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How did you become involved in the Middle East alternative music scene?

It began in the unlikeliest of places – Saudi Arabia – in 2010. I’d heard that there was a small underground heavy metal scene and got in touch with one of the bands, Grieving Age. Their singer, Ahmed, picked me up from my hotel in Jeddah and we drove around listening to music. I remember being surprised that there was a metal scene in a fanatically religious, repressive country like Saudi Arabia. But then hasn’t the best rock music always been a rebellion against conservatism and authority?

Tell us about your best gig.

It was without doubt Metallica in Abu Dhabi in 2012, during the height of the Arab Spring. The crowd was full of metal fans from across the Middle East and there were revolutionary flags flying everywhere. The atmosphere was electric. It wasn’t until that gig that I realised the Middle East metal scene is huge. Many of the fans had been arrested and beaten for their T-shirts and long hair. Yet here they all were, tens of thousands of them – Shia, Sunni, Kurd, Christian, Arab and Persian.

Hasn’t the best rock music always been a rebellion against conservatism and authority?’

How does repression in the Middle East impact on musicians?

It’s a massive problem for every band in the book. For example, there were the ‘anti-Satanist’ crackdowns against metal bands in Egypt, Syria and Lebanon. Many of the female artists have to confront sexism. A major theme in Rock in a Hard Place is exile. Many of the musicians that I know have been forced to flee their homes after threats by conservatives and the police or, in the case of Syria, war.

In Iran, there is a metal band, Confess, who remain on death row.

Which bands or songs should we check out?

There’s a huge range in the book, from Saudi Arabian black metal to Lebanese electronica. For heavy metal, I would recommend Saudi Arabia’s Creative Waste, Iran’s From the Vastland and Lebanon’s Blaakyum. Ramy Essam, the Egyptian folk singer, is definitely worth checking out on YouTube and similarly Massive Scar Era, fronted by the brilliant Cherine Amr. One of my personal favourites is the song Aranis by Lebanon’s Soap Kills – a haunting and beautiful track.

Do the musicians see their role as establishing a space for free expression?

It depends. In my experience, Syrian musicians in exile are just sick of war and politics and miss their old lives. In Palestine, hip hop has given a voice to the struggle. In Saudi Arabia, the bands I know do not dream that they will ever be able to carve out a free space. Similarly, in Iran, there is a metal band, Confess, who remain on death row.
In this extract from his forthcoming book *Employing the Enemy: The Story of Palestinian Labourers on Israeli Settlements*, Matthew Vickery exposes the harsh reality for Palestinians working on Israel’s illegal settlements.

‘Really, there are children working everywhere here. All around us,’ Hamza Zubeidat, the highly driven NGO worker and activist, says as he drives down the Jordan Valley’s Highway 90. Pristine Israeli settlements and their adjoining lush green farms, large greenhouses and poly tunnels flank the road. As Hamza takes the car past a farm attached to the settlement of Yafit, three teenagers can be seen sitting on a small bank of dirt. It’s midday, the sun is beating down, and they look exhausted. On other farms lining the valley the same exhausted expressions appear again and again among the rows of crops. There are Palestinian adults and children picking vegetables, digging holes and trenches, tending to Palestinian land now annexed by settlements and owned by Israeli farmers. It can be back-breaking work and for very little money, in temperatures that can often reach over forty degrees Celsius in the summer. Agricultural work is not just incredibly tiring; it’s also one of the worst paid employment sectors for Palestinian settlement workers. Wages can be as little as 50 or 60 NIS a day.

Hamza, a Palestinian Bedouin from Az-Zubeidat village in the valley, has been raising the issue of child labour in the settlements for years with his work for Palestinian NGO MA’AN Development Center. He works at a million miles an hour, taking phone calls and doing radio interviews to stations in Palestine and Jordan. Injustice in the Jordan Valley, and the exploitation of the people here, is a cause close to his heart. Hamza’s own mother works in the settlements picking herbs for 70 NIS a day. Children from his hometown, as well as surrounding areas such as Fasayll and Al-Jiflik, are dropping out of school as early as the age of eleven to help bring in money for their penniless families. Settlement farms seem only too keen to employ them.

Passing the red tiled roofs and concreted roads of the Tomer settlement, Hamza takes a quick left down a dirt road towards Fasayll, a Palestinian village of 1,200 set against the backdrop of rolling hills marking the edge of the valley. The backdrop is beautiful, but forbidden. The dusty land that encircles the village doesn’t appear to be in use, but it still comes under the control of the Israeli settlement and ever-present military. The cramped village and the road leading in and out are the only places residents are allowed to go freely.

HOW DO I KNOW I’M ME?

In this extract from her forthcoming book *Why the Dalai Lama is a Socialist*, Terry Gibbs explains how everything and everyone exists in a state of ‘interbeing’.
I first encountered the idea of emptiness as a small child. I was maybe five years old when I looked at my little brother Rick and wondered, ‘Why am I me and you are you?’ Which led me to ask, ‘How do I know I’m me?’ Even at that age, or perhaps, because I was that age, I could sense there wasn’t really any tangible or separable ‘thing’ that was ‘me’. Or, if there was, I certainly couldn’t find it. A body walked ‘me’ around, a voice spoke when ‘I’ wanted to say something and a tummy grumbled when ‘I’ was hungry, but where exactly was the ‘me’?

Buddhists and other spiritual practitioners have long pondered this question, and seasoned practitioners such as the Dalai Lama keep coming up with nothing, or rather no-thing. Absolutely Nothing or, as many Buddhists would say, emptiness. But we are reminded by Buddhists and physicists alike that it is an emptiness that is teeming with all kinds of life, from subatomic particles to entire galaxies, so it is not empty in the Western nihilist sense. It is just empty in that it is, to make up a word, unthingifiable. In other words, it is empty of things that exist in isolation from each other. There is only an interconnected whole and there is no-thing, or no-self, that is not an intricate part of that whole.

But, despite this reality, most of us ‘grow up’ and the Western socialisation process we are subjected to assists in the creation and nurturing of a solid ‘me’ – what Western psychology would call the ‘ego’ – which we learn to experience as a thing separate from other things in the world.

