

B | Brookings Institution Press



FALL 2017

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# The New Localism

## How Cities Can Thrive in the Age of Populism

BRUCE KATZ and JEREMY NOWAK

In their new book, *The New Localism*, urban experts Bruce Katz and Jeremy Nowak reveal where the real power to create change lies and how it can be used to address our most serious social, economic, and environmental challenges.

Power is shifting in the world: downward from national governments and states to cities and metropolitan communities; horizontally from the public sector to networks of public, private and civic actors; and globally along circuits of capital, trade, and innovation.

This new locus of power—this new localism—is emerging by necessity to solve the grand challenges characteristic of modern societies: economic competitiveness, social inclusion and opportunity; a renewed public life; the challenge of diversity; and the imperative of environmental sustainability. Where rising populism on the right and the left exploits the grievances of those left behind in the global economy, new localism has developed as a mechanism to address them head on.

New localism is not a replacement for the vital roles federal governments play; it is the ideal complement to an effective federal government, and, currently, an urgently needed remedy for national dysfunction.

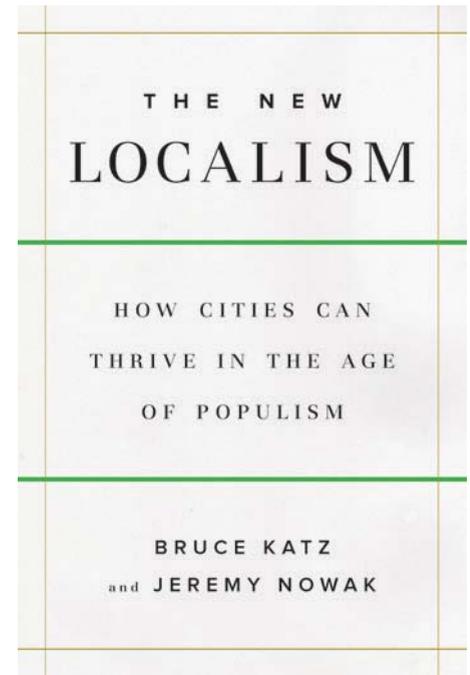
In *The New Localism*, Katz and Nowak tell the stories of the cities that are on the vanguard of problem solving. Pittsburgh is catalyzing inclusive growth by inventing and deploying new industries and technologies. Indianapolis is governing its city and metropolis through a network of public, private and civic leaders. Copenhagen is using publicly owned assets like their waterfront to spur large scale redevelopment and finance infrastructure from land sales.

Out of these stories emerge new norms of growth, governance, and finance and a path toward a more prosperous, sustainable, and inclusive society. Katz and Nowak imagine a world in which urban institutions finance the future through smart investments in innovation, infrastructure and children and urban intermediaries take solutions created in one city and adapt and tailor them to other cities with speed and precision.

As Katz and Nowak show us in *The New Localism*, “Power now belongs to the problem solvers.”

**Bruce Katz** is the Centennial Scholar at the Brookings Institution, where he focuses on the challenges and opportunities of global urbanization.

**Jeremy Nowak** is the founder of Reinvestment Fund and is a nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution.



October 2017, 5 x 8, 250 pp  
cloth, 9780815731641, \$25.99†  
ebook, 9780815731658, \$25.99

**Finding local solutions  
when the nation  
cannot, or will not.**

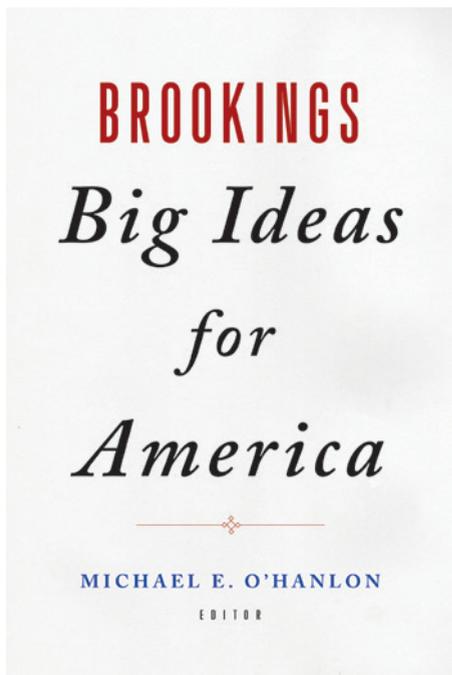
PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED

## Brookings Big Ideas for America

MICHAEL E. O'HANLON, EDITOR

As a new administration takes office, what are the biggest issues facing the country? The Brookings Institution offers answers to that question in this volume, which continues the Brookings tradition of providing each incoming administration with a nonpartisan analysis of the major domestic and foreign questions confronting America. On the domestic front, Brookings scholars tackle topics ranging from health care and improving economic opportunity to criminal justice reform, lawful hacking, and improving infrastructure. The alliance system, the relationship with China, nuclear weapons, terrorism, and the ongoing conflicts in Afghanistan and Syria among the foreign policies issues addressed. Throughout, Brookings scholars share their individual ideas on how best to address the agenda that awaits the new administration.

