The Zed Collective

Ken Barlow
Director — Editorial
Africa, Economics, Europe, Political Economy, Geopolitics
ken.barlow@zedbooks.net

Peter Bennett
Director — Finance
peter.bennett@zedbooks.net

Vidisha Biswas
Director — Sales
vidisha.biswas@zedbooks.net

Huw Lemmey
Director — Communications
huw.lemmey@zedbooks.net

Dominic Fagan
Director — Editorial
dominic.fagan@zedbooks.net

Renata Kasprzak
Director — Rights
renata.kasprzak@zedbooks.net

Jonathan Maunder
Director — Communications
jonathan.maunder@zedbooks.net

Ruben Mootoosamy
Director — Business Operations
ruben.mootoosamy@zedbooks.net

Daniele Och
Director — Production
dan.och@zedbooks.net

Laurence Radford
Director — Academic Marketing
laurence.radford@zedbooks.net

Kika Sroka-Miller
Director — Editorial and Art
Political Theory, Political Activism, Sexualities and Gender, Latin America, International Relations, Culture, Media, Translations and Co-publications
kika.sroka-miller@zedbooks.net

Kim Walker
Director — Editorial
Development, Asia, Middle East, Sexualities and Gender, Environment
kim.walker@zedbooks.net

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About Zed


We’ve been watching Carol, The Danish Girl, Laurence Anyways, War and Peace, lots of Alan Clarke films and documentaries about ISIS, lots of things narrated by David Attenborough, the BBC’s Horizon back catalogue, Salt of the Earth, Star Wars, The Hateful Eight, Earthlings, Les Mépris, The Brother from Another Planet, Salvatore Giuliano, Birth, Matewan, Despicable Me, Puss in Boots, The Babadook, Beyonce’s ‘Formation’ video on repeat.

HOW I CAME TO WRITE THE STORY OF FEARED WARLORD JOSEPH KONY’S BODYGUARD

In this extract from his forthcoming book When the Walking Defeats You, Ledio Cakaj explains how he first met Lord’s Resistance Army fighter George, and over several years of intimate, one-on-one interviews came to learn his remarkable and often unbearably brutal story.

Uganda: Grace was abducted by the LRA (Lord’s Resistance Army). During the long war between government forces and the Lord’s Resistance Army, over 20,000 children were abducted and over twice as many left their homes every night to sleep in the security of town camps. Most of the abductees have now returned to their communities but many are still haunted by their experiences as combatants or sex slaves. © Jenny Matthews/Panos
I first met George (not his real name) in 2011, less than a year after he had left the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) and a few weeks after he had returned home to Gulu in Northern Uganda. Our first talk stuck with me because of his keen intellect. He would often want to debate the works of local and international authors and often demonstrated a very careful eye for detail. I also believe there are at least some parallels between his life and mine. Having dropped out of high school at 16 in my native Albania where I felt hopeless and trapped, I could understand George’s hard decision to leave his home in search of a better life.

“We never stopped walking,” George said in one of our first meetings. “Walking is the biggest enemy. It can defeat you easier than the bullets.” It reminded me immediately of the time I walked for days from Albania to Greece worrying more about falling into crevasses than the bullets of the Greek border guards. The reference started a long conversation between us, and was the inspiration for the title of the book.

Kony was quick to recognize George’s intelligence, making him one of his closest bodyguards. That allowed George intimate access to the boss and brought many related privileges. It also earned him the hostility of almost everyone else. Unlike George, the majority of the fighters in the LRA had been abducted. They were also often forced to kill early on in their captivity, often making them feel full of shame and fear, and discouraging attempts to flee. George had experienced neither and was seen by his fellow fighters as spoiled and naïve. How dare he, a free man, join voluntarily when everyone else had not been afforded that choice?

George was hesitant to talk openly with me about the violence he had perpetrated. It was a difficult topic between us, and one that I approached cautiously, aware of the possible danger of re-traumatization and trying to maintain frank and open lines of communication between us. Over the course of our interviews and as we grew closer, George opened up about some of the brutality he had experienced, as well as some he had carried out. I believe there is a lot more he has kept to himself, partly because of shame I imagine, but mostly because of fear. He appeared to fear being regarded as a bad person, often telling me, “people don’t understand what it is like in the bush.” He also clearly feared incurring the wrath of former LRA, who “don’t want to be reminded of what they had to do in the bush.”

George challenges the stereotype of the young fighter. He is compassionate and empathetic in a world where such feelings are often perceived as weaknesses. He exercises agency to survive and succeed or fail and recover to start again anew.

While both George and I, like countless youth throughout the world who feel trapped in their countries, desired brighter futures, my options were not as stark as his. I did not have to join a rebel group, though guns were as easily available in Albania as they were in Uganda and criminal enterprise became a focus for many of my classmates. I rather immigrated illegally to Greece, worked odd jobs to survive, tried to go to school and eventually made it to England where at long last, I graduated from high school and college many years later. Throughout my unlikely journey I was fortunate to receive help from many people who believed in good things for me even when I wasn’t as confident. Sadly, the same wasn’t true for George. As he sought to right what he saw as the historical grievances of his people, he chose to join the LRA and found the support of Joseph Kony, the infamous LRA leader known for ordering abductions and killings of thousands.

“George challenges the stereotype of the young fighter. He is compassionate and empathetic in a world where such feelings are often perceived as weaknesses. He exercises agency to survive and succeed or fail and recover to start again anew.”

“But for the geographical accident of birth, George could have easily been me, or you.”

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George challenges the stereotype of the young fighter. He is compassionate and empathetic in a world where such feelings are often perceived as weaknesses. He exercises agency to survive and succeed or fail and recover to start again anew. He yearns for acceptance, companionship, love and respect but he is also reflective and self-critical, proud and timid, not unlike millions of youth around the world. But for the geographical accident of birth, George could have easily been me, or you.

When The Walking Defeats You: One Man’s Journey as Joseph Kony’s Bodyguard by Ledio Cakaj is published in November 2016
HAITI SINCE THE EARTHQUAKE


Photograph: Christian Als
Tell us something about Haiti that we might not know
Haiti has one of the most vibrant and varied cultural scenes of any country I’ve ever worked in. Literature, art, music, and cinema continue to be developed in a highly sophisticated way. The writing of Haitian novelists such as Jacques Roumain, Jacques Stephen Alexis, Marie Vieux Chauvet, and Lyonel Trouillot is very important for decoding the national character, as is the music of groups such as Boukman Eksperyans, art by painters like Louisiane Saint Fleurant, Stevenson Magloire, and Frantz Zephirin, and films by Raoul Peck and Arnold Antonin.

Why the focus in your book on the period since 2004?
The last twelve years have been dominated by the January 2010 earthquake that devastated the capital Port-au-Prince and the surrounding communities. The earthquake exposed the failures of the Haitian state and the international community’s approach, but it didn’t solely create them.
As is widely known, since the 1986 overthrow of the Duvalier dictatorship, the creation of a responsive democracy has been largely an unrealized dream for a variety of reasons that I explore in the book. Haiti has also hosted a United Nations peacekeeping mission since 2004, a mission that is now drawing down and leaving the country much as it found it, with various political factions at one another’s throats, disputed elections, and the added gift of cholera.
As Haiti’s political drama is often painted in over-simplified scenarios, I thought it was important that someone with my background – I’ve been working on the country for twenty years – write a very precise account of Haiti’s body politic and the role of the international community.

When did you last visit Haiti and how was it?
February 2016. As always it was thrilling, depressing, challenging. It’s a place where one feels one’s mind is firing on all cylinders and operating at a very high level of stimulation. The eternal political crises, the spectacular landscapes, the vibrant artistic scene, the incredible joie de vivre and gentleness of the people – Haiti will challenge all your preconceptions about politics, economics, race, class.
Who are the insane and the melancholy?
All who are living in Turkey, going from the most extraordinary carnivalesque protests then back into a coma, leaving no trace of life. I wrote this book for foreigners to understand why the people of Turkey talk about their country as if they are talking about an unrequited love. This is the story of a people who try to hold on to the idea of a nation-state and who have been subjected to several kinds of madness for decades. One might call it a very intimate photo album of ‘a beautiful and a lonely country’.