When we realise that we are not separate (and embody this in the way we live), and we discover that it is in fact impossible for us to be separate, we become enlightened or liberated or free depending on what tradition one is speaking from. Zen master and peace activist Thich Nhat Hanh speaks of the state of ‘interbeing’, which expresses in his terms what Einstein was trying to say: nothing in the universe has an independent existence. What the Buddhist tradition calls delusion or ignorance is the state of living in contradiction to this basic truth and is ultimately, from the Buddhist standpoint, the source of all our suffering. It is a form of being alienated from our true nature, which is one of interdependence with all things. This alienation is what allows us to hurt ourselves, other humans, non-human animals and nature. If it is impossible to isolate a thing called the self, and if it is also true that all the parts of who we are (thinking, digesting, bleeding, excreting, etc.) are all interdependent, and if we are unable to actually exist without nature’s air, water, food and so on, then everything that exists is ultimately part of us and we are part of it.

Why the Dalai Lama is a Socialist: Buddhism, Socialism and the Compassionate Society by Terry Gibbs is published in March 2017.
We tend to think of the commons as resources or goods. How is your conception different?
I understand the commons as social systems in which common goods are one element. The other elements are the commoners and the social relations comprising the community, and the doing in common, or commoning. These are the activities that constitute the living force of the commons.

How much of the potential for postcapitalism is driven by technology?
Technology alone has never led to postcapitalism. The forces of capital develop and use technology in the way that best suits profit, that is, to gain a competitive advantage, create unemployment and reduce wages. They capture the technology that is produced in the commons to their own advantage. In my conception, technology is a structural element of social systems and does not modify fundamentally social relations.

Will the transition to postcapitalism be incremental? I think so. I imagine there will be a period in which the commons find ways to form more interconnected ecologies, create spheres of relative autonomy, and develop a voice and a perspective which is independent from that of capital. This is clearly gradual, locally incremental and uneven, with big outbursts of struggle in some places and acquiescence in others. Many commoners will be dependent on the wage for years to come, and there are many issues in contemporary society that need political radicalism. But political radicalism itself needs to transform and become the voice of the commons to help us to move to postcapitalism.

How can we start to identify and build the commons in our daily lives?
We are already doing it in so many simple ways, although we are unaware of it. Reflect on your own life, the micro commons in which you grew up, the network of friends in which you share experiences, the relations with your co-workers. Such networks could develop into a commons of social reproduction, organising childcare or developing a community garden, a theatre group or a wine-making collective. From here, everything could develop, maybe with the help of other commoners with new skills in other areas.

Your neighbourhood is full of commoners you still do not know. There are different views, there are different cultures, there are different conditions, but to be able to establish communication with some, to be able to listen and not just preach your own views, is to be able to find a basis for commoning. This may happen slowly, until the point at which your commons is recognised by wider circles, offering new opportunities for networks and differentiations.

Cynicism involves closure of avenues and perspectives, so if you have any of it try to keep it at bay.
Can you explain to us what LIBOR is?

The London Interbank Offered Rate (LIBOR) is a benchmark, or index, showing the interest rate at which banks claim they can borrow money from each other. It’s linked to an enormous number of financial contracts, ranging from complex financial derivatives to mortgages and student loans.

To put this into perspective, it’s more than ten times larger than the total value of all goods and services produced in the world last year. This is also why LIBOR has been called the world’s most important number. However, when measured against other things, LIBOR also works as a ‘barometer of fear’ in the financial system – the fear that other banks might run out of cash and go bust.

‘Banking and trading has turned into something completely different from what it used to be when I started as a trader.’

What exactly did the banks do wrong in relation to LIBOR?

Everything was based upon the assumption that banks were honest when they input the numbers that would form LIBOR. This turned out to be false. Banks used the privilege as LIBOR-submitters to skew the figures in directions that were beneficial to them. This was either in order to profit from the LIBOR-indexed financial contracts that they had entered into, or by using it to portray themselves in an artificially good light during the financial crisis, thereby pretending that they were safer than they actually were. Many have been affected by the wrongdoing: central banks, pension funds, investors, households and students.

You were labelled a ‘rogue trader’. How do you feel about that label?

Even though it related to just six weeks of my life, 99.99% of my Google hits relate to this episode. Rogue trading tends to be linked not only to trading, but also to dishonesty and white-collar crime. Yes, my actions resulted in huge losses for Merrill Lynch, but the UK regulator did not label me as dishonest, nor was there any suggestion of criminality involved. Therefore, even though I accepted guilt and admitted to having done something very wrong, I felt ‘rogue trader’ went too far. Newspapers, however, seemed to like the term, so there was little I could do about it.

Today, I have accepted that the label will always be there. I deeply regret what I did, but I cannot change the past.

Have your views changed since leaving the financial sector?

I absolutely loved trading. However, working at the epicentre of the financial crisis made me very disillusioned. I felt that banking and trading had turned into something completely different from when I started as a trader fifteen years earlier. It was very ugly.

I knew many things had gotten out of hand, but I couldn’t pinpoint exactly what or where the problem was. The main reason I wanted to go back to university was to look at the world using a much wider lens. I have more or less been reading, analysing, writing and lecturing about the same things I used to think about as a trader.

On the whole, the process has made me more critical of a range of practices in banking and the financial markets. However, I’m also more critical towards some of the theories that have been taught at business schools and universities now for decades.
The city of Jinghong, located 3,000 km from Beijing on a bend in the Mekong River, is one of the remotest places in China. Back in 2001, when I first visited this southern frontier of Yunnan province, it was still possible to stay in traditional wooden stilted houses with palm-thatched roofs. It was a sleepy town with a handful of hotels and two cafes catering to backpackers hopping between China, Laos and Thailand. Aside from a sprinkling of brothels, Jinghong’s only evening entertainment was a riverside night market where men with loudhailers pestered passers-by to ride rickety fairground rides.