**Michael O'Hanlon** is a senior fellow in Foreign Policy at the Brookings Institution.



January 2017, 6 x 9, 416 pp  
cloth, 9780815731313, \$19.99†  
ebook, 9780815731320, \$19.99

The biggest issues  
facing the United States  
and the best ideas for  
how to address them.

# Words That Matter

## How the News and Social Media Shaped the 2016 Presidential Campaign

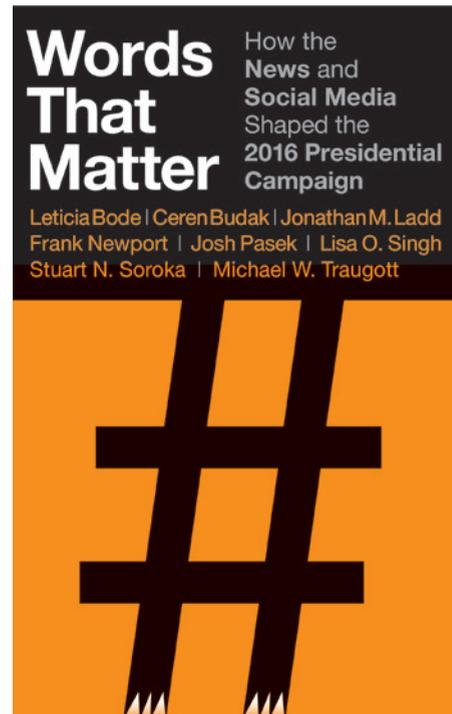
LETICIA BODE, CEREN BUDAK, JONATHAN M. LADD,  
FRANK NEWPORT, JOSH PASEK, LISA O. SINGH, STUART N. SOROKA,  
and MICHAEL W. TRAUGOTT

The 2016 presidential election campaign might have seemed to be all about one man. He certainly did everything possible to reinforce that impression. But to an unprecedented degree the campaign also was about the news media and its relationships with the man who won and the woman he defeated.

*140 Characters* assesses how the news media covered the extraordinary 2016 election and, more important, what information—true, false, or somewhere in between—actually helped voters make up their minds. Using journalists' real-time tweets and published news coverage of campaign events, along with Gallup polling data measuring how voters perceived that reporting, the book traces the flow of information from candidates and their campaigns to journalists and to the public.

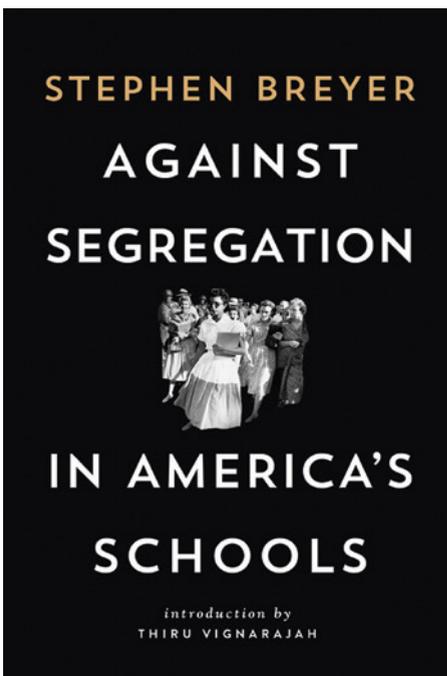
This book also demonstrates how the modern media environment can exacerbate the kind of pack journalism that leads some issues to dominate the news, while others of equal or greater importance get almost no attention, making it hard for voters to make informed choices.

**Leticia Bode** is assistant professor of Communications, Culture, and Technology at Georgetown University; **Ceren Budak** is assistant professor in the School of Information at the University of Michigan; **Jonathan M. Ladd** is associate professor of Public Policy and Government at Georgetown University and a nonresident senior fellow in Governance Studies at Brookings; **Frank Newport** is editor in chief of Gallup, Inc.; **Josh Pasek** is assistant professor of communication studies at the University of Michigan; **Lisa O. Singh** is associate professor of computer science at Georgetown University; **Stuart N. Soroka** is Michael W. Traugott Collegiate Professor of communication studies and political science at the University of Michigan; and **Michael W. Traugott** is research professor at the Institute for Social Research and professor of communication studies and adjunct professor of political science at the University of Michigan, as well as a senior scientist at Gallup, Inc.