The Gezi Park protests erupted spectacularly in 2013. Have movements continued the momentum?
The protests disappeared as swiftly as they appeared. The oppression was severe and immense. When the Gezi protests started, due to the dismantling of legal and parliamentary tools by the government, the streets were the only political space left. After Gezi, the people of Turkey now know that the streets can mean death, and they are pretty sure that no one will be punished for the crime.

The Turkish government appears to be more interested in fighting the PKK than fighting ISIS. Is that accurate and, if so, why?
The government has stated that ISIS is not a terrorist organization but ‘a bunch of angry youth’. On the other hand, as soon as the peace process between the government and the Kurds came to ruins, they were again the mother of evils, just as they have been a useful enemy for the Turkish state since the 1980s. Why do they do it? Because they can! European leaders came to their knees in front of the Turkish president after he threatened them with unleashing the Syrian refugee ‘flood’.

What is it like being a journalist in Turkey?
How would I know? I was fired in 2012 after I wrote about the Roboski massacre on the Iraqi-Turkish border, where twelve children were killed. I returned to literature, where I originally came from. Literature is still my safe-house, which I stepped out of to write Turkey: The Insane and Melancholy, the bitter story of my sweet country.
‘This is Turkey!’

This is quite possibly the most often used phrase in Turkey on any given day. It is used to allude to extraordinarily ludicrous situations and events. Always accompanied by a sardonic smile, in truth devoid of meaning, there is an agreement on a national level that the phrase can somehow account for anything. For instance, if an ambulance is late and then proceeds to run over the patient and kill him, you would be allowed to say, in dramatic tones, ‘That’s Turkey!’

That is all fine and good, but what is ‘this’ place? Perhaps ‘this’ isn’t even a place. For, according to the definition taught since the country’s founding, ‘this’ is a bridge: between the East and the West, Asia and Europe, the Orient and the Occident. This in-between-ness has engendered hesitancy in the imaginations of nearly everyone that hails from here. As it is, which side of the bridge does one best describe the bridge?

‘This’ place preferred fury to grief. The speed at which funerals are carried out in Turkey might surprise a Westerner, but really it shouldn’t. For ‘this is Turkey’ and its bridge people, bent on survival, grew up being taught that grief is a waste of time.

Although those who wanted equality, justice, and freedom for the nation were annihilated each time by either a military regime or the paramilitary forces of right-wing administrations, tables were set each night where people spoke of ways to save the country with more passion than they spoke of love. More shouting went on over the country than between two men in love with the same woman, more tears shed than by one abandoned by a lover, more laughter emitted than by one united with a beloved after many years.

Could the Ottoman tradition of sultans having their own brothers strangled to prevent challenges to the throne, going as far as legalizing fratricide, have anything to do with the prime minister telling a father who lost his son in the war in the southeast, ‘military duty is no place to lie around, brother!’ Could the fact that this state was originally founded by children taken from their families and homelands have anything to do with the state-as-father complex that manifests when Kurds, Alawis, and Armenians are punished as though they have attacked a sacred patriarch? Speculations are rife, but one thing is evident: Turkey has always been plagued by these very same maladies, but it is in the last decade that those maladies have tried to be cured with other, yet more complicated maladies.

Turkey: The Insane and the Melancholy
by Ece Temelkuran is published in September 2016

An Extract from Turkey

Turkey, Istanbul: A woman walks through the lobby of a hotel on the Asian/Anatolian shores of the Bosphorus during filming of ‘Oyle Bir Gece Zaman Ki’ (As Time Goes By), one of the most loved and most watched Turkish Soap Operas in the Middle East and North Africa.
© Guy Martin/Popos
SUCCESSFUL, EDUCATED, AND UNMARRIED AT 27?

Introducing China’s ‘leftover’ women

In this extract from the second edition of Leftover Women: The Resurgence of Gender Inequality in China, Leta Hong Fincher shows the fierce pressure for women to get married in China.

Photograph: Mads Nissen
Li Fang is relieved that she found a husband just in the nick of time. The parents of the university graduate and former human resources manager in Beijing feared that their only daughter was getting old and might never be able to marry. Li worried that she would pass the “best childbearing age” and might no longer be able to give birth. She is 26.

Just after marrying, Li lost her job because her company did not want her to take two weeks of unpaid leave for a honeymoon. She does not share a bank account with her husband and does not know how much is in his account. Yet Li does not wish to discuss finances with her new husband now that she is unemployed, for fear that the topic would “hurt his feelings.” Rather than ask her husband to share more of his spending money with her, she is drawing down her own savings to pay for groceries, transportation and clothing. She also feels she has no claim to ownership of the marital home she shares with her husband because the home is registered in his name alone.

“I do not have the right to expropriate property from someone else’s family,” says Li. So marriage does not provide Li with any shared ownership of assets, property or income, even though she lost her job precisely because she got married: why, then, does Li consider herself lucky? Well, she avoided the fate of her good friend, an executive at a multinational company who earns a top salary, but is still single at 31 years old and therefore branded a “leftover” woman.

“Several men have pursued her, but she’s not willing to marry them because her standards are too high. If she carries on like this, she will never find a husband,” says Li. Something is wrong with this picture.

In China, the derogatory term “leftover” woman or shengnü is widely used to describe an urban, professional female in her late twenties or older who is still single.

“The intense pressure to marry comes from parents, relatives, friends and colleagues. But this pressure is magnified multiple times by the Chinese state media and government-sponsored matchmaking events.”

“Pretty girls don’t need a lot of education to marry into a rich and powerful family, but girls with an average or ugly appearance will find it difficult. These kinds of girls hope to further their education in order to increase their competitiveness. The tragedy is, they don’t realize that as women age, they are worth less and less, so by the time they get their M.A. or Ph.D., they are already old, like yellowed pearls.

This brazenly insulting statement may have come from the Chinese state media, but its message of gender discrimination is all too familiar for many women in other parts of the world who encounter some of the same obstacles facing Chinese women.

The second edition of Leftover Women: The Resurgence of Gender Inequality in China by Leta Hong Fincher will be published in July 2016.

Typical headlines run by Xinhua News scream like sensational tabloids: “Overcoming the Big Four Emotional Blocks – Leftover Women Can Break out of Being Single”; “Eight Simple Moves to Escape the Leftover Women Trap,” and the column “Do Leftover Women Really Deserve Our Sympathy?”, which was posted on the Women’s Federation website in March 2011, just after International Women’s Day.

In 2007, the Women’s Federation defined the term “leftover” women as single women older than 27, according to the state-run Xinhua News Agency, the official mouthpiece of China’s Communist Party. That same year, China’s Ministry of Education added the term to its official lexicon. Since then, the Chinese state media have aggressively promoted the term through articles, surveys, cartoons and editorials stigmatizing educated women who are still single, often referring to a “crisis” in growing numbers of educated women who “cannot find a husband.”

The intense pressure to marry is magnified by the Chinese state media and government-sponsored matchmaking events.”
Can you give us the background to the founding mythology of the North Korean leaders?

Even thinking of Stalin and Mao, arguably no personality cults have been so total and complete as in the DPRK. The initial cult around Kim Il-sung borrowed from Stalinism but also involved elements of Korean nationalism, traditional belief systems, and Confucianism. This was raised to an even more fantastical level with Kim Jong-il’s cult – apparently when he was born, ‘a new star appeared in the sky, a double rainbow appeared, an iceberg on a nearby lake cracked’. Kim Jong-un’s personality cult is still evolving but appears to be making less use of imagery and more of his youthfulness and supposed care for the people.

Why is the Seventh Congress of the KWP so important?

The main reasons. First, Kim may use it to signal his policy for the coming years. This may be just more of the same, but could possibly be a moment when the DPRK finally decides to embark on a new reform movement and seriously address its fundamental economic problems. Second, it will be the moment at which Kim cements his leadership of the party and country and, by extension, will also reveal the key elements that his still-forming cult of personality will take.

What will be expected of Kim Jong-un?

He will pledge to protect the country from its perceived enemies and to improve people’s lives. He will guarantee the sanctity of the armed forces and the legitimacy of the KWP’s rule and therefore his own leadership. But both inside and outside the DPRK people will be expecting Kim not just to reiterate the old North Korean shibboleths but to lay out a plan for the North’s future – and that may just be a more radical reform process than we’ve seen before.