Since then, domestic tourist dollars have transformed this steamy backwater. The last stilted houses have been cleared for blocks of flats, and high-rise hotels have sprouted like weeds along the bank of the Mekong, here known as the Lancang River. The city’s palm-shaded streets resemble a giant jade bazaar, lined with glass-cased showrooms offering milky green trinkets to tourists dressed in Hawaiian shirts. Other stores sell packaged discs of local Pu’er tea, which is said to aid weight loss, or decorative elephants carved in tropical rosewood. A less chaotic version of the old night market survives, but it competes with an expensive bar street and neon-lit karaoke parlours.

The roads rumble with diesel-belching trucks hauling exotic fruits across China, smudging the blue sky grey with smog.

Jinghong’s new-found prosperity is built on massive investment in transport infrastructure. Until a new expressway more than halved the journey time, it was a fifteen-hour drive south from Kunming, the provincial capital, along twisting roads. I remember a torturous journey in the spring of 2003, when I fled from Beijing to Yunnan during the outbreak of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS), which killed hundreds of people in the capital. Early in the morning, after an uncomfortable night on a sleeper bus, hospital staff wearing medical spacesuits floated on board to check our temperatures and spray disinfectant. In those days, travelling by bus was easier than flying, as flights were few and far between. Today, the city airport is served by forty daily flights from the provincial capital of Kunming; it no longer feels like an isolated outpost on the forgotten edge of the Chinese empire.

In fact, for most of its history Jinghong barely belonged to China at all. The capital of Xishuangbanna prefecture, it is home to an ethnic Tai people, called Dai in Chinese. For centuries, Xishuangbanna was an important stop on the Ancient Tea Horse Road, a network of mule caravan paths that wound their way through the mountains of Yunnan and Burma. This ‘southern Silk Road’ led north into Tibet and the foothills of the Himalaya, west to Bengal and India, and south into Indochina. The Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar economic corridor, which begins in Kunming and passes northwest of Xishuangbanna through the border city of Ruili, is an attempt to revive this ancient trade route. But Jinghong is looking to the southern stretch of the old route for its future — to Laos, Thailand and beyond.

In this extract from his forthcoming book China’s Asian Dream: Quiet Empire Building along the New Silk Road, Tom Miller reflects on the rapid transformation of China’s urban landscape.
In this extract from his forthcoming book Romaphobia: The Last Acceptable Form of Racism, Aidan McGarry shows how the Roma have been constructed as the perennial outsider community, obscuring the racism they have suffered.
Today, Roma are one of the most marginalised groups in Europe, with anti-Roma attitudes on the rise. Romaphobia is the hatred or fear of those individuals perceived as being Roma, Gypsy or Traveller; it involves the negative ascription of group identity and can result in marginalisation, persecution and violence.

Romaphobia is a manifestation of racism: it is cut from the same cloth. It is no different in form and content to Islamophobia or anti-Semitism, both of which are on the rise in Europe, but its causes can be particularised. There is something specific about Romaphobia, even if its racist core is familiar. I intend to explore the specifics. Instead of detailing manifestations of Romaphobia, this book uncovers the causes of racism towards Roma communities and points to constructive ways it can be combated.

While defining Roma is challenging, I follow the Council of Europe’s (2012) definition: ‘Roma’ includes ‘Roma, Sinti, Kale, and related groups in Europe, including Travellers and the Eastern groups (Dom and Lom) and covers the wide diversity of the groups concerned including persons who identify themselves as Gypsies’. Roma number between 10 million and 12 million people and are present in every state in Europe.

Let me start with a simple but illuminating fact: legally sanctioned forms of discrimination against Roma have receded, but anti-Roma prejudice persists. Indeed, Roma are more segregated and unequal than ever before; they are regarded as a menace, a scourge and a disease, as secretive, unadaptable and ungovernable.

Policy interventions in education, employment, housing and health are doomed to failure unless they meet the challenge of Romaphobia head on. Only by understanding the causes of Romaphobia can meaningful solutions be found.

The issue of responsibility is often discussed but a common solution has found little traction. Who is responsible for the integration of Roma communities (if we agree that integration is the goal anyway)? International organisations, national governments and civil society have failed to address the most pressing socio-economic concerns of this group, and the socio-economic position of Roma has actually deteriorated in the last thirty years across Europe.

So, whose fault is that? Many Roma have been unable to politically mobilise in a significant manner to articulate their needs and interests because of structural disadvantages, yet failure to improve their condition is met with accusations from the majority that Roma are helpless and hopeless. It is commonly believed that Roma do not want to integrate so should be left alone to inhabit a parallel society. However, I intend to show that Roma have never lived separately from the majority; indeed, their perceived difference has been harnessed by the state and by other actors to foster national unity, with disastrous results for Roma, who in the process have been constructed as the perennial outsider community that does not belong.

Romaphobia: The Last Acceptable Form of Racism by Aidan McGarry is published in February 2017.
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From Tehran to Riyadh, Cairo to Nazareth, this is the story of how a new generation of rockers and rappers are changing the Middle East.

A muggy night in Abu Dhabi, 2012. Under the stadium lights a 30,000-strong sea of Libyans, Palestinians, Syrians and Egyptians wait in anticipation. Alongside them are Saudis, Iranians and Israelis. Defiance and excitement course through the crowd. Together, they are waiting for Metallica’s first show in the Middle East. Many have faced untold violence, but for tonight, nothing else matters …

This is the untold story of that crowd. Of the young men and women and the music they make in the backrooms of shabby houses in al-Zarqa and al-Qatif, Nazareth and Cairo. Of illegal shows in Tehran and Riyadh. Of songs that ousted a dictator in Cairo. Of exiles that have ended in glory, in isolation and in blood.

Journalist and lifelong heavy metal fan Orlando Crowcroft has spent six years penetrating the rock and metal scene in the Middle East. Rock in a Hard Place is a different voice, at odds with the Middle East of extremism, war and ISIS: a voice that may unite us when we need it most.

Orlando Crowcroft is a journalist and lifelong heavy metal fan and has interviewed bands throughout the Middle East for Rolling Stone, Atlantic and Esquire. He is the co-author of the Lonely Planet Guide to Israel and the Palestinian Territories (2015) and has reported from a dozen countries, including Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Egypt. In 2014, he reported from Israel, the West Bank and Gaza for The Guardian and The National.
A unique rethinking of Buddhist and socialist values, and how together they might bring about a better world.

