aground

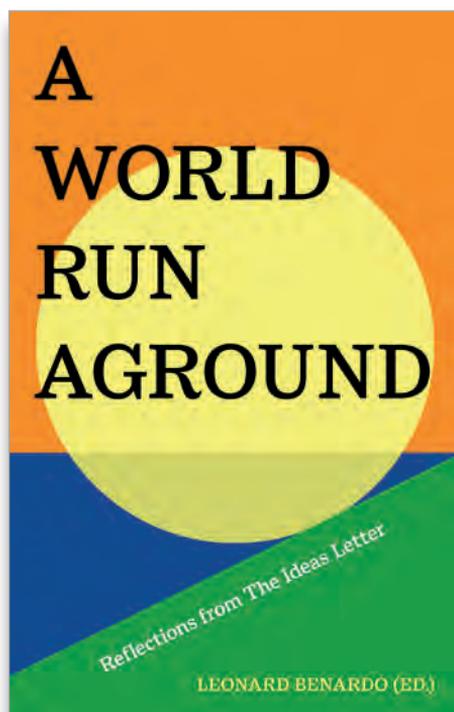
## Reflections from The Ideas Letter

Have we returned to a world where states have primacy, where ethnicity and ethnonationalism hold significant sway, and where global cooperation is being dramatically reorientated? The relative decline of America is a major factor in this dynamic, but so too is the renewed role of China, India and Brazil on the international stage.

Emanating from the Ideas Workshop of the Open Society Foundations, *A World Run Aground* brings together sharp, often heterodox analyses of pressing global issues. It covers a wide range of topics, including the current condition of global political economics, liberalism and democracy (and their future); the state of the Anthropocene; and the perils and contradictions of artificial intelligence. Rather than trying to convince readers of right and wrong, to push a particular policy position or ideological hobby horse, the contributors offer a big-tent set of perspectives and critical takes on contemporary issues—without demanding that readers take sides. In a volume that rejects politics based on divisive party lines, more questions are raised than answered.

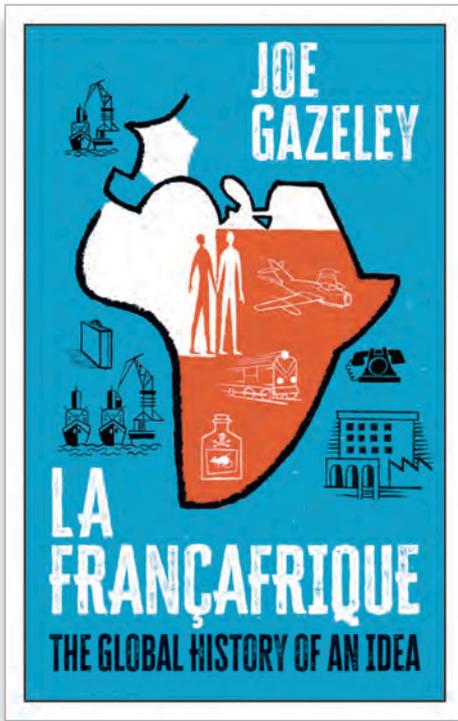
With contributions from Quinn Slobodian, Iza Ding, Kaiser Kuo, Evgeny Morozov, Basharat Peer, Nesrine Malik, Ivan Krastev and others, this is a thought-provoking new look at today's turbulent world.

**Leonard Bernardo** is Senior Vice President of the Open Society Foundations and Director of its Ideas Workshop. His intellectual background is in Eurasian geopolitics and society, though his interests span all continents. He has written for *The New York Times*, *The New York Review of Books* and *Prospect*, among others.



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A fresh exploration of the post-colonial relationship between France and Africa, challenging long-held assumptions about French influence in the continent's political life.

JOE GAZELEY

## La Françafrique

### The Global History of an Idea

The term '*Françafrique*' describes a system of domination which has secured French interests in its former African colonies. Despite criticism and controversy, this idea remains one of leading frameworks for understanding the post-colonial relationship between France and the continent. But what if it never quite existed as mythologised?

Joe Gazeley traces the evolution of *Françafrique* both as a historical narrative and as a conceptual lens through which this narrative has been constructed. Drawing on now declassified material from fourteen archives from across the world, he re-examines archetypal cases from the 'golden era' of French post-colonial influence in Africa between 1958 and 1970, situating this relationship in its global context. He provides new insights into the assassination of Cameroonian rebel leader Félix-Roland Moumié; the collapse of the Federation of Mali; the assassination of President Sylvanus Olympio of Togo; the coup d'état which toppled Mali's President Modibo Keita; and France's support for Biafra.

Identifying the flaws, simplifications and distortions inherent to the *Françafrique* idea, this book challenges the narrative of French predominance in African political life after independence. But is not a rejection of *Françafrique* in its entirety. Instead, Gazeley offers a reconceptualisation of the idea as an explicit analytical lens.

**Joe Gazeley** is an F.R.S.-FNRS postdoctoral researcher at the Université libre de Bruxelles. His work explores the relationship between Africa and France through the lens of foreign policy. He previously taught French and African history at the University of St Andrews and holds a PhD from the University of Edinburgh.

TANJA D. HENDRIKS

# The State in Relief

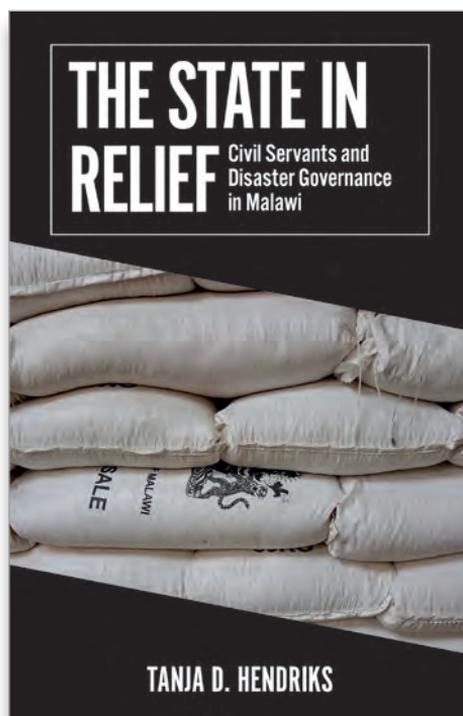
## Civil Servants and Disaster Governance in Malawi

In March 2019, one of the deadliest tropical cyclones in the southern hemisphere to date wreaked havoc across several African countries. In Malawi, Cyclone Idai affected more than one million citizens directly.