What do we know about Kim Jong-un?

We know he is keen to preserve the legacies of his father and grandfather as the supreme leaders of the country. We also know he is keen to remain on good terms with the powerful army high command. However, we have also seen that he lacks none of the ruthlessness or determination of his predecessors – he has shown himself willing to continue testing nuclear weapons, to disdain the international community and the country’s closest ally, China, and to purge any perceived enemies within the country.

“Kim Jong-un lacks none of the ruthlessness or determination of his predecessors.”


Photograph: Adam Dean
We are facing a deep and growing crisis rooted in how we produce, process, and distribute our food. The planet’s well-being, people’s health, and societies’ stability are severely threatened by an industrial, globalized agriculture driven by greed and profits. An inefficient, wasteful, and non-sustainable model of food production is pushing the planet, its ecosystems, and its diverse species to the brink of destruction. Food, whose primary purpose is to provide nourishment and health, is today the single biggest health problem in the world: nearly a billion people suffer from hunger and malnutrition, two billion suffer from diseases like obesity and diabetes, and countless others suffer from diseases including cancer caused by the poisons in our food.

Instead of remaining a source of nourishment, food has been transformed into a commodity: something to be speculated on and profiteered from. This is leading to rising food prices and creating social instability everywhere. Since 2007, there have been fifty-one food riots in thirty-seven countries, including Tunisia, South Africa, Cameroon, and India. The food system is badly broken on every measure that counts: sustainability, justice, and peace.

Today, an alternative has become an imperative for our survival, so let us begin by asking the question, ‘Who feeds the world?’

Food and agriculture have become sites for major paradigm wars. Under each paradigm, a certain type of knowledge, economics, culture, and, of course, farming, is being promoted. Each paradigm claims to feed the world; in reality, only one does.

The dominant paradigm is an industrial, mechanised paradigm, which has led to the collapse in our food and agricultural systems. This crisis is not an accident; it is built into the system’s very design. At the heart of this paradigm is the Law of Exploitation, which sees the world as a machine and nature as dead matter. This paradigm sees humans as separate from nature, and every part of nature as separable from the rest: the seed from the soil, the soil from the plant, the plant from the food, and the food from our bodies. The industrial paradigm is also based on seeing humans and nature as mere inputs in a production system. The productivity of the earth and its people is made invisible by a sophisticated intellectual infrastructure that puts the twin constructs of capital and corporations at the centre of its economics.

In this extract from her forthcoming book Who Really Feeds the World? Vandana Shiva explains how we are heading towards global food crisis that can only be changed though localized farming, seed saving and the role of women in global food production.
On the occasion of his 90th birthday and in celebration of the man and his work, Zed Books is publishing the first ever collection of essays on John Berger, by thirty of his friends, artistic collaborators and followers.

I don’t know how to describe John Berger: a writer, a poet, an essayist, a painter, a drama writer, a scriptwriter. For me it is all summed up in one word, FRIEND. He landed in my life more than 40 years ago. I did not know of him and yet in London he had already smashed his way into the headlines. He had heard of me through a mutual friend, the cineaste Alain Tanner. Our first exchange was friendly and suffused with a very British restraint. ‘You’ve just done a photo series on a doctor in the mines at Charleroi in Belgium commissioned by the World Health Organisation…I myself am planning a book on a GP in Gloucestershire in England. Might we perhaps look at a joint work with text and images?’

For my part there was no hint of hesitation. I tried hard not to let my enthusiasm show, even though the project was far from having a sound basis and there was little certain of a reasonable return. There was the practical question ‘Do we sign a contract?’ ‘No point in that, no paperwork. I suggest fifty/fifty, does that suit you?’ I nodded enthusiastically and that was our only ‘contract’. The idea of writing about John Berger makes my head spin. I don’t feel that is my role. I have taken hundreds of photos of him, without any specific purpose, in very different situations. It was a way of bearing witness to a man I love and admire deeply — so why try to add the load of words which I handle so incompetently?

About four years ago, we met up in London at the Royal College of Arts where we had both been invited to launch my book At the Edge of the World3, for which he had not only provided me with precious advice but had also contributed a generous Preface. We had before us a packed and supportive audience, students and teachers. At the end of the session I projected twenty or so portraits of John Berger and they received an enthusiastic response. The man was well known for his writings and for his disturbing TV appearances, but he had become something of a myth, a legend (his exile in a small Haute Savoie village), in short an abstraction. My series of often anecdotal portraits gave him back his human dimension.

Jean Mohr from the ‘Preface’ to a Jar of Wild Flowers

Jean Mohr is a world famous documentary photographer who has since 1949 been working primarily with humanitarian organizations. He is also known for his lifelong documentary...
Inmates, and rolled out and hammered in by to keep people like her out. It was built by prison wire fence along the whole length of that border, government had already started building a razor-
in early August 2015. By then, the Hungarian
Hanna was from Eritrea. I met her at the roadside
will ever go back? what did you leave behind? And do you think you to stay? Why did you leave? Why now? Who and
I ask the refugees I meet the same questions. Who
home.

Berger’s writings place the new refugee crisis in the context of our common experience of dislocation. We are all economic migrants now, he reminds us. And the slave trade of the 16th and 17th and 18th centuries, the no man’s land of the First World War, the concentration camps of the Second, and the disappearance of the peasantry of Europe are all part of that trend of ripping out our roots, at our own peril. Perhaps he also points out a space, up ahead, where we can all sit together and reach something like a consensus. And he offers a theme about which we might actually agree — the need to dismantle the centre of the world, and so to one’s fellow countrymen. But to emigrate is always absurd than to live persecuted and tortured by collaboration with John Berger.

‘To live and die amongst foreigners may seem less absurd than to live persecuted and tortured by one’s fellow countrymen. But to emigrate is always to dismantle the centre of the world, and so to move into a lost, disoriented one of fragments.’

I carry these words of John Berger’s close to my heart as I trudge the sandy labyrinth of tracks which riddle the Hungarian-Serbian border, on the trail of yet another group of asylum seekers from the zones of war and hunger which abut so closely on our own comfortable world. Or as I stand on the shore at Piraeus, watching families walk down the gangway of the Blue Star ferries from the Greek islands, wrapped in grey, UN-issue blankets. Or as I trawl the kaleidoscope of Facebook images, in search of the young men and women from Congo, Syria, Afghanistan or Iran I’ve met in the borderlands, on their way to seek safety and happiness in Europe.

Asotthalom is a relatively poor, rural community. It was finished, and local people, the police, and volunteers from all over the country and beyond kept helping them, whatever the politicians said…

‘Home was the centre of the world because it was the place where a vertical line crossed with a horizontal one,’ Berger wrote:

‘The vertical line was a path leading upwards to the sky and downwards to the underworld. The horizontal line represented the traffic of the world, all the possible roads leading across the earth to other places. Thus, at home, one was nearest to the gods in the sky and to the dead in the underworld. This nearness promised access to both. And at the same time, one was at the starting point and, hopefully, the returning point of all terrestrial journeys.’

It is easier to destroy the vertical lines, than the horizontal ones. The survivors limp out of the ruins of Sinjar or Aleppo, and eventually reach Turkey’s west coast.

New vertical lines, new buildings, new trees grow out of the plain. ‘There is nothing that they can destroy,’ the Croatian architect Radovan Ivanusic said of the ruined Ottoman bridge in Mostar, ‘that we fanatics will not rebuild.’

In the Roma ghetto on the edge of Jilava in Romania, a family waits for the return of the children’s mother from the care home where she works in Denmark, with enough money to build a second room for their shack.

And in the borderlands of central Europe, Hanna carefully hands her new apple to her daughter, who delights in its touch and texture, so alike and unlike her brother’s blue torch.


Nick Thorpe from A Jar of Wild Flowers Nick Thorpe is the Central Europe Correspondent for BBC News.
This book explores from various angles the interface between the old geopolitics of states and hard power and the new and still inchoate geopolitics of peoples and soft power. This new geopolitics is inclined toward non-violent conflict resolution and the historical agency of legitimacy wars. It supersedes the Westphalian juridical conception of world order as resting on the horizontal interplay of territorial sovereign states, which was always deceptive to the extent that it distracted attention from the vertical interplay that shaped behavior by the hierarchies resulting from gross inequalities of material conditions. The new geopolitics is far more complex, as it introduces important non-territorial actors outside the state system and challenges ideas of sovereignty and territoriality from a variety of ethnic, religious, and political angles.