January 2018, 5 x 8, 200 pp  
cloth, 9780815731917, \$25.99a  
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How the 2016 news  
media environment  
allowed Trump to win  
the presidency.



October 2017, 5 x 8, 160 pp  
cloth, 9780815731665, \$14.95†  
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“A decision the Court  
and the Nation will  
come to regret.”

## Against Segregation in America's Schools

STEPHEN BREYER

Introduction by THIRU VIGNARAJAH

Ten years ago, the United States Supreme Court struck down two local school board initiatives meant to reverse extreme racial segregation in public schools. The sharply divided 5–4 decision in *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District* marked the end of an era of efforts by local authorities to fulfill the promise of racially integrated education envisioned by the Supreme Court in 1954 in *Brown v. Board of Education*. In a searing landmark dissent, Justice Stephen Breyer warned this was “a decision the Court and the Nation will come to regret.” A decade later, the unabated resegregation of America’s schools continues to confirm Justice Breyer’s fears, as many schools and school districts across the country are more racially segregated today than they were in the late 1960s.

Edited and introduced by Justice Breyer’s former law clerk—and accompanied by a sobering update on the state of segregated schools in America today—this volume contains the full text of Justice Breyer’s most impassioned opinion, a dissent that Justice John Paul Stevens called at the time “eloquent and unanswerable.” The cautionary words of Justice Breyer should echo in classrooms across the country and in the hearts and minds of parents and schoolchildren everywhere.

**Stephen Breyer** has been an associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court since 1994.

**Thiru Vignarajah** served as a law clerk for Justice Breyer the year of the *Parents* decision and is a partner at DLA Piper.

ALSO AVAILABLE

## Against the Death Penalty

STEPHEN BREYER

Edited by JOHN BESSLER

August 2016, 5 x 8, 176 pp  
cloth, 9780815728894, \$14.95†  
ebook, 9780815728900, \$14.99

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# What We Owe

Truths, Myths, and Lies about Public Debt

CARLO COTTARELLI

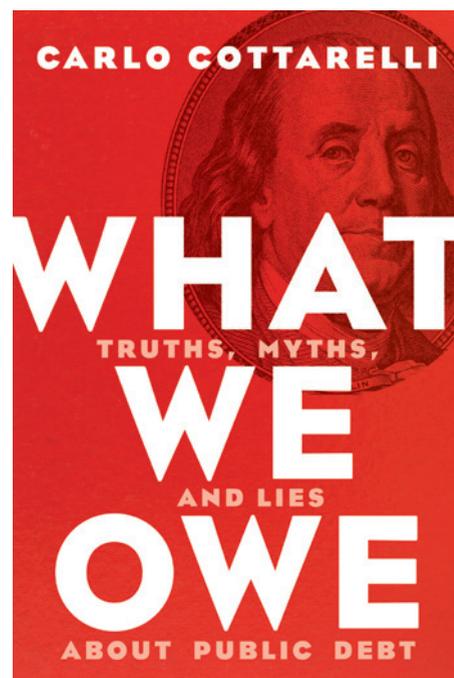
The euro crisis, Japan's sluggish economy, and partisan disagreements in the United States about the role of government all have at least one thing in common: worries about high levels of public debt. Nearly everyone agrees that public debt in many advanced economies is too high to be sustainable and must be addressed. There is little agreement, however, about when and how that addressing should be done—or even, in many cases, just how serious the debt problem is.

As the former director of the International Monetary Fund's Fiscal Affairs Department, Carlo Cottarelli has helped countries across the globe confront their public finance woes. He also had direct experience in advising his own country, Italy, about its chronic fiscal ailments. In this straightforward, plain-language book, Cottarelli explains how and why excessive public debt can harm economic growth and can lead to crises such as those experienced recently in Italy and several other European countries.

But Cottarelli also has some good news: reducing public debt often can be done without trauma and through moderate changes in spending habits that contribute to economic growth. His book focuses on positive remedies that countries can adopt to deal with their public debt, analyzing both the benefits and potential downsides to each approach, as well as suggesting which remedies might be preferable in particular situations.

Too often, public debate about public debt is burdened by lies and myths. This book not only explains the basic facts about public debt but also aims to bring truth and reasoned nonpartisan analysis to the debate.

**Carlo Cottarelli** joined the IMF in 1988, working for the European Department, the Monetary and Capital Markets Department, the Policy Development and Review Department, and the Fiscal Affairs Department, which he headed from November 2008 to October 2013.



September 2017, 6 x 9, 180 pp  
cloth, 9780815730675, \$21.99†  
ebook, 9780815730699, \$21.99

**Bringing clarity to what should, and can, be done about public debt.**

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# The Year I Was Peter the Great

1956—Khrushchev, Stalin's Ghost, and a Young American in Russia

MARVIN KALB