In this vivid ethnography, Tanja D. Hendriks details the decisions and dilemmas of Malawian civil servants in disaster response efforts after Idai. In a context in which relief has become routine, she explores how district-based public officials managed numerous and competing demands placed on them by colleagues, citizens, chiefs, humanitarians and donors. With the state initially appearing incompetent, ill-equipped or even irrelevant, she shows how aid interventions throw the state itself into relief, and render visible civil servants' sense of duty, while also revealing the challenges facing central government.

Disputing Afropessimist narratives that depict African states as negligent or unable to care for their citizens, Hendriks reveals how the aid-dependent Malawian state remains crucial to disaster governance despite chronic resource scarcity and limited capacity. Contributing to the anthropology of bureaucracy and the state, the book underlines that disasters are neither natural nor isolated events, and offers a novel perspective on disaster relief interventions, state-citizen relations and sovereignty in the Anthropocene.

**Tanja D. Hendriks** is Assistant Professor at the Institute of Security and Global Affairs and a research affiliate with the African Studies Centre Leiden at Leiden University. With a background in cultural anthropology, development studies and African studies, her ethnographic research focuses on state bureaucracy, development and disasters in Malawi.



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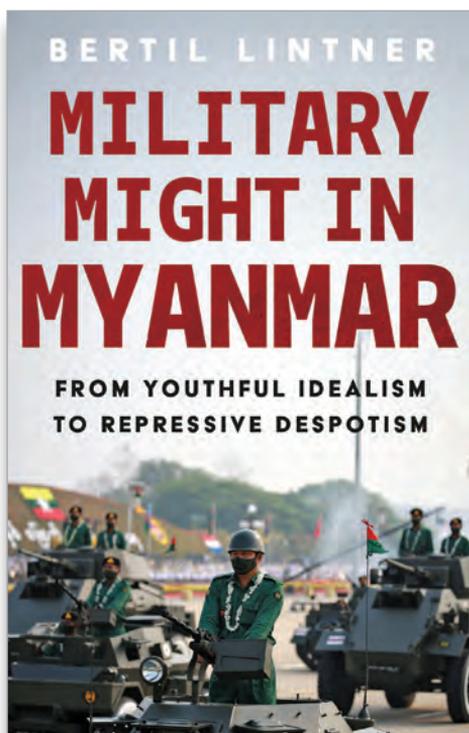
Shows how civil servants navigate duties and dependencies as the aid-reliant Malawian state struggles to recover from natural disaster.

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BERTIL LINTNER

## Military Might in Myanmar

### From Youthful Idealism to Repressive Despotism

The longevity of military rule in Myanmar is one of the great enigmas of Asian politics. From 1962 through to the mid-1970s, there were over sixty military takeovers worldwide, the majority involving the overthrow of democratically elected governments. Only one of those military regimes remains in power today: in Myanmar.

Since ousting the elected government in 1962, the Burmese armed forces have encountered several challenges to their solid grip on power, from periodic popular uprisings and ethnic minorities fighting for self-determination to armed resistance movements on the left and right—but this has only entrenched their position. During a decade of relative political openness, from 2011 to 2021, limited space for civilian politicians was created, but direct military rule was reintroduced after a coup in 2021. What is remarkable is that the origins of the current armed forces date back to a meeting of a few young, idealistic nationalists in 1939, who then decided to take up arms against British colonial rule.

Bertil Lintner explores how and why the military developed into a state within a state—and became a repressive institution representing only its narrow self-interests.

**Bertil Lintner** is an acclaimed journalist and expert on contemporary Southeast Asia, especially Myanmar. Formerly the *Far Eastern Economic Review's* Burma correspondent, and Asia correspondent for the Swedish daily *Svenska Dagbladet*, he is the author of, among others, *The Costliest Pearl* and *The Golden Land Ablaze* (both published by Hurst).

FRANÇOISE MENGIN

# Unrecognised Statehood

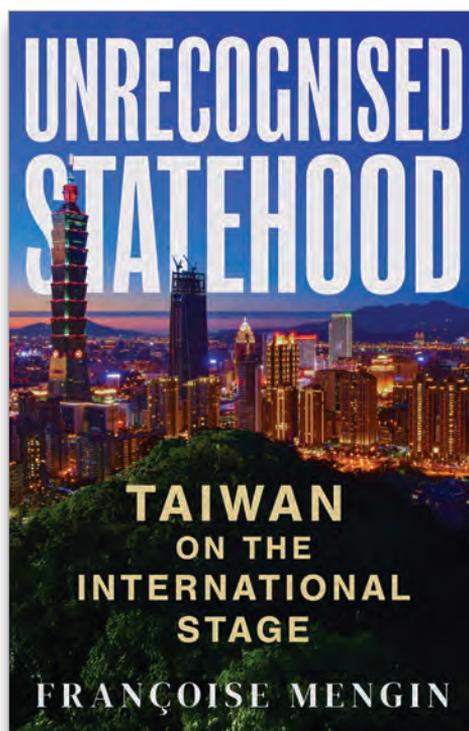
## Taiwan on the International Stage

Taiwan is a fully independent state that controls its borders, maintains its own defence, is integrated into the international trading system, and holds free and regular elections within a multi-party framework. Notwithstanding these achievements, almost all national governments and international organisations worldwide do not recognise the Taiwanese state.