To the surprise of many, the Dalai Lama recently declared, ‘I am a socialist’. While many Buddhists and socialists would be perplexed at the suggestion that their approaches to life share fundamental principles, important figures in the Buddhist tradition are increasingly framing contemporary social and economic problems in distinctly socialist terms.

In this novel and provocative work, Terry Gibbs argues that the shared values expressed in each tradition could provide signposts for creating a truly humane, compassionate and free society. Hopeful about our potential to create the ‘good society’ through collective effort, Why the Dalai Lama is a Socialist is grounded in the fundamental belief that everyday human activity makes a difference.
‘A beautiful, rigorous, intelligent, sensitive and courageous book. It must be read.’
Sonia Dayan-Herzbrun, *La Quinzaine littéraire*

**The Daily Lives of Muslims**
*Islam in Contemporary Europe*
Nilüfer Göle

A remarkable and rich exploration of what it means to be a Muslim in contemporary Europe.

For many in the West, Islam has become a byword for ‘terrorism’. From 9/11 to the Paris attacks, our headlines are dominated by images of violence. Now, as the Western world struggles to cope with the refugee crisis, there is a growing obsession with the issue of Muslim integration. Those Muslims who fail to assimilate are branded the ‘enemy within’. Such narratives fail to take into account the actual lives of most Muslims living in the West.

In *The Daily Lives of Muslims*, Nilüfer Göle provides an urgent corrective to this distorted image of Islam. Engaging with Muslim communities in twenty-one cities across Europe where controversies have arisen – from the banning of the veil in France to debates surrounding Sharia law in the UK – the book brings the voices of this neglected minority into the debate.

In doing so, Göle uncovers a desire among many Muslims to participate in the public sphere, a desire too often stifled by Western insecurity.

Barometer of Fear
An Insider’s Account of Rogue Trading and the Greatest Banking Scandal in History
Alexis Stenfors

Reveals how LIBOR rigging – ‘the biggest banking scandal in history’ – is just the tip of the iceberg of banking malpractice.

The LIBOR affair has been described as the ‘biggest banking scandal in history’. With over 360 trillion dollars worth of financial instruments linked to the LIBOR, the deception has affected not only banks but also corporations, pension funds and ordinary people.

But was the scandal the work of a few ‘bad apples’ or an inevitable result of a financial system rotten to its core? Former ‘rogue trader’ Alexis Stenfors guides us through the shadowy world of modern banking, providing an insider’s account of the secret practices and powers that have allowed banks to profit from systemic deception.

Containing remarkable and often shocking insights derived from his own experiences on the trading room floor, as well as his spectacular fall from grace as a banker at Merrill Lynch, Barometer of Fear draws back the curtain on a realm that for too long has remained hidden from public view.

Alexis Stenfors spent fifteen years as a trader at HSBC, Citi, Crédit Agricole and Merrill Lynch. In 2009, he found himself at the centre of a ‘mispricing’ scandal which would eventually result in him being described as one of the ‘world’s most infamous rogue traders’. He is currently senior lecturer in economics and finance at Portsmouth Business School.
China’s Asian Dream

Quiet Empire Building along the New Silk Road

Tom Miller

What does China’s rise mean for the future of Asia, and of the world?

Napoleon once remarked that ‘when China wakes she will shake the world’. Under President Xi Jinping, China is pursuing an increasingly ambitious foreign policy with the aim of restoring its status as the dominant power in Asia. From the Mekong Basin to the Central Asian steppe, the country is wooing its neighbours with promises of new roads, railways and power grids. Chinese investment presents huge opportunities for China’s neighbours, and its ability to build infrastructure could assist in the development of some of the world’s poorest countries.

Yet China’s rise also threatens to reduce its neighbours to the status of exploited vassals. In Vietnam and Myanmar, resentment of Chinese encroachment has incited anti-Chinese protests, and many countries in the region are turning to the US and Japan.

Combining a concise overview of the situation with on-the-ground reportage from various countries, *China’s Asian Dream* offers a fresh perspective on one of the most important questions of our time: what does China’s rise mean for the future of Asia, and of the world?

Tom Miller is a senior analyst at Gavekal Research and editor-at-large of *China Economic Quarterly*. A former journalist and resident in China for fourteen years, he has reported from a dozen countries in Asia. He is the author of *China’s Urban Billion: The Story Behind the Biggest Migration in Human History* (Zed, 2012).

Praise for Tom Miller’s previous book *China’s Urban Billion*:

‘Cogent analysis is buttressed by colourful reportage… a consistently good read.’

*The Financial Times*

‘Lively and readable.’

*South China Morning Post*

Myanmar

A Burmese People’s Story

Irene Slegt and Simon Long

A vivid account of the challenges facing Myanmar as it transitions hesitantly towards democracy.

Burma’s transformation in recent years from a fiercely repressed, isolated, 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 Burma has seen many. The army’s cronies remain dominant in business and it retains a political grip through the 2008 constitution. Yet undeniably, Burma is a better place now than before the reforms that started in 2011.

*Myanmar* shows how important the changes 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 to the mass of ordinary people.

Simon Long is ‘Banyan’, *The Economist*’s Asia columnist, and has written for *The Guardian* and other outlets. He is the author of *Taiwan: China’s Last Frontier* (1990).

Irene Slegt is an investigative journalist and author of three books on East Timor. Her work has been published in *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The New York Times*, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Economist*. 
Virgin Envy
The Cultural Insignificance of the Hymen
Edited by Jonathan A. Allan, Cristina Santos and Adriana Spahr

A queer exploration of our attitudes towards virginity.

At once normative and deviant, undesirable and enviable, virginity and its loss hold tremendous cultural significance. For many, female virginity is still a universally accepted condition, something that is somehow bound to the hymen, whereas male virginity is almost as elusive as the G-spot: we know it’s there, it’s just we have a harder time finding it.

So what if we agree to forget the hymen altogether? Might we start to see the instability of terms like untouched, pure or innocent? Might we question the act of sex, the very notion of relational sexuality?