The various regions of the world are displaying different patterns of interaction between the old and new. Perhaps the most frightening of these regional configurations are evident in the Middle East and sub-Saharan Africa, where the colonial era deliberately established artificial political communities for purposes of control and exploitation and, with the collapse of colonialism, left a normative and political vacuum that is being filled by new types of control, corruption, conflict, and exploitation. In these regions we witness the erosion of the old geopolitics without any real emergence of the new geopolitics, and so the worst features of oppression and chaos are shockingly manifest. What most epitomizes the downfall of the old geopolitics are the waves of migrants seeking safe haven mainly in Europe and North America, the affluent gated communities of the Westphalian era.

While the technocrats of the old geopolitics seek walls, exclusions, and the criminalization of human traffickers, the advocates of the new geopolitics emphasize the root causes of migration and view a constructive response as dependent on overcoming the conditions of desperation that lead people to leave their homelands and take the huge risks of death and disease that accompany migration. In this sense, the policy focus should shift from stopping the migrants to eliminating the killing fields of conflict and impoverishment that are responsible for coercing migration.

This book combines an assessment of these dangerous tendencies with a conviction that the potentialities of the new geopolitics offer some hope for a better human future. It is a hope that is ultimately grounded in the mobilization of people to challenge the death tremors of the old geopolitics and that is guided by the strength of an engaged planetary vision of post-nationalist citizenship and by a belief in the transformative potency of non-violent political activism.
Assata Shakur is a founding member of the Black Panther Party and Black Liberation Army, she is also the FBI’s most wanted woman. In 2013, aged 65, she became the first woman to make the FBI’s top-ten most wanted terrorists list. The reward for her capture currently stands at $2 million.

Between 1973 and 1977 she was charged with three counts of murder, one count attempted murder, five counts of assault and battery, one on a police officer, as well as a number of robbery charges. She was acquitted three times, one count of robbery resulted in a hung jury, every other instance was judged a mistrial. Then in 1977 she was found guilty of the murder of a white state trooper, by an all-white jury, five of whom were related to, or had otherwise close personal ties to State Troopers.

Shakur and her supporters maintain her innocence to this day, her defence rested on medical exams that show she had her arms up in the air when she herself was shot by a police officer in the shoot out. In 1979 Shakur escaped from prison, was granted asylum in Cuba by Fidel Castro, and remains a fugitive to this day.

Assata: An Autobiography by Assata Shakur is for the first time, now available as an eBook.

Affirmation
By Assata Shakur
I believe in living.
I believe in the spectrum of Beta days and Gamma people.
I believe in sunshine.
In windmills and waterfalls, tricycles and rocking chairs.
And I believe that seeds grow into sprouts.
And sprouts grow into trees.
I believe in the magic of the hands.
And in the wisdom of the eyes.
I believe in rain and tears.
And in the blood of infinity.
I believe in life.
And I have seen the death parade march through the torso of the earth, sculpting mud bodies in its path.
I have seen the destruction of the daylight, and seen bloodthirsty maggots prayed to and saluted.
I have seen the kind become the blind and the blind become the bind in one easy lesson.
I have walked on cut glass.
I have eaten crow and blunder bread and breathed the stench of indifference.
I have been locked by the lawless.
Handcuffed by the haters.
Gagged by the greedy.
And, if I know anything at all, it’s that a wall is just a wall and nothing more at all.
It can be broken down.
I believe in living.
I believe in birth.
I believe in the sweat of love and in the fire of truth.
And I believe that a lost ship, steered by tired, seasick sailors, can still be guided home to port.
Recent Highlights

**Angry White People**
Coming face-to-face with the British far right
Hsiao-Hung Pai
Foreword by Benjamin Zephaniah
‘An enlightening, thoughtful and intelligent study in what makes the far right tick.’
The Independent

**Earth Democracy**
Justice, Sustainability and Peace
Vandana Shiva
‘One of the world’s most prominent radical scientists.’
The Guardian
‘Shiva is a burst of creative energy, an intellectual power.’
The Progressive

**Today We Drop Bombs, Tomorrow We Build Bridges**
Peter Gill
‘Gill’s deft analysis and reporting provide an enlightening account of a new world disorder, where the “civilized principles supposedly governing a war” have been forfeited.’
Publishers Weekly

**Reading from Behind**
A Cultural Analysis of the Anus
Jonathan A. Allan
‘Assholes are like opinions: Everyone has them—but no one has more opinions on assholes than Jonathan Allan.’
VICE

**Shakespeare**
Poet and Citizen
Victor Kiernan
Introduction by Michael Wood
‘The strength of this book lies in the total view of political and social conditions of the period... it will not scare off the non-academic reader.’
The Guardian

**Common Space**
The City as Commons
Stavros Stavrides
‘A wonderful guide to how we can make urban space common ... an exciting political project.’
Michael Hardt, author of Empire
A Jar of Wild Flowers
Essays in Celebration of John Berger
Edited by Yasmin Gunaratnam and Amarjit Chandan

On the occasion of his 90th birthday, a unique and truly global appreciation of John Berger and his work.

In this first collection of essays on the work of, and conversations with, John Berger, thirty of his friends, artistic collaborators, and followers come together to form the first truly international and cross-cultural celebration of his interventions. Berger has for decades, through his poetic humanism, brought together geographically, historically, and socially disparate subjects. His work continues to throw out lifelines across genres, times, and types of experience, opening up radical questions about the meaning of belonging and of community.

In keeping with this spirit and in celebration of Berger, the short essays in A Jar of Wild Flowers challenge us all to take the brave step from limited sympathy to real, extended generosity.

With contributions from Ali Smith, Julie Christie, Sally Potter, Ram Rahman, Jean Mohr, Tom Overton, Nick Thorpe, Hsiao-Hung Pai, and many others.

‘I could say that everything I’ve ever written or aspired to write has been in one way or another an appreciation of the work of John Berger.’
Ali Smith, from A Jar of Wild Flowers

‘John Berger teaches us how to think, how to feel, how to stare at things till we see what we thought wasn’t there. But above all he teaches us how to love in the face of adversity. He is a master.’
Arundhati Roy

Yasmin Gunaratnam is a reader in sociology at Goldsmiths, University of London. She has written widely on areas ranging from culture, gender, and race to migrant experiences and debates around representation. Her previous books include Death and the Migrant (2013).

Amarjit Chandan has published seven collections of poetry and four books of essays. His poems have appeared in anthologies and magazines worldwide.
When the Walking Defeats You
One Man’s Journey as Joseph Kony’s Bodyguard
Ledio Cakaj
Foreword by Romeo Dallaire

An explosive account of one man’s experiences in the Lord’s Resistance Army as the bodyguard of reviled warlord Joseph Kony.

Educated and aspirational, with dreams of becoming a teacher, George Omona would seem an unlikely recruit for the Lord’s Resistance Army, a group which for many has become the embodiment of evil, reviled for its use of child soldiers, sexual slavery, and for waging a decades-long campaign of terror across eastern and central Africa. But drawn in by the charismatic pull of its messianic leader, George came to regard the group as the best chance for rebuilding his life after his expulsion from high school. George’s education and fluent command of English allowed him to rapidly rise through the ranks, eventually becoming a bodyguard to the group’s now notorious figurehead, Joseph Kony.

Having spent almost three years with the group before finally making his escape, George’s story – based on many hours of interviews with acknowledged LRA expert Ledio Cakaj – provides a unique, unsettling, and often brutal insight into the inner workings of the Lord’s Resistance Army, as well as the mind of its self-appointed prophet.

Ledio Cakaj is an independent researcher and an acknowledged expert on the Lord’s Resistance Army. He has worked for more than a decade in the Balkans and east and central Africa and has spent seven years working almost exclusively on the LRA for organizations including the World Bank, the Enough Project, Small Arms Survey, and Resolve.