Since its founding in 1949, the People's Republic of China has consistently asserted its sovereignty over Taiwan, and there has been a notable escalation in Chinese military and diplomatic pressure on the island since the early 2020s. As a result, it is more important than ever to understand the origins of Taiwan's unrecognised statehood, the methods by which it is denied, and its practical implications. How does the global system accommodate the exclusion of a sovereign state? And what means does the latter deploy to compensate for this exclusion?

*Unrecognised Statehood* combines vital historical background with up-to-date analysis, drawing on multi-site fieldwork as well as on primary sources from the United Nations and the International Monetary Fund. It is essential reading for anyone interested in China and Taiwan, and in international relations, law and diplomacy more broadly.

**Françoise Mengin** is FNSP Research Professor at CERI-Sciences Po, researching state formation in the Chinese world and Taiwanese politics. She is the author of *Fragments of an Unfinished War: Taiwanese Entrepreneurs and the Partition of China* (also published by Hurst); editor of *Cyber China*; and co-editor of *Politics in China*.



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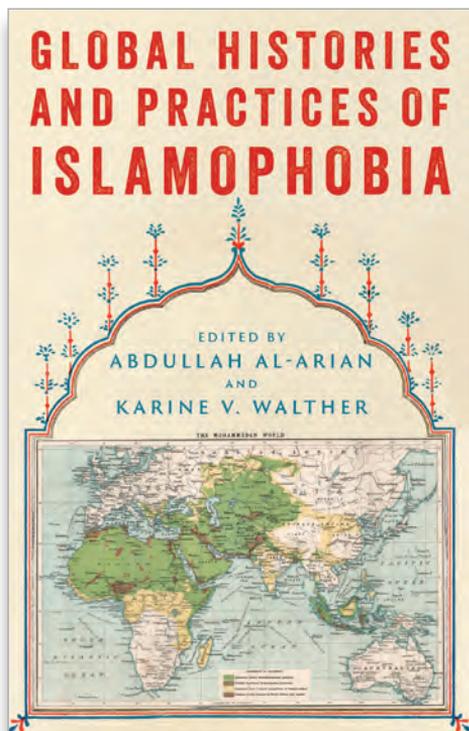
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**A comprehensive overview  
 of manifestations of  
 Islamophobia worldwide.**

**ABDULLAH AL-ARIAN &  
 KARINE V. WALTHER (eds)**

## Global Histories and Practices of Islamophobia

With Islamophobia becoming a household term during the past decade, it has become more urgent to investigate the history and development of this modern concept.

Although the term ‘Islamophobia’ has a relatively recent origin, historians recognise that fear and hatred of Islam and its followers have a long and unfortunate lineage. Expressions of Islamophobia have had world-altering consequences—from the premodern Christian theological hostility to the Islamic faith and the papal discourses that helped prompt the First Crusade, to Orientalist scholars and contemporary politicians who have used it to justify imperial domination. Adopting a multidisciplinary approach, this volume brings together experts from around the world to analyse the global, historical, theological and political dimensions of Islamophobia. The contributors cover topics including historical practices of Orientalism; the impact of theological disputes with Islam within faith traditions; state policies on immigration; the role of gender, empire and post-colonialism; government-led discrimination against Muslims; ethnic cleansing; and the relationship between Islamophobia and the rise of the national security state.

Featuring chapters from leading and emerging voices in recent scholarship on Islamophobia, this volume provides the vital historical context to understand the growing intolerance of today’s world.

**Abdullah Al-Arian** is Associate Professor of History, Georgetown University, Qatar, and the author of *Answering the Call: Popular Islamic Activism in Sadat’s Egypt*. **Karine V. Walther** is Associate Professor of History, Georgetown University, Qatar, and the author of *Sacred Interests: The United States and the Islamic World, 1821–1921*.

FARZANA SHAIKH

# Mystic and Modern

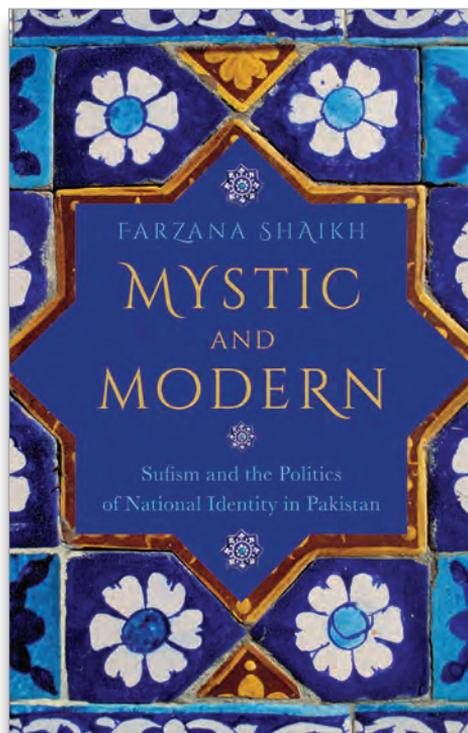
## Sufism and the Politics of National Identity in Pakistan

Pakistan, historically known for its veneration of Sufi saints and shrines, has long struggled to reconcile this heritage with a governing discourse of 'Muslim modernism', which sees local expressions of Sufism as deviations from Islam.

Farzana Shaikh explores the disputed role of Sufism in how Pakistan has come to define its Muslim identity since 1947, charting this contestation through the prism of state-led 'modernist' critiques of Sufi practices. She reveals how attempts by successive governments to mould the language of Sufism to support contrasting visions of Pakistan have in fact fuelled tensions and accentuated doubts about its place in Pakistani nationhood. She also suggests that state efforts to appropriate Sufism were constrained by the fragile legitimacy of Pakistan's ruling 'modernist' elites, who relied on Sufi religious authority to authenticate their claim to be 'acting in the name of Islam', as well as to fend off a politically ambitious clerical establishment committed to the creation of an Islamic state.

In the aftermath of 9/11, Pakistan cultivated an image of itself as a 'moderate' Muslim state resting on Sufi foundations. But as Shaikh shows, this may only deepen anxieties over the meaning of the country's Islamic identity, rather than dissolve them.