From medieval to present-day literature, the output of HBO, Bollywood and the films of Abdellah Taia or Derek Jarman to the virginity testing of politically active women in Tahrir Square, Virgin Envy explores the concept of virginity in today’s world.

Jonathan A. Allan is Canada Research Chair in queer theory and the author of Reading from Behind: A Cultural Analysis of the Anus (Zed, 2016).
Cristina Santos is an associate professor at Brock University and author of The Monster Imagined: Humanity’s Re-Creation of Monsters and Monstrosity (2016).
Adriana Spahr is an associate professor at MacEwan University in Edmonton, Alberta, and co-author of Madre de Mendoza/Mother of Mendoza (2013).

Omnia Sunt Communia
Principles for the Transition to Postcapitalism
Massimo De Angelis

A radical new conceptualisation of the commons as a set of social systems, rather than just common goods.

An innovative work of radical political economy, Omnia Sunt Communia sets out the steps to postcapitalism. By conceptualising the commons not just as common goods but as a set of social systems, Massimo De Angelis shows their pervasive presence in everyday life, mapping out a strategy for total social transformation.

From the micro to the macro, De Angelis unveils the commons as fields of power relations—shared space, objects, subjects—that explode the limits of daily life under capitalism.

He exposes attempts to co-opt the commons, through the use of code words such as ‘participation’ and ‘governance’, and reveals the potential for radical transformation rooted in the reproduction of our communities, of life, of work and of society as a whole.

Massimo De Angelis is professor of political economy at the University of East London, and founder and editor of the web journal The Commoner (www.thecommoner.org). His previous books include The Beginning of History (2007).
Indefensible
Seven Myths that Sustain the Global Arms Trade
Collected by Paul Holden

An essential handbook for all those seeking to debunk the myths of the global arms trade.

Although there is often opposition to individual wars, most people continue to believe that the arms industry is necessary in some form: to safeguard our security, provide jobs and stimulate the economy. Not only conservatives, but many progressives and liberals, support it for these reasons.

Indefensible puts forward a devastating challenge to this conventional wisdom, which has normalised the existence of the most savage weapons of mass destruction ever known. It is the essential handbook for those who want to debunk the arguments of the industry and its supporters: deploying statistics, case studies and irrefutable evidence to demonstrate that they are fundamentally flawed.

Indefensible clearly shows that far from protecting us, the arms trade undermines our security by fanning the flames of war, terrorism and global instability. In countering these myths, the book points to ways in which we can reshape our economies in the interests of peace and human well-being.

Matthew Vickery is a journalist and researcher covering conflict, human rights and workers’ rights issues. He has worked extensively in Israel and the occupied Palestinian territories, as well as Iraq, Syria, Turkey and Ukraine. He has written for, among other publications, Al Jazeera, Foreign Policy, USA Today, Haaretz, Middle East Eye and The Times.

Employing the Enemy
The Story of Palestinian Labourers on Israeli Settlements
Matthew Vickery

Through conversations with Palestinians working in illegal Israeli settlements, Matthew Vickery uncovers an insidious aspect of Israeli occupation.

How would it feel to work on land stolen from you? This is the bitter reality for thousands of Palestinians working in, and building, illegal Israeli settlements. This work entails a rejection of legal rights, little job security, low wages and dangerous working conditions.

Through a vivid and moving narrative, based on many conversations with these workers and their families, Matthew Vickery explores the rationale, emotions and consequences of such employment. In doing so, he draws attention to a previously neglected aspect of the Palestinian experience and Israeli subjugation.

This, coupled with an innovative and groundbreaking analysis of the Israeli government’s role in the settlement employment sector, exposes the true nature of these practices as a new, insidious form of state-sponsored forced labour. Exploring how such practices might be challenged, Employing the Enemy paints a powerful picture of how people become caught up in their own oppression.

Matthew Vickery is a journalist and researcher covering conflict, human rights and workers’ rights issues. He has worked extensively in Israel and the occupied Palestinian territories, as well as Iraq, Syria, Turkey and Ukraine. He has written for, among other publications, Al Jazeera, Foreign Policy, USA Today, Haaretz, Middle East Eye and The Times.
African, American
From Tarzan to Dreams from My Father – Africa in the US Imagination
David Peterson del Mar

A panoramic account of the role Africa has played in the American psyche, covering books, movies, music and more.

Africa has long gripped the American imagination. From the Edenic wilderness of Edgar Rice Burroughs' *Tarzan* novels to the ‘black Zion’ of Garvey’s Back-to-Africa movement, all manner of Americans – whether white or black, male or female – have come to see Africa as an idealised stage on which they can fashion new, more authentic selves.

In this remarkable, panoramic work, David Peterson del Mar explores the ways in which American fantasies of Africa have evolved over time, as well as the role of Africans themselves in subverting American attitudes to their continent.

Spanning seven decades, from the post-war period to the present day, and encompassing sources ranging from literature, film and music to accounts by missionaries, aid workers and travel writers, *African, American* is a fascinating deconstruction of ‘Africa’ as it exists in the American mindset.

Haiti Will Not Perish
A Recent History
Michael Deibert

A vivid and up-to-the-minute analysis of Haiti’s recent history, overturning the myths surrounding this often misunderstood country.

The world’s first independent black republic, Haiti was forged in the fire of history’s only successful slave revolution, a rebellion that defeated the world’s great imperial powers. More than 200 years later, the promise of the revolution – a free country and a free people – remains unfulfilled.

Home for over a decade 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. This grim tale, however, is not the whole story.

In this moving and detailed history, Michael Deibert, who has spent two decades reporting on Haiti, 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 and challenging analysis of Haiti’s recent history.

Praise for Michael Deibert’s previous book *The Democratic Republic of Congo:*

‘Scrupulously researched… compassion impels [Deibert’s] curiosity.’

*The Guardian*
Romaphobia
The Last Acceptable Form of Racism
Aidan McGarry

Identifies the origins of Romaphobia, and points to meaningful ways to promote the inclusion of Roma in society.

Roma communities are among the most persecuted groups in Europe. Based on real accounts of the struggles faced by Roma communities, this well-researched and informative book argues that little has been done to identify the root causes of anti-Roma discrimination.