Haiti Will Not Perish
A History since the Earthquake
Michael Deibert

A vivid and up-to-the-minute look at Haiti’s recent history, which overturns the myths surrounding this so often misunderstood country.

The world’s first independent black republic, Haiti was forged in the fire of history’s only successful slave revolution. More than two hundred years later, the promise of the revolution – a free country and a free people – remains unfulfilled.

Home to one of the largest UN peacekeeping forces, Haiti’s tumultuous political culture, combined with economic inequality and environmental degradation, created immense difficulties even before a devastating earthquake levelled Port-au-Prince in 2010, killing tens of thousands of people.

In this moving and detailed history, Michael Deibert, chronicles the heroic struggles of Haitians to build a decent country in the face of overwhelming odds. Based on years of interviews with Haitian political leaders, international diplomats, peasant advocates, gang leaders, and hundreds of ordinary Haitians, Deibert’s book provides a vivid, complex, and challenging analysis of Haiti’s recent history, overturning the myths about this so often misunderstood country.

Michael Deibert’s writing has appeared in The Guardian, the Washington Post, the Wall Street Journal and Le Monde diplomatique, among others. He has been a featured commentator on international affairs on the BBC, Al Jazeera, Channel 4, France 24, and National Public Radio. He is the author of In the Shadow of Saint Death (2014), The Democratic Republic of Congo (Zed Books, 2013), and Notes from the Last Testament (2006).
China and the New Maoists
Kerry Brown and Simone van Nieuwenhuizen

An absorbing account of the continued influence of Chairman Mao on contemporary China, and of efforts by the New Maoists to claim his legacy.

Forty years after his death, Mao remains a totemic, if divisive, figure in contemporary China. Though many continue to revere him and he retains an immense symbolic importance within China’s national mythology, the rise of a capitalist economy has seen the ruling class become increasingly ambivalent towards him. And while he continues to be a highly visible and contentious presence in Chinese public life, Mao’s enduring influence has been little understood in the West.

In *China and the New Maoists*, Kerry Brown looks at the increasingly vocal elements who claim to be the true ideological heirs to Mao, ranging from academics to cyberactivists, as well as at the state’s efforts to draw on Mao’s image as a source of legitimacy. A fascinating portrait of a country undergoing dramatic upheavals while still struggling to come to terms with its past.

Kerry Brown is the professor of Chinese studies and the director of the Lau China Institute, at King’s College, London. He is an associate at the Asia Programme at Chatham House, London, and the author of eleven books on modern China, including *Ballot Box China* (Zed Books, 2011).

Simone van Nieuwenhuizen is based at the China Studies Centre at the University of Sydney.

Myanmar
A Burmese People’s Story
Irene Slegt and Simon Long

A brilliant account of the country in a time of transition towards democracy.

Myanmar’s transformation in recent years from a fiercely repressive, isolationist military dictatorship into what looks like a democracy has won plaudits around the world. But how much has actually changed? If this was a revolution, it is hard to spot the losers. The army remains powerful, and nobody has been charged with war crimes, though Myanmar has seen many. The army’s cronies remain dominant in business and it retains a political grip through the 2008 constitution. Yet undeniably, the country is a better place now than before the reforms that started in 2011.

*Myanmar* shows how important these reforms have been to ordinary Burmese, who have enjoyed freedoms unthinkable just a few years ago. But it also shows how the economic benefits of reform have yet to become obvious, as many people find life harder and more expensive.

Irene Slegt is an investigative journalist who has been writing on Asia since 1986. She is the author of three books on East Timor, and her work has been published in *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, the *New York Times*, *The Telegraph*, *The Economist*, and in newspapers in the Netherlands and Belgium.

Simon Long, who has been visiting Burma since 1983, is Banyan, *The Economist’s* Asia columnist. He has also written extensively for *The Guardian* and many other outlets. He is the author of *Taiwan: China’s Last Frontier* (1990).
Turkey
The Insane and the Melancholy
Ece Temelkuran
Translated by Zeynep Beler

The urgent and unsettling story of Turkey’s descent into tyranny, as seen through the eyes of one of the country’s most gifted writers.

Turkey is a nation of contradictions and contrasts. Though notionally democratic, the Erdogan government increasingly resembles a dictatorship, jailing opponents and violently suppressing dissent. Though notionally secular, the AKP’s years in power have seen the creeping influence of religious conservatism. Having long occupied an uneasy middle ground between a secular ‘West’ and Islamic ‘East’, the country now finds itself drawn inexorably into the conflicts of its neighbors, as it experiences the fallout from the Arab spring, the Syrian civil war, and the rise of ISIS.

In this fascinating portrait of a nation in turmoil, Ece Temelkuran provides a vivid and deeply personal account of the crisis afflicting modern Turkey. Tracing this affliction back to the fall of the Ottomans and denial of the Armenian genocide, Temelkuran identifies a long-running culture of authoritarianism which has plagued Turkey and which the Erdogan regime has now resurrected. But, she argues, the Gezi Park protests represented a glimmer of hope which has yet to be fully extinguished, and which may still rejuvenate democracy in the country.

Ece Temelkuran is one of Turkey’s best-known authors and political commentators. She has won numerous awards for her work, including the PEN for Peace award and Turkish Journalist of the Year. Her previous books in English include Deep Mountain: Across the Turkish-Armenian Divide (2010) and the poetry collection Book of the Edge (2010).
No Borders
The Politics of Immigration Control and Resistance
Natasha King

As the migrant crisis intensifies in Europe, an urgent and timely inside account of the 'no borders' movement.

From the streets of Calais to the borders of Melilla, Evros, and the United States, the slogan ‘No borders!’ is a thread connecting a multitude of different struggles for the freedom to move and to stay. But what does it mean to make this slogan a reality? Drawing on the author’s extensive research in Greece and Calais, as well as a decade campaigning for migrant rights, Natasha King explores the different forms of activism which have emerged in the struggle against border controls, and the dilemmas these activists face in translating their principles into practice. Wide-ranging and interdisciplinary, No Borders constitutes vital reading for anyone interested in how we make radical alternatives to the state a genuine possibility for our times, and raises crucial questions on the nature of resistance.

Cuba and Revolutionary Latin America
Dirk Kruijt

The first oral history of Cuba’s revolutionary influence on governments across Latin America.

The Cuban revolution served as a rallying cry to people across Latin America and the Caribbean. The revolutionary regime has provided vital support to the rest of the region, offering everything from medical and development assistance to training and advice on guerrilla warfare. Cuba and Revolutionary Latin America is the first oral history of Cuba’s liberation struggle.

Drawing on a vast array of original testimonies, Dirk Kruijt looks at the role of both veterans and the post-revolution fidelista generation in shaping Cuba and the Americas. Featuring the testimonies of over seventy Cuban officials and former combatants, Cuba and Revolutionary Latin America offers unique insight into a nation which, in spite of its small size and notional pariah status, remains one of the most influential countries in the Americas.

Dirk Kruijt is professor emeritus of development studies at Utrecht University, and has previously served as an adviser at the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs and at several embassies in Latin America and the Caribbean. His previous books include Guerrillas: War and Peace in Central America (Zed Books, 2008) and, with Kees Koonings, Violence and Resilience in Latin American Cities (Zed Books, 2010).
Leftover Women
The Resurgence of Gender Inequality in China
Leta Hong Fincher

A provocative exposé of gender inequality in China.

Chairman Mao famously proclaimed that ‘women hold up half the sky’. In the early years of the People’s Republic, the Communist Party sought to transform gender relations. Yet those gains have been steadily eroded in China’s post-socialist era. In *Leftover Women*, Leta Hong Fincher exposes shocking levels of structural discrimination against women and the damage this has caused to Chinese society. In this new and thoroughly expanded edition, Hong Fincher builds on her earlier work to examine new developments, most notably China’s growing and increasingly assertive feminist movement.

‘Power and provocative.’ *LA Review of Books*

‘A chilling account.’ *New York Times*

‘Scattered with inspiring life stories.’ *The Guardian*

Who Really Feeds the World?
The Failures of Agribusiness and the Promise of Agroecology
Vandana Shiva

A radical new vision for global food production, from one of the world’s most iconic environmental thinkers.