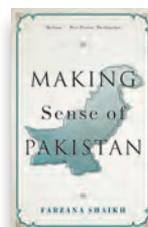
**Farzana Shaikh** is an associate fellow in the Asia-Pacific Programme at Chatham House, and the author of *Making Sense of Pakistan* (also published by Hurst). She has lectured and written widely on the country during an academic career that has included positions in the UK, the US and Europe.



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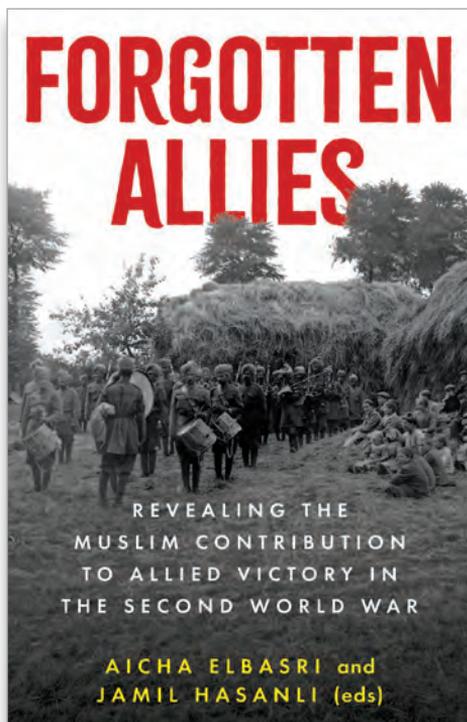
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This volume is the outcome of a research project conducted by the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, Doha, Qatar.

**The first global overview that maps out Muslims' military, economic, political and logistical contributions to the Allied victory in the Second World War.**

**AICHA ELBASRI & JAMIL HASANLI (eds)**

## Forgotten Allies

### Revealing the Muslim Contribution to Allied Victory in the Second World War

The participation of Muslims in the Second World War is frequently ignored, overlooked or mischaracterised. A profound Western-centric scholarly bias has downplayed Muslims' immense military, economic, social and logistical support for the Allied victory, while overstating the role of a small minority who collaborated with the Axis powers, many under duress as prisoners of war.

Yet at least five million Muslim soldiers fought in every major theatre of war across Asia, Africa and Europe. Their contributions remain so thoroughly marginalised that not a single monograph has been dedicated to their role. This volume attempts to fill this glaring historiographical gap by offering the first overview, in any language, of Muslims' various wartime contributions to the Allied cause. It brings together senior and emerging scholars from Europe, Asia, Africa and North America to set the record straight on Muslims as forgotten allies.

The objective is not to glorify their contributions or construct a narrative of Muslim heroism. It is rather to challenge selective memory by recounting the histories of a shared past, with the aim of integrating Muslims into the collective memory of the Second World War.

**Aicha Elbasri** is a researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, Qatar, and a former United Nations diplomat. **Jamil Hasanli** is a senior fellow at the University of London's Institute of Historical Research, and the author of major works on Soviet-American and Soviet-Azerbaijani history.

ZIAUDDIN SARDAR (ed.)

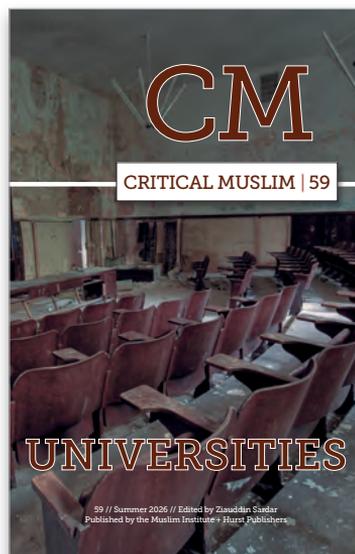
## Critical Muslim 59: Universities

The decades-long, worldwide project to reform higher education has failed to live up to either present challenges or projected future change. The university is now facing existential threats. Since the pandemic, the question of whether we need the university, as a physical entity, has been raised with increasing frequency. Advances in technology, including growing digitalisation and the spread of AI, have also increased the risk of the whole enterprise going down with the bricks-and-mortar buildings. Moreover, the race for financial survival and profit may have consigned the university as an institution of academic excellence to the dustbin of late-stage capitalism. Can it survive in its current form? What might replace the ossified teaching machine, unable to adapt to change? How might we find new democratised ways—freed from concerns about rankings and fiscal gains—to continue knowledge building and prepare new generations for the future? This issue of *Critical Muslim* examines these and other related issues.

ZIAUDDIN SARDAR (ed.)

## Critical Muslim 60: Refugees

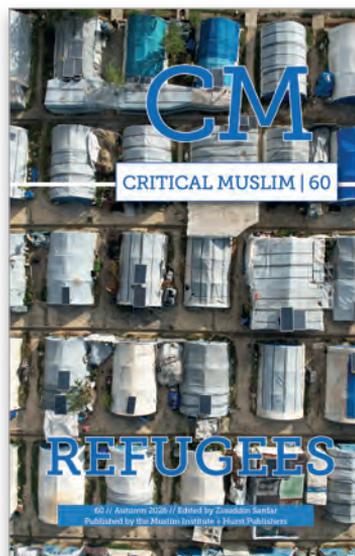
The twenty-first century has been dominated by an ongoing refugee crisis. The whole world seems to be engulfed in wars causing not just devastation, but also a flood of people fleeing their homes and countries. And refugees may no longer just be displaced by war, but can also be victims of far-right ideological intolerance or the continuing rampage of our climate catastrophe. Increasing international interconnectivity, the rise of global nomadism and growing xenophobia in politics make refugees an easy target in a world of uncertainty, chaos and contradiction. They cannot escape the reality of post-normal times. This issue of *Critical Muslim* explores the refugee experience and considers the best ways of dealing with this crisis. While claims and statistics remain in dispute, around two in every three refugees in the world today are Muslim. What does this mean for the future of Muslim societies and communities?