McGarry shows that the origins of this discrimination are to be found in the early history of the European nation state, and the ways in which the Roma, as landless ‘nomads’, have been excluded from national communities founded upon a notion of belonging to a particular territory.

McGarry argues that understanding Romaphobia as a prejudice rooted in European notions of territoriality allows us to unpick the relationship between identity and belonging, and shows the way towards the inclusion of Roma in society, providing vital insights for other marginalised communities across the world.

Aidan McGarry is a senior lecturer in politics at the University of Brighton, and the recipient of the ‘Rising Star’ Award 2014, for academic excellence. He is the author of Who Speaks for Roma? (2010) and co-editor of The Politics and Discourses of Migration in Europe (2013) and The Identity Dilemma (2015).

Babies for Sale
Transnational Surrogacy, Human Rights and the Politics of Reproduction
Edited by Miranda Davies

This study of transnational surrogacy is the first to give prominence to the voices of surrogate mothers, donors and prospective parents themselves.

Transnational surrogacy is on the rise. In the US, the practice is already legal in several states, while in India state-sponsored ‘medical tourism’ has seen the establishment of around 3,000 surrogacy clinics. Globalisation, new reproductive technologies and rising infertility in the global North are combining to produce a ‘quiet revolution’ in social ethics and the nature of parenting.

Whereas much of the current scholarship has confined itself to the legal implications of this phenomenon, and has largely focussed on the US and India, this groundbreaking anthology offers a much wider perspective.

Featuring contributions from twenty activists and scholars from a range of countries and disciplines, this collection offers the first genuinely international study of transnational surrogacy. Its innovative ‘bottom up’ approach, rooted in feminist perspectives, gives due prominence to the voices of those most affected by global surrogacy chains.

Miranda Davies has worked as a freelance writer and editor for numerous organisations, including Isis International Women’s Network, the Central America Committee for Human Rights, Virago, Channel Four, the Rough Guides, Sort Of Books and the British Association for Adoption and Fostering (BAAF).
Histories of Violence
Post-war Critical Thought
Edited by Brad Evans and Terrell Carver

An essential introduction to post-war critical thought on the problem 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.

Women as Wartime Rapists
Making Sense of Women’s Sexual Violence in War and Genocide
Laura Sjoberg

A poignant account of one of the most neglected aspects of warfare: the role of women as perpetrators of sexual violence.

Throughout history, women have often borne the brunt of conflict, not least when rape and sexual violence are used as weapons of war. But while the role of women as victims is well documented, we often forget that women can also be perpetrators. In a small but significant number of cases, women in conflict zones have participated in horrific acts of rape, torture and sexual abuse.

This book uncovers the stories of these women, and asks what their crimes can tell us about our broader conceptions of war, violence and gender. With case studies ranging from Nazi Germany to the women of the ‘Islamic State’, Sjoberg provides a provocative account of women in wartime, one which upends the stereotypes of mainstream accounts.

Sjoberg shows that our perceptions of sexual violence have too often allowed female perpetrators to remain invisible, and her work therefore sheds vital light on a neglected area of modern conflict.

Laura Sjoberg is an associate professor of political science at the University of Florida. Her previous books include Beyond Mothers, Monsters, Whores (with Caron Gentry, Zed 2015) and Gendering Global Conflict (2013).

‘This volume will inspire instructors and students and will make a necessary addition to any classroom curriculum.’
Davide Panagia, University of California, Los Angeles
**Peru**

*Elite Power and Political Capture*

*John Crabtree and Francisco Durand*

Explores how the Peruvian elite and foreign mining interests have entrenched their position.

While leftist governments have been elected across Latin America, this ‘Pink Tide’ has so far failed to reach Peru. Instead, the corporate elite remains firmly entrenched and the left is marginalised. Peru therefore represents a particularly stark example of ‘state capture’, in which an extreme concentration of wealth in the hands of a few has resulted in a monopoly on political power.

Following the 2016 elections, John Crabtree and Francisco Durand look at how these elites have consolidated their position, with a particular focus on the role of mining and other extractive industries. In the process, Crabtree and Durand provide a unique case study of state development.

**Ecofeminism as Politics**

*Nature, Marx and the Postmodern*

*Ariel Salleh*

Foreword by Vandana Shiva

An update to Ariel Salleh’s landmark exploration of the relationship between feminism and ecology.

**Thailand**

*Shifting Ground between the US and a Rising China*

*Benjamin Zawacki*

Examines the Thai regime’s drift towards China, and the implications for Sino-American power struggles.

Since the Second World War, Thailand has positioned itself as a key strategic ally of the United States. In return, the US has provided millions of dollars in military and economic aid, and staunchly supported the country’s despotic regimes.

However, the twenty-first century has seen a striking reversal in Thailand’s foreign relations, with China, once a sworn enemy, now treated as a valued ally. This shift has had a dramatic impact on Thailand itself, as the country’s ruling elite ape the ‘Chinese model’ of authoritarianism. In *Thailand*, Benjamin Zawacki provides a compelling account of Thailand’s changing role in the world order.

**Where are the Unions?**

*Workers and Social Movements in Latin America, Middle East and Europe*

*Edited by Sian Lazar*

The first comprehensive comparison of social movements in Latin American, the Middle East, North Africa, Europe and North America.

The start of the twenty-first century has been marked by global demands for economic justice. From the wave that swept through Latin America in the early 2000s, and the Arab revolutions from 2011, to the Occupy and anti-austerity movements in Europe and North America, the last twenty years have witnessed the birth of a new type of mass mobilisation.

**Asian Arguments**

*New Edition*
Theatre and Cultural Struggle in South Africa
Robert Mshengu Kavanagh
Foreword by Ian Steadman
A pioneering study of South African theatre under Apartheid.
This book reveals the complex interplay of class, nation and race in South African theatre under Apartheid. Kavanagh’s account spans three very different areas of South African theatre: the merits and limitations of the multi-racial theatre projects created by white liberals; the popular musicals staged for black audiences by emergent black entrepreneurs; and the efforts of the Black Consciousness Movement to forge a distinctly African form of theatre.