The world’s food supply is in the grip of a profound crisis. Humanity’s ability to feed itself is threatened by a wasteful, globalized agricultural industry, whose relentless pursuit of profit is stretching our planet’s ecosystems to breaking point. Rising food prices have fuelled instability across the world, while industrialized agriculture has contributed to a health crisis of massive proportions, with effects ranging from obesity and diabetes to cancers caused by pesticides.

In *Who Really Feeds the World?*, leading environmental thinker Vandana Shiva rejects the dominant, greed-driven paradigm of industrial agriculture, arguing instead for a radical rethink of our relationship with food and with the environment. Industrial agriculture can never be truly sustainable, but it is within our power to create a food system that works for the health and well-being of the planet and all humanity, by developing ecologically friendly farming practices, nurturing biodiversity, and recognizing the invaluable role that small farmers can play in feeding a hungry world.

Power Shift
On the New Global Order
Richard Falk

Describes the emerging new world order based increasingly on soft power and powerful regional economic blocs.

This book depicts the challenges associated with the emergence of a new global order in which patterns of conflict and the role of traditional military power are in the process of radical flux. Our ideas about global order have yet to catch up with these new behavioral trends, including the rise of non-state transnational political actors in the context of neoliberal globalization. In this historical setting the modern territorial sovereign state is confronted by multiple challenges, ranging from climate change to mass migration to transnational political extremism.

The existing global order seems overwhelmed by these challenges, resulting in widespread stress that is transforming global security in ways that endanger democratic governance. It is this new and uncertain set of circumstances that Power Shift addresses.


The Duel in European History
Honour and the Reign of Aristocracy
Victor Kiernan
Foreword by David Blackbourn

A fascinating history of the cultural and political impact of duelling.

For centuries, duelling played an integral role in the preservation of the aristocratic order in Europe, defying attempts by both church and state to ban the practice. Moreover, the romance and drama of the duel has made it an enduring fixture in films, literature, and the theatre. In The Duel in European History, renowned historian Victor Kiernan writes with his characteristic wit and insight of duelling’s evolution from its medieval origins – when it was regarded as a badge of rank – to the early twentieth century, by which time it was seen as an irrational anachronism.

In doing so, he shows how the duelling tradition was something unique to Europe and its colonies, and, in its contribution to the development of the officer corps, played a key part in shaping European military power. Drawing on a vast range of historical and cultural sources, this is the definitive account of a violent ritual that continues to fascinate even today.

Victor Kiernan (1913–2009) ranks among Britain’s most distinguished historians. Over the course of his life he authored such works as The Lords of Human Kind, America: From White Settlement to World Hegemony, Shakespeare: Poet and Citizen, all re-published by Zed Books, as well as translating two volumes of Urdu poetry.
We Kill Because We Can
From Soldiering to Assassination in the Drone Age
Laurie Calhoun

A disturbing and controversial exposé of the ethics of remote-controlled warfare in the twenty-first century.

Welcome to the Drone Age. Where self-defence has become naked aggression. Where courage has become cowardice. Where black ops have become standard operating procedure. In this remarkable and often shocking book, Laurie Calhoun dissects the moral, psychological, and cultural impact of remote-control killing in the twenty-first century. Can a drone operator conducting a targeted killing be likened to a mafia hitman? What difference, if any, is there between the Trayvon Martin case and the drone killing of a teen in Yemen? We Kill Because We Can takes a scalpel to the dark heart of Western foreign policy in order to answer these and many other troubling questions.

Laurie Calhoun is a philosopher and cultural critic. She is the author of War and Delusion: A Critical Examination (2013) and Philosophy Unmasked: A Skeptic’s Critique (1997), in addition to dozens of essays on war, morality, and politics.

Year of Fire, Year of Ash
The Soweto Revolt
Baruch Hirson

Forty years after the iconic Soweto revolt against apartheid comes this new edition by a South African activist personally involved in the struggles of the time.

Some thirty-five years after its original publication, Year of Fire, Year of Ash still stands as one of the leading accounts of the 1976–77 Soweto Revolt, one of the most significant acts of resistance in the history of the anti-apartheid movement. Authored by a South African activist and scholar who was intimately involved in the movement, the book provides an unparalleled insight into the origins and events of the uprising, from its antecedents in the early 1970s to its role in galvanizing the global struggle against apartheid.

Crucially, the book overturned much of the conventional logic around the uprising, by showing that it was not simply a student protest, but a revolt by the wider black working class. As South Africa experiences a new wave of popular revolt, and as new forms of black consciousness come to the fore in movements around the world, Hirson’s book provides a timely reminder of the continued significance of the Soweto revolt to struggles against oppression today.

Baruch Hirson was a South African historian and anti-apartheid activist. A committed socialist from a young age, he became involved in the ANC-affiliated African Resistance Movement, which carried out acts of sabotage against the apartheid regime. Hirson was jailed for nine years for his involvement with the group, and after his release he moved to England, where he lectured at a number of universities. Following the end of apartheid, he returned to South Africa, where he died in 1999.

‘Chilling and comprehensive.’
Noam Chomsky

‘Laurie Calhoun’s brilliant enquiry.’
Richard Gott, author of Britain’s Empire: Resistance, Rebellion and Revolt
Ebola
How a People's Science Helped End an Epidemic
Paul Richards

A fascinating account of the overlooked and inspiring role of local communities in containing the Ebola outbreak.

In 2013, the largest Ebola outbreak in history swept across west Africa, claiming thousands of lives in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea. By the middle of 2014, the international community was gripped by hysteria. Experts grimly predicted that millions would be infected within months, and a huge international control effort was mounted to contain the virus. Yet paradoxically, by this point the disease was already going into decline in Africa itself. So why did outside observers get it so wrong? Paul Richards draws on his extensive first-hand experience in Sierra Leone to argue that the international community's panicked response failed to take into account local expertise and common sense.

Crucially, Richards shows that the humanitarian response to the disease was most effective in those areas where it supported these initiatives and that it actually hampered recovery when it disregarded local knowledge. An essential account of what actually occurred during the Ebola outbreak, and its implications for harnessing the power of local communities for future humanitarian health crises.

Paul Richards is an anthropologist with over forty-five years' experience of living and working in west Africa, having conducted fieldwork in Nigeria, Liberia, and Sierra Leone. He is emeritus professor of technology and agrarian development at Wageningen University. His previous books include No Peace, No War: An Anthropology of Contemporary Armed Conflicts (2005).

State of Rebellion
Violence and Intervention in the Central African Republic
Louisa Lombard

An in-depth and revealing account of the violence that has swept the Central African Republic.

In 2013, the Central African Republic was engulfed by violence. In the face of its rapid spread, journalists, politicians, and academics alike struggled to account for the conflict's origins. In this first comprehensive account of the country's recent conflicts, Louisa Lombard shows the limits of the superficial explanations offered thus far – that the violence has been due to a religious divide, or politicians' manipulations, or profiteering. Instead, she shows that conflict has long been useful to Central African politics, a tendency that has been exacerbated by the international community's method of engagement with so-called fragile states.

Furthermore, changing this state of affairs will require rethinking the relationships of all those present – rebel groups and politicians, as well as international interveners and diplomats. An urgent insight into this little-understood country and the problems with peacebuilding more broadly.

Louisa Lombard is an assistant professor of anthropology at Yale University. She has worked in the Central African Republic as a field consultant to several international organizations, including Human Rights Watch, Small Arms Survey, Refugees International, and the World Bank. Her previous books include Making Sense of the Central African Republic, co-edited with Tatiana Carayannis (Zed Books, 2015).
Living by the Gun in Chad
Governing Africa’s Inter-wars
Marielle Debos

Written by one of the foremost experts on the country, the story of how armed violence has become both an ordinary form of political struggle and a practical occupation.

How do people survive in a country plagued by recurring rebellions and repression? What do combatants do when they are not mobilized for war? Drawing on over ten years of fieldwork conducted in Chad, Marielle Debos explores the recourse to arms in a society in which living by the gun has become both an acceptable form of political expression and an everyday occupation. Contrary to the popular association of violence and chaos, she shows that these fighters continue to observe rules, frontiers, and hierarchies, even as their allegiances shift between rebel and government forces, and as they drift between Chad, Libya, Sudan, and the Central African Republic.