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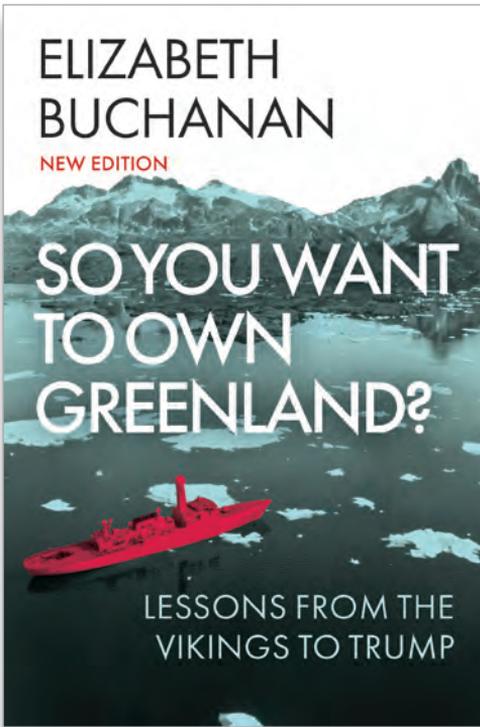
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**Elizabeth Buchanan** is a senior fellow at the Australian Strategic Policy Institute and at the Center for the National Interest, Washington, DC. She co-founded the polar warfare programme at West Point and was head of research for the Royal Australian Navy. Her books include *Red Arctic: Russian Strategy Under Putin*.

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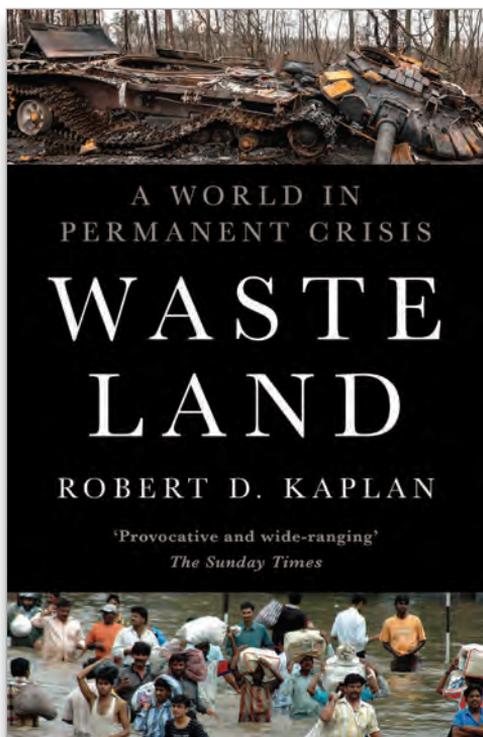
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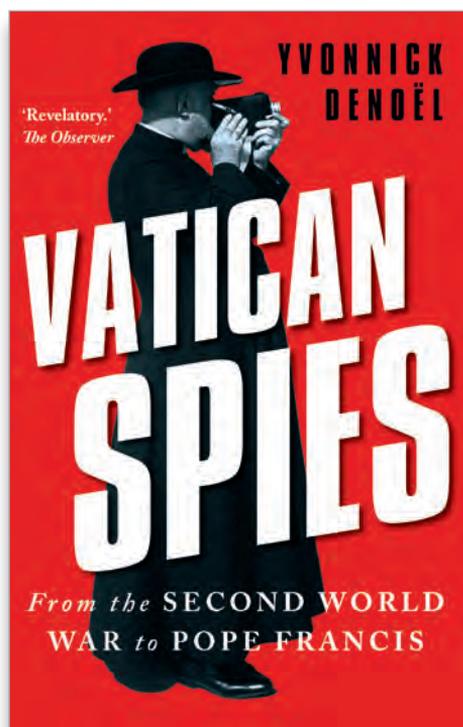


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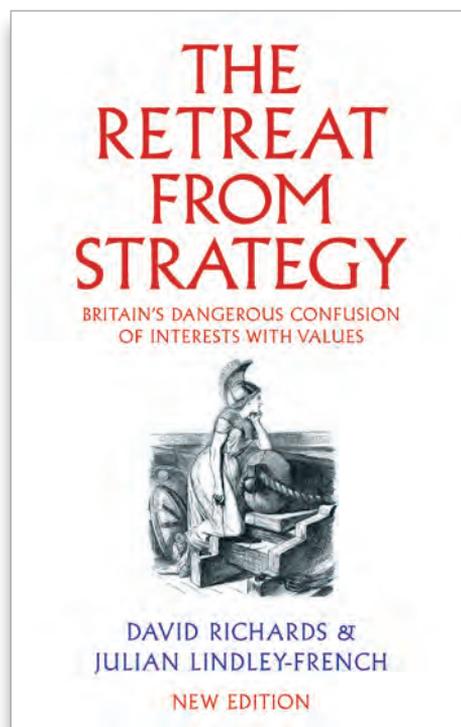
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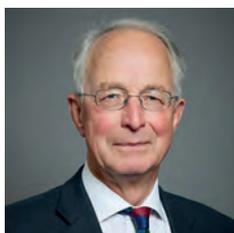
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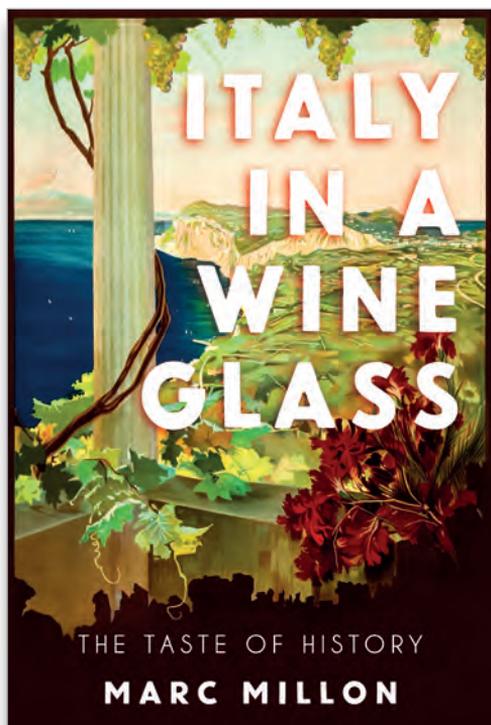
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**Marc Millon** is the author of fourteen books on wine, food and travel, and a leading expert on Italian wine. A certified Italian wine ambassador, he has a weekly podcast, *Wine, Food & Travel with Marc Millon*. He regularly lectures and hosts gastronomic tours in Italy and the West Country.