A highly readable, pioneering study of the theatre at a time of unprecedented upheaval, diversity and innovation.

Theory of African Literature
Implications for Practical Criticism
Chidi Amuta
Foreword by Biodun Jeyifo
Overturns conventional assessments of African literature, offering a unique contribution to literary criticism.

This groundbreaking work, first published in 1989, was one of the first to challenge the conventional assessment of African literature. Amuta’s key argument is that African literature can be discussed only within the wider framework of dismantling colonial rule and Western hegemony in Africa.
In exploring the possibility of an alternative critical base, he draws upon classical Marxist aesthetics and the theories of African culture espoused by Fanon, Cabral and Ngugi. From these explorations, Amuta derives a new language of criticism, which is then applied to works by modern African writers as diverse as Achebe, Ousmane, Agostinho Neto and Dennis Brutus.

Land, Freedom and Fiction
History and Ideology in Kenya
David Maughan Brown
Foreword by Stephen Clingman
An exploration of the Mau Mau uprising and its place in the literature and identity of Kenya.

This now classic work examines the contrasting ways in which the Mau Mau struggle for land and independence in Kenya was mirrored, and usually distorted, by successive generations of white authors, as well as by indigenous Kenyan novelists.
Against the turbulent background of the Mau Mau uprising, Maughan Brown explores the relationship between history, literary creation and the myths that societies cultivate. Land, Freedom and Fiction succeeds in showing the subtle insights a materialist approach can bring to the study of literature, ideology and society.

Writing African Women
Gender, Popular Culture and Literature in West Africa
Edited by Stephanie Newell
Foreword by Wendy Griswold
A enlivening exploration of the links between literature, popular culture and theories of gender.

How does our understanding of Africa shift when we begin from the perspective of women? This work brings together a wide variety of African academics and other researchers to explore the links between literature, popular culture and theories of gender.
Beginning with a groundbreaking overview of African gender theory, the book goes on to analyse women’s writing, uncovering the ways different writers have approached issues of female creativity and colonial history, as well as the ways they have subverted popular stereotypes of African women.

Robert Mshengu Kavanagh played an active part in South African theatre in the 1970s through the Experimental Theatre Workshop ‘71 and as editor of S’ketsh’, a magazine covering black and non-segregated theatre in South Africa.

Chidi Amuta is a Nigerian journalist, intellectual and literary critic.

David Maughan Brown is the former deputy vice chancellor of York St John University.

Stephanie Newell is a professor of English at Yale University. She is the author of The Power to Name: A History of Anonymity in Colonial West Africa (2013).
The Story of an African Working Class
Ghanaian Miners’ Struggles 1870–1980
Jeff Crisp
Foreword by Gavin Hilson

A fascinating history of working class struggle in Ghana’s gold mines.
This seminal work tells the story of Ghana’s gold miners, one of the oldest and most militant groups of workers in Africa. It is a story of struggle against exploitative mining companies, repressive governments and authoritarian trade union leaders. Drawing on a wide range of original sources, including previously secret records, Jeff Crisp explores the changing nature of life and work in the gold mines from the colonial era into the 1980s.

This book remains a unique contribution to the history of Africa and its working class.

‘One of the most vivid and important works in the history of African labour and its struggles.’
Richard Jeffries, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

Jeff Crisp is a research associate at the Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford, and an associate fellow at Chatham House.

History of Africa
Hosea Jaffe
Foreword by Samir Amin

A masterful study spanning over two thousand years of African history.
Covering from the African Iron Age to the collapse of colonialism and the beginnings of independence, Hosea Jaffe’s magisterial work remains one of the few to do full justice to the continent’s complex and diverse past. The great strength of Jaffe’s work lies in its unique theoretical perspective, which stresses the distinctive character of Africa’s social structures and historical development. Crucially, Jaffe rejects efforts to impose Eurocentric models of history onto Africa.

Includes a foreword by the distinguished economist and political theorist Samir Amin.

‘A book of major theoretical importance … provides many insights into African nationalist, class and other struggles, past, present and future.’
Richard Pankhurst, Royal Asiatic Society

Hosea Jaffe was a historian, economist and radical activist. Over the course of his life he taught at universities throughout Africa and Europe. He died in 2014.

Yours for the Union
Class and Community Struggles in South Africa
Baruch Hirson
Foreword by Tom Lodge

A groundbreaking history of the making of the black working class in South Africa.
Yours for the Union stands as a landmark history of the making of the black working class in South Africa. Drawing on a wide range of sources, it covers the crucial period of 1930–47, when South Africa’s rapid industrialisation led to the dramatic growth of the working class and of vast shanty towns, which became a focal point for resistance. Importantly, Hirson was one of the first historians to go beyond the traditional focus on the mines and factories, broadening his account to include the lesser-known community struggles of the urban ghettos and rural reserves.

Baruch Hirson (1921 – 1999) was a lifelong activist who spent nine-and-a-half years in South African prisons as a result of his opposition to the apartheid regime. Following his release in 1973 he left for England, where he lectured in history at several universities. He is the author of Year of Fire, Year of Ash (Zed, 2016).

No Fist is Big Enough to Hide the Sky
The Liberation of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, 1963–74
Basil Davidson
Forewords by Zachary Mampilly and Amilcar Cabral

An unsurpassed study of the struggle against colonial rule in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde.

No Fist is Big Enough to Hide the Sky stands as a key text in the history of the eleven-year struggle against Portuguese rule in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. Though perhaps less well known than the struggles in Angola and Mozambique, the liberation war waged for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) easily ranks as an example of an African independence movement triumphant against overwhelming odds.

Basil Davidson, who witnessed many of these events first hand, draws on his own extensive experience in the country to analyse the conflict.

Basil Davidson was one of the most remarkable Africanist historians of his generation. Among his notable books are The African Genius (1969) and The Black Man’s Burden (1992). He died in 2010.
**The End of Development**

A Global History of Poverty and Prosperity

Andrew Brooks

A scathing indictment of the current development agenda.