Ultimately, the book demonstrates that ending the war is not enough. The issue is ending the ‘inter-war’ which is maintained and reproduced by state violence. Combining ethnographic observation with in-depth theoretical analysis, *Living by the Gun in Chad* is a crucial contribution to our understanding of the intersections of war and peace.

**The Rise of Africa’s Middle Class**
**Edited by Henning Melber**

The first comprehensive volume to offer a critical perspective on the role of the new middle classes in contemporary Africa.

Across Africa, a burgeoning middle class has become the poster child for the ‘Africa rising’ narrative. Ambitious, aspirational, and increasingly affluent, this group is said to embody the values and hopes of the new Africa, with international bodies ranging from the United Nations Development Programme to the World Bank regarding them as important agents of both economic development and democratic change. This narrative, however, obscures the complex and often ambiguous role that this group actually plays in African societies.

Bringing together economists, political scientists, and development experts, and spanning a variety of case studies from across the continent, this collection provides a much-needed corrective to the received wisdom within development circles, and as they drift between Chad, Libya, Sudan, and the Central African Republic.

**Digital Jihad**
**Palestinian Resistance in the Digital Era**
**Erik Skare**

The first book to investigate the increasingly important role of hacker activists in the Palestinian liberation struggle.

A new and innovative form of dissent has emerged in response to the Israeli occupation of Palestine. Dubbed ‘electronic jihad’, this approach has seen organized groups of Palestinian hackers make international headlines by breaching the security of such sites as the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange, AVG, Avira, Whatsapp, and BitDefender. Though initially confined to small clandestine groups, ‘hacktivism’ is now increasingly being adopted by militant Palestinian parties, including Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad, who have gone so far as to incorporate hackers into their armed brigades.

*Digital Jihad* is the first book to explore this rapidly evolving and still little understood aspect of the Palestinian resistance movement. Drawing on extensive interviews with hackers and other activists, it provides a unique and fascinating new perspective on the Palestinian struggle.

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Marx 2020
After the Crisis
Ronaldo Munck

The only thematically organized overview of Marxism and its relevance post the crisis.

As we approach the second decade of the twenty-first century with the continued, forcible growth of new social movements across the globe, the answer to the question ‘How is Marxism still relevant?’ changes year on year. In this provocative and critically engaged introduction, Ronaldo Munck interrogates Marx’s theories in the context of global development; nation and culture; the environmental crisis; austerity, cuts, and the rise of the precariat; and feminism and queer theory – with a shared focus on the global South and North. Essential reading for students with an interest in alternative thinking, and the global action it inspires.

Ronaldo Munck is the author of thirty books as well as over two hundred journal articles. He serves on the editorial boards of a number of international journals, including Global Discourses, Global Social Policy, and Latin American Perspectives. He is the Irish representative on the Council of the Development Studies Association of UK and Ireland.

Histories of Violence
Post-war Critical Thought
Edited by Brad Evans and Terrell Carver

An essential introduction to post-war critical thought on the concept of violence.

While there is a tacit appreciation that freedom from violence will lead to more prosperous relations among peoples, violence still continues to be deployed for various political and social ends. Yet the problem of violence still defies neat description, subject to many competing interpretations depending upon particular viewpoints.

Offering an accessible yet compelling introduction to post-war critical thought, Histories of Violence examines the problem of violence as it appears in the corpus of canonical figures – from Hannah Arendt to Frantz Fanon, Michel Foucault to Slavoj Žižek – who continue to influence and inform contemporary political, philosophical, sociological, cultural, and anthropological study. Written by a team of internationally renowned experts, this is an essential interrogation of critical thought as it relates to violence.

Brad Evans is a senior lecturer in international relations at the School of Sociology, Politics and International Studies, the University of Bristol. He is the founder and director of the Histories of Violence project (www.historiesofviolence.com).

Terrell Carver is a professor of political theory at the University of Bristol. He is currently editor for the prestigious journal Contemporary Political Theory.
Translating the Queer
Body Politics and Transnational Conversations
Héctor Domínguez Ruvalcaba

Examines how queer theory has migrated from ‘the West’ and asks: how far can the queer go as a conceptual tool?

What does it mean to queer a concept? If queerness is a notion that implies a destabilization of the normativity of the body, then all cultural systems contain zones of discomfort relevant to queer studies. What then might we make of such zones when the use of the term queer itself has transcended the fields of sex and gender, becoming a metaphor for addressing such cultural phenomena as hybridization, resignification, and subversion? Further still, what should we make of it when so many people are reluctant to use the term ‘queer’, because they view it as theoretical colonialism, or a concept that loses its specificity when applied to a culture that signifies and uses the body differently?

Translating the Queer focuses on the dissemination of queer knowledge, concepts, and representations throughout Latin America, a migration that has been accompanied by concomitant processes of translation, adaptation, and epistemological resistance.

Héctor Domínguez Ruvalcaba is associate professor in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese at the University of Texas at Austin, where he teaches queer and gender issues in Latin American literature, film, and culture.

Cooperatives Confront Capitalism
Challenging the Neoliberal Economy
Peter Ranis

The most far-reaching analysis yet of the ideas, achievements, and wider historical context of the cooperative movement.

Cooperatives the world over are successfully developing alternative models of decision-making, employment, and operation without the existence of managers, executives, and hierarchies. Peter Ranis explores how cooperatives have evolved in response to the economic crisis. Going further yet, Ranis makes the novel argument that the constitutionally enshrined principle of ‘eminent domain’ can in fact be harnessed to create and defend worker cooperatives.

Combining the work of Marx, Gramsci, and Luxemburg, with that of contemporary political economists, such as Block, Piketty, and Stiglitz, Cooperatives Confront Capitalism provides what is perhaps the most far-reaching analysis yet of the ideas, achievements, and wider historical context of the cooperative movement.

Paul Ranis is professor emeritus in political science at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. He has over eighty publications in various areas of social science, and has published four books, among them Class, Democracy and Labor in Contemporary Argentina (1998) and Argentine Workers: Peronism and Contemporary Class Consciousness (1992).

Our Supreme Leader
The Making of Kim Jong-un
Paul French

A glimpse into the regime of Kim Jong-un, revealing the ways in which he has cemented his position as the god-like Supreme Leader of North Korea.

Since his accession to power in 2012, Kim Jong-un has come to personify North Korea in the eyes of the outside world. An object of derision as much as fear, he has nevertheless succeeded in strengthening his grip on the country, purging potential rivals and strengthening the personality cult around himself and his predecessors. This process is set to culminate at the Seventh Congress of the Korean Workers’ Party, the first such congress in over thirty-five years, where Kim is widely expected to proclaim the dawn of a new era under his leadership.

In Our Supreme Leader, Paul French explores the ways in which the North Korean regime has evolved under Kim’s direction, with a detailed analysis of the history and development of its infamous cult of The Great Leader. Featuring the first in-depth assessment of the Seventh Congress and its significance within North Korea, French also offers fresh insights into the inner workings of this secretive regime, as well as looking ahead to its likely future direction.

Paul French is a British-born author and journalist living in Shanghai. His previous books include North Korea: State of Paranoia (Zed Books, 2014) and the best-selling Midnight in Peking (2011), for which he received an Edgar award.
Crisis and Critique
A History of Media Participation in Times of Crisis
Anne Kaun

A historical exploration of the role of media in shaping social movements and resistance to capitalism.

While recent developments in social media have been the subject of intense scholarly attention, there has been little consideration of the wider historical role of media technologies in protest. Drawing on the work of key theorists such as Walter Benjamin and Raymond Williams, *Crisis and Critique* provides a historical analysis of media practices within the context of major economic crises. Through richly detailed case studies of the movements which emerged during three different economic crises – the unemployed worker’s movement of the Great Depression, the rent strike movement of the early 1970s, and the Occupy Wall Street protests which followed the recession of 2007/08 – Kaun provides an in-depth analysis of the cultural, economic, and social consequences of media technologies.

Media Movements
Civil Society and Media Policy Reform in Latin America
Silvio Waisbord and María Soledad Segura

A look at how social movements across Latin America have adopted different strategies, to changing media policy and reform.