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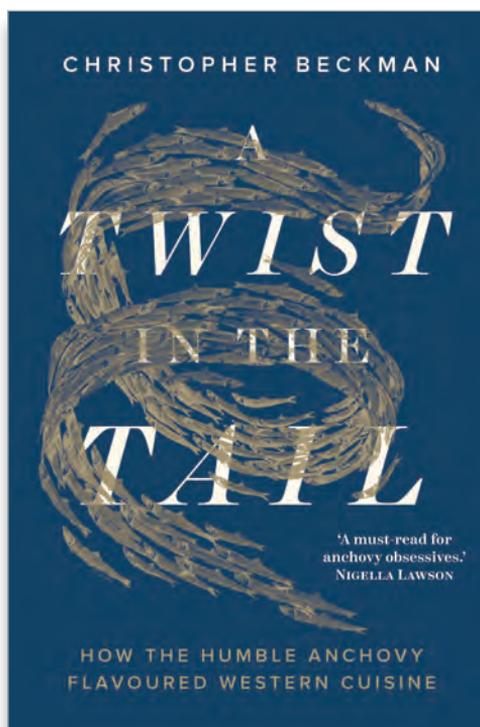
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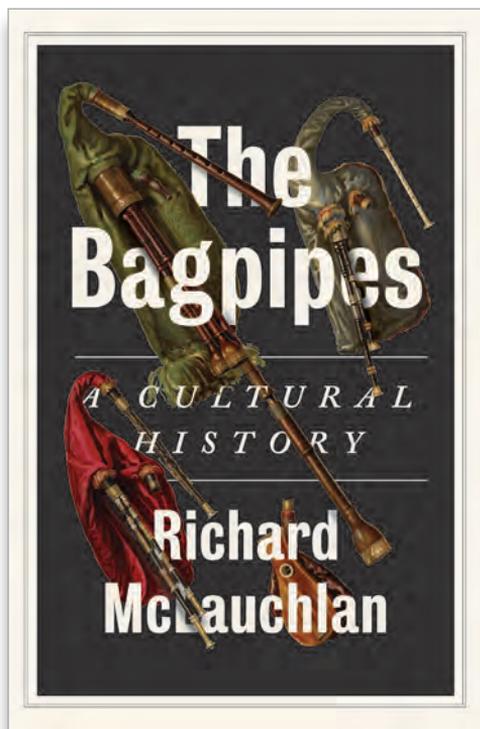
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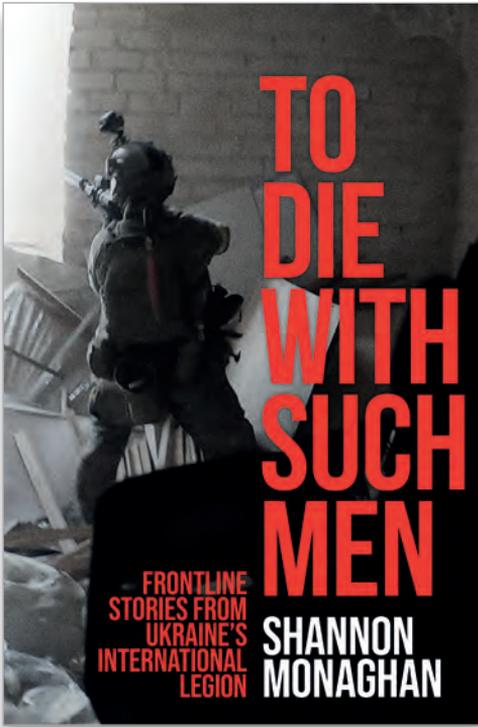
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**Shannon Monaghan** PhD is a historian of modern war educated at Yale University and Boston College, and author of *A Quiet Company of Dangerous Men*. She has interned in international arms transfers at the US State Department, worked in strategy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

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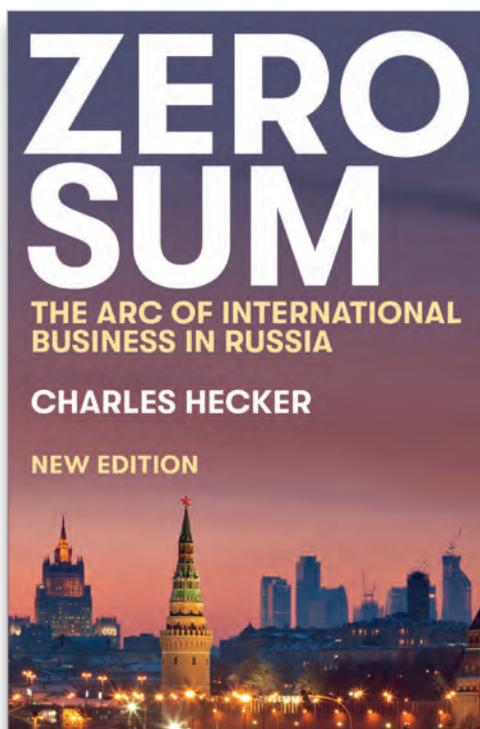
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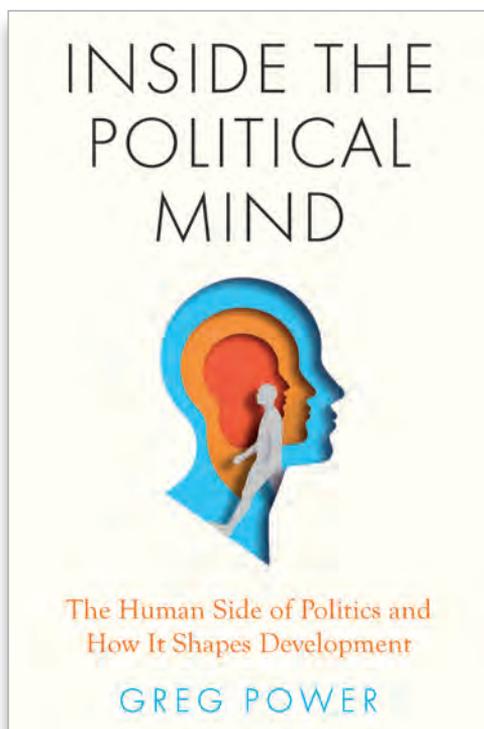


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**Charles Hecker** has spent forty years travelling and working in the Soviet Union and Russia. He has worked as a journalist and a geopolitical risk consultant, and has lived in Miami, Moscow and London. A fluent Russian speaker, he holds degrees from the University of Pennsylvania and Harvard University.



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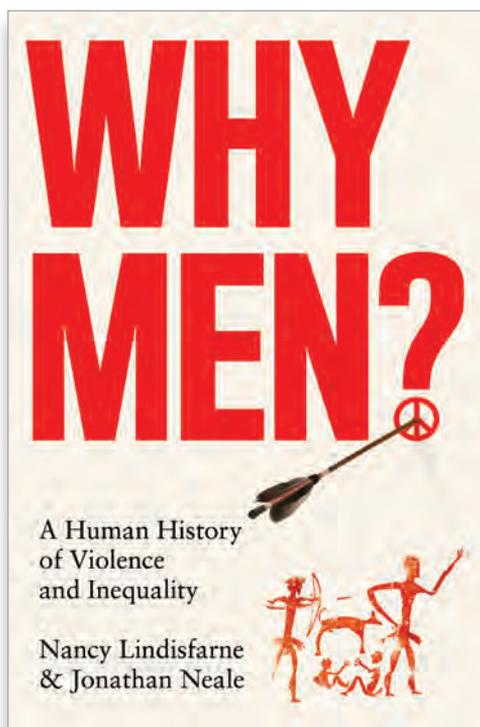
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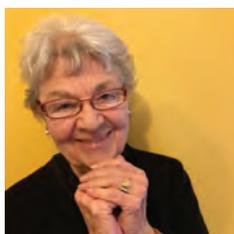
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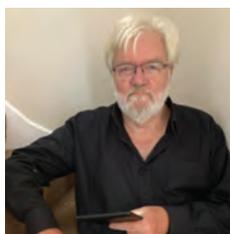
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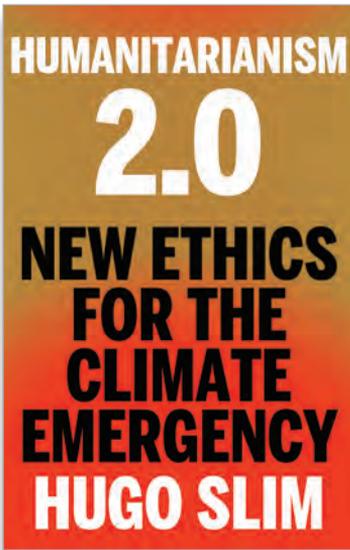
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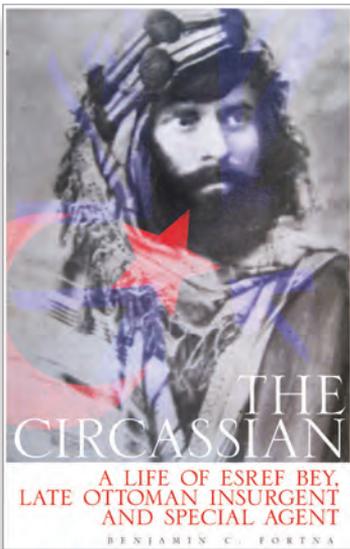


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DAVID S. TONGE

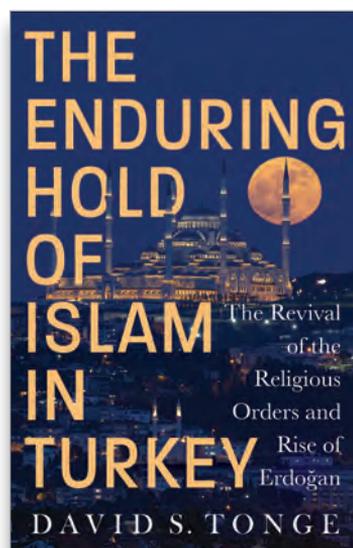
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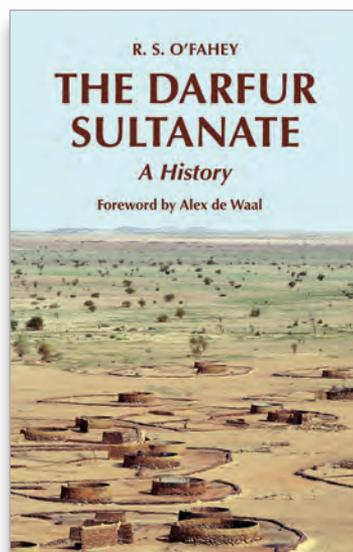
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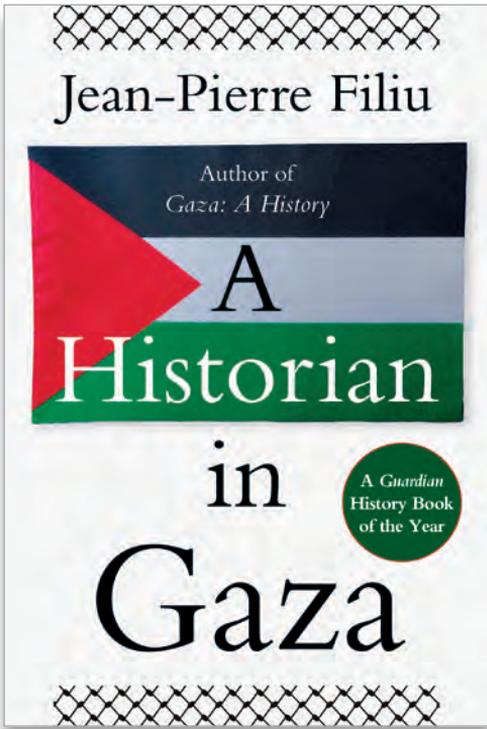
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An Irish historian known for his work on Islamic Africa, **R. S. O'Fahey** was Professor of History at the Department of Middle Eastern and African History, University of Bergen, Norway.



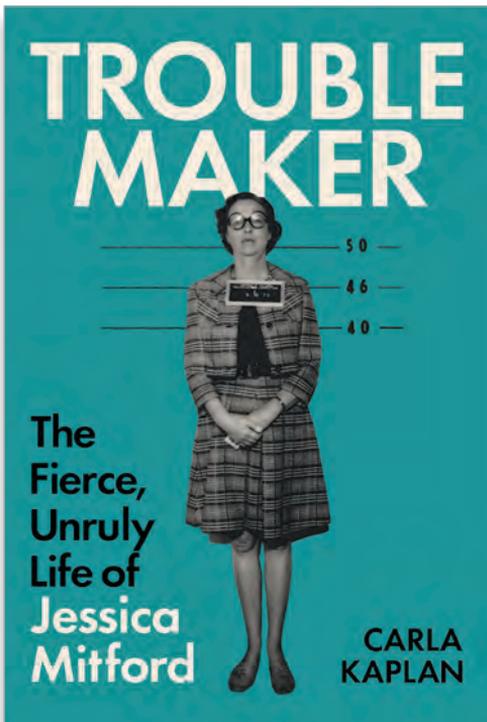
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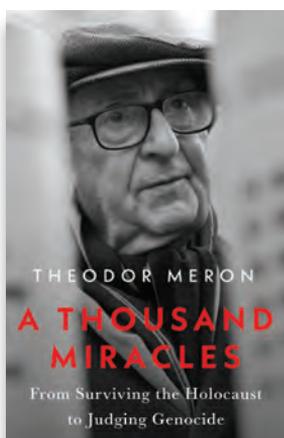
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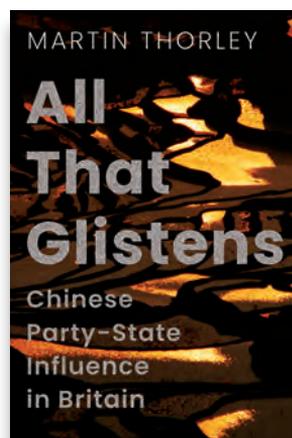
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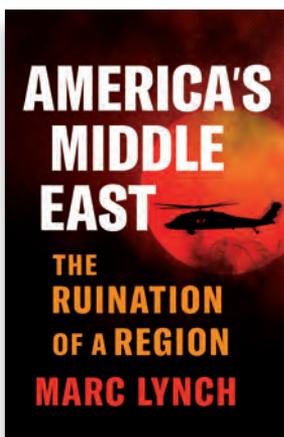
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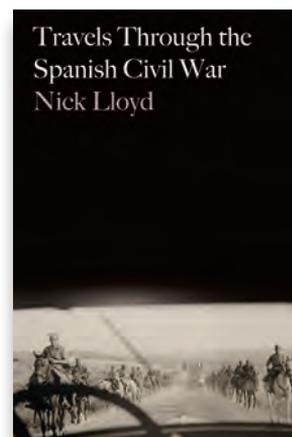
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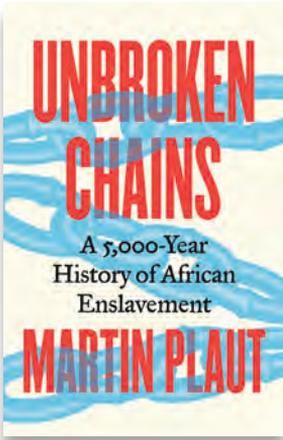
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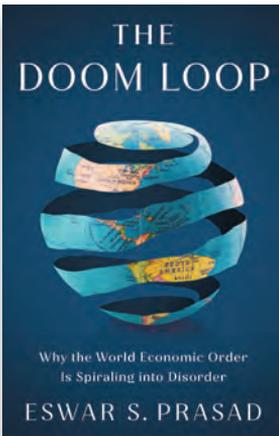
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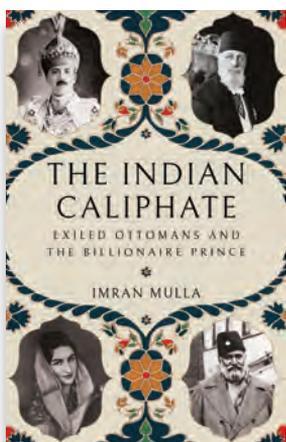
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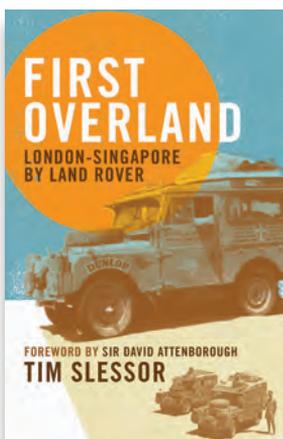
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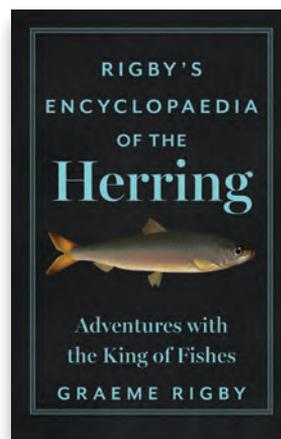
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