Tracing the long arc of human history in an argument grounded in a deep understanding of geography, Andrew Brooks rejects popular explanations for the divergence of nations. This accessible and illuminating volume shows how the wealth of ‘the West’ and poverty of ‘the rest’ stem not from environmental factors or some unique European qualities, but from the expansion of colonialism and the rise of America.

This flawed form of development is now coming to an end, as the emerging economies of Asia and Africa begin to assert themselves on the world stage.

Andrew Brooks is a lecturer in development geography at King’s College London and the author of *Clothing Poverty* (Zed, 2015).

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**Private Security in Africa**

From the Global Assemblage to the Everyday

Edited by Paul Higate and Mats Utas

A comprehensive analysis of the rise of private security providers across Africa.

Across Africa, growing economic instability and urbanisation have led to the spread of private security providers. Drawing on a wide range of disciplinary approaches, *Private Security in Africa* offers unique insight into the experiences of security providers and those affected by them, as well as into the fragile state context which has allowed them to thrive.

Featuring original empirical research and case studies, the book considers the full implications of PSPs for security and the state, not only for Africa but for the world as a whole.

Paul Higate is a reader in gender and security at the University of Bristol. Mats Utas is a senior lecturer in the Department of Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology at Uppsala University and the editor of *African Conflicts and Informal Power* (Zed, 2012).

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**Spending Beyond Our Borders**

Rethinking International Public Spending for a New Era

Jonathan Glennie and Gail Hurley

An insightful look at how international public finance can help to achieve the UN’s Sustainable Development Goals.

How much do we really know about how our government spends money beyond our borders? While there has been much talk about the money spent on development and humanitarian causes, international public spending is a much larger and more complex enterprise, encompassing military interventions, investment in research, cross-border crime control and more.

*Spending Beyond Our Borders* goes beyond the focus on development aid to consider the impact of international public finance (IPF) more broadly. The authors argue that aligning IPF with the wider objectives of international development will be crucial to fulfilling the United Nation’s new Sustainable Development Goals.

Jonathan Glennie is director of policy and research at Save the Children UK and the author of *The Trouble with Aid* (Zed Books, 2023). Gail Hurley is a development finance policy specialist at the United Nations Development Programme.

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**Warlord Democrats in Africa**

Ex-Military Leaders and Electoral Politics

Edited by Anders Themnér

The first systematic study of the electoral participation of ex-military leaders in Africa.

Post-war democratisation has been identified as a crucial mechanism to build peace in war-ridden societies. A byproduct of such processes is, however, that military leaders often become an integral part of the new democratic system. The crucial and thus-far overlooked question to be addressed, therefore, is what effect the inclusion of ex-militaries into electoral politics has on post-war security?

This important volume, containing a wealth of fresh empirical detail and theoretical insight, and focussing on some of Africa’s most high-profile political figures – from Kagame to Mahar to Dhlakama – represents a crucial intervention in the literature of post-war democratisation.

Anders Themnér is a senior researcher at the Nordic Africa Institute and an assistant professor in peace and conflict studies at Uppsala University.
Women’s Activism in Africa
Edited by Balghis Badri and Aili Mari Tripp

An indispensable overview of women’s activism and political struggles in contemporary Africa.

Throughout Africa, growing numbers of women are making their voices heard, mobilising around causes ranging from democracy and land rights to campaigns against domestic violence. While some of these movements have been influenced by international feminism and external donors, African women themselves are also increasingly shaping the global struggle for women’s rights, particularly in areas such as political representation and peace-building.

Written by African authors who are themselves part of the activist groups, this collection represents the only comprehensive and up-to-date overview of women’s movements in contemporary Africa.

Business and Society
A Critical Introduction
Kean Birch, Caroline Hossein, Mark Peacock, Alberto Salazar, Sonya Scott, and Richard Wellen

An ideal undergraduate introductory textbook to the economic and social role of business.

Corporations dominate our societies. They employ us, sell to us and influence how we think, 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 an historical analysis of the spread of capitalism 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.

Bestsellers

Assata
An Autobiography
Assata Shakur
Foreword by Angela Davis
‘Assata speaks to all of us.’
Angela Davis, from the Foreword
‘A deftly written book … A spellbinding tale.’
The New York Times

Angry White People
Coming Face-to-Face with the British Far Right
Hsiao-Hung Pai
Foreword by Benjamin Zephaniah
‘Enlightening, thoughtful and intelligent.’
The Independent
‘A timely contribution.’
The Independent

Woman at Point Zero
Nawal El Saadawi
Translated by Sherif Hetata
Foreword by Miriam Cooke
‘An unforgettable, unmissable book for the new global feminist.’
The Times

The Racket
A Rogue Reporter vs the American Elite
Matt Kennard
‘A first-class piece of radical investigative journalism.’
The Journalist
‘Should inspire all of us to fight back.’
Owen Jones
Bestsellers

The Global Minotaur
America, Europe and the Future of the Global Economy
Yanis Varoufakis
Foreword by Paul Mason
‘The emerging rock-star of Europe’s anti-austerity uprising.’
The Daily Telegraph
‘This trenchant and readable critique sets the eurozone crisis within a longer context.’
London Evening Standard

Africa
Why Economists Get It Wrong
Morten Jerven
‘A valuable corrective to the narrative of African failure.’
Foreign Affairs

The Economics
Anti-Textbook
A Critical Thinker’s Guide to Microeconomics
Rod Hill and Tony Myatt
‘Every honest economics teacher absolutely must make this book compulsory reading for their students.’
Samir Amin

Reading from Behind
A Cultural Analysis of the Anus
Jonathan A. Allan
‘A serious work of theory, exploring the backside as a site of humiliation and disgust.’
The Guardian
‘Allan has come up with a whole theory of the arsehole.’
Dazed and Confused

Debunking Economics
The Naked Emperor
Dethroned?
Steve Keen
‘Keen’s book is a tour de force that grants its reader the chance of immunity from still dominant economic superstitions.’
Yanis Varoufakis

Digital Jihad
Palestinian Resistance in the Digital Era
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‘A well-researched and accessible mediation on Palestinian hacktivism.’
Gabriella Coleman
‘This excellent book provides fascinating insights.’
Ilan Pappé

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