Social movements throughout contemporary Latin America are successfully influencing and shaping media policy. In this highly original, detailed, and in-depth study, Silvio Waisbord and María Soledad Segura scrutinize the goals, tactics, and impact of civic media movements across the region, demonstrating the full extent of media activism on domestic policy and politics. *Media Movements* goes beyond simple conceptions of ‘the national’ versus ‘the global’ to reveal the complicated process of media policy-making, and to evaluate the significance of local political elites and citizens, global actors, and legal frameworks. With success rates varying across the region, the authors offer an assessment of the impact of citizens’ mobilization on media policy. In this highly original, detailed, and in-depth study, Silvio Waisbord and María Soledad Segura scrutinize the goals, tactics, and impact of civic media movements across the region, demonstrating the full extent of media activism on domestic policy and politics. *Media Movements* goes beyond simple conceptions of ‘the national’ versus ‘the global’ to reveal the complicated process of media policy-making, and to evaluate the significance of local political elites and citizens, global actors, and legal frameworks. With success rates varying across the region, the authors offer an assessment of the impact of citizens’ mobilization on media policy.

Pathways that Changed Myanmar
Matthew Mullen

The story of ordinary Burmese people who have been able to effect meaningful change through subtle, everyday acts of resistance.

In the midst of the political upheavals which engulfed Myanmar from 2010 to 2011, international attention was fixed upon the military regime and its dissident opponents. But away from the cameras, a very different set of struggles were unfolding across the country. These struggles were manifested not as violent clashes, but as everyday interactions involving taxi drivers, community organizers, farmers, heads of domestic NGOs, and many more. A product of five years’ research, during which the author conducted over five hundred ethnographic interviews across the country, *Pathways that Changed Myanmar* provides a voice for those ordinary Burmese whose struggles and aspirations went unheard and unnoticed during this pivotal moment in the nation’s history.
Crisis and Class War in Egypt
Sean McMahon

Examines the resurgence of military dictatorship in Egypt.

The toppling of the Mubarak regime in 2011 gave rise to the hope that Egypt would finally overcome decades of dictatorship and manipulation by the world powers. However, recent events have seen this optimism fade. A brief period of democracy has given way to renewed military dictatorship, with the Egyptian government cracking down even more fiercely on internal dissent. In Crisis and Class War in Egypt, Sean McMahon examines the origins of these developments. He argues that, rather than representing a continuation of the revolution, events since the fall of Mubarak constitute a string of counter-revolutions, through which sections of the old elite initially endorsed the overthrow of Mubarak and colluded with the Muslim Brotherhood, only to turn on them when it no longer suited their interests. The resurgence of this elite has in turn led to renewed efforts to disempower Egyptian workers, peasants, and activists. Crucially, McMahon also sees events in Egypt as the product of a wider crisis of capitalism.

Peasant Poverty and Persistence
Theories, Debates, Realities and Policies
Edited by Julio Boltvinik and Susan Archer Mann

An innovative study of the ways in which peasants across the global South are resisting neoliberalism and environmental degradation.

Peasants comprise the majority of the world’s poor. Despite this, so far there has been little effort to bridge the fields of poverty, development, and peasant studies. Peasant Poverty and Persistence provides a much-needed critical perspective and corrective to debates about global rural poverty. Through case studies exploring the ways in which peasant communities across the global South have persisted in the face of intense pressure from neoliberalism and environmental degradation, Peasant Poverty and Persistence shows that any answer to the ‘agrarian question’ will have to accommodate the needs and aspirations of the world’s peasant producers if we are to develop a sustainable model for world agriculture.

Reconstructing Urban Economics
Towards a Political Economy of the Built Environment
Franklin Obeng-Odoom

A substantial and much-needed contribution to urban economics, providing both a critique of the mainstream and a compass for alternatives.

Neoclassical economics, the ideological bedrock of modern capitalism, faces a growing challenge, as many of its key assumptions are steadily being debunked. Yet there remains one field of economic study where the dated approaches and policy prescriptions of neoclassical orthodoxy continue virtually unchallenged: the study of towns and cities, or urban economics. In Reconstructing Urban Economics, Franklin Obeng-Odoom provides a radical reassessment of the built environment and its importance within the capitalist system. Drawing on the work of such pioneering urban economists as D.R. Denman and R.T. Ely, Obeng-Odoom calls for a more heterodox, transdisciplinary approach, one that has the potential to offer a more equitable political economy of the built environment.

Expose, Oppose, Propose
Alternative Policy Groups and the Struggle for Global Justice
William K. Carroll

A detailed empirical analysis of how certain NGOs develop alternative ways of organizing economic, political, and social life.

Neoliberal capitalism positions us all as consumers in a hypermarket where money talks. For the majority of people around the globe, this translates as precarity and immiseration. But how can we break from this dominant ideological framework? Expose, Oppose, Propose details how, since the mid 1970s, transnational alternative policy groups (TAPGs) have functioned as think tanks of a different sort, generating resources for a ‘globalization from below’ in dialogue with the critical social movements that are protagonists for global justice. Based on two years of intensive research, William Carroll not only provides a detailed examination of a variety of TAPGs – showing how each group is distinctive and autonomous in its vision, practical priorities, and ways of producing and mobilizing alternative knowledge – but also reveals how TAPGs form a ‘master frame’ that advocates and envisages global justice and ecological well-being.
Business and Society
A Critical Introduction
Kean Birch, John-Justin McMurtry, Darryl Reed, Caroline Hossein, Mark Peacock, Alberto Salazar, Sonya Scott, and Richard Wellen

Ideal for undergraduates, this introductory textbook comprehensively examines the often fraught and contentious relationship between business and society. Corporations dominate our societies. They employ us, sell to us, and influence how we think and who we vote for, while their economic interests dictate local, national, and global agendas. Written in clear and accessible terms, this much-needed textbook provides critical perspectives on all aspects of the relationship between business and society: from a historical analysis of the spread of capitalism as the foundation of the ‘corporate’ revolution in the late nineteenth century to the regulation, ethics, and exclusionary implications of business in contemporary society. Furthermore, it examines how corporate power and capitalism might be resisted, outlining a range of alternatives, from the social economy through to new forms of open access or commons ownership.

One World Mania
A Critical Guide to Free Trade, Financialization and Global Integration
Graham Dunkley

A clear, comprehensive, and much-needed primer on the workings of the global economy.

In this much-needed survey, Graham Dunkley challenges the oft-repeated notion that free trade and global integration are the best means of development for all nations at all times – an idea that has proved even more misguided in the wake of the global financial crisis. By contrast, Dunkley reveals – through a wide range of statistical analyses and case studies – that at best the evidence is mixed. Looking systematically at issues such as trade-led growth, supply chains, and financialization, One World Mania reveals the many problems that ‘over-globalization’ has caused, often at great human cost. An indispensable guide for anyone wishing to understand the shortcomings of current global economic policies.
Bestsellers

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‘This book is a wake-up call. It shows conclusively that women’s empowerment is essential to achieving environmental sustainability.’
Craig Bennett, CEO of Friends of the Earth

Can Non-Europeans Think?
Hamid Dabashi
‘Reading Dabashi is like going for an extended coffee with a very smart friend.’
Vijay Prashad

Africa
Why Economists Get It Wrong
Morten Jerven
An accessible account that fundamentally challenges mainstream accounts of economic growth in Africa.
‘A stimulating book.’
Financial Times

America
From White Settlement to World Hegemony
Victor Kiernan
Preface by Eric Hobsbawm
An unparalleled insight into the history, culture, and politics of American imperialism.
‘A graphic account of imperial imaginings.’
Perry Anderson

Debunking Economics
The Naked Emperor Dethroned?
Steve Keen
‘This is complicated, but it’s in your interests to understand it.’
George Monbiot

First Measures of the Coming Insurrection
Eric Hazan and Kamo
‘Combative, imaginative and exceedingly timely, a key reference for the post-2011 generation of activists.’
Jerome Roos, founder and editor of ROAR Magazine

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Africa: Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi, Rwanda, South Sudan
Amos Bampisaki
abampisaki@yahoo.co.uk
+256 (414)256470

Kenya
Joan Wamae
joan@wamae.home.co.ke
+254 (702) 161670

Ghana, Nigeria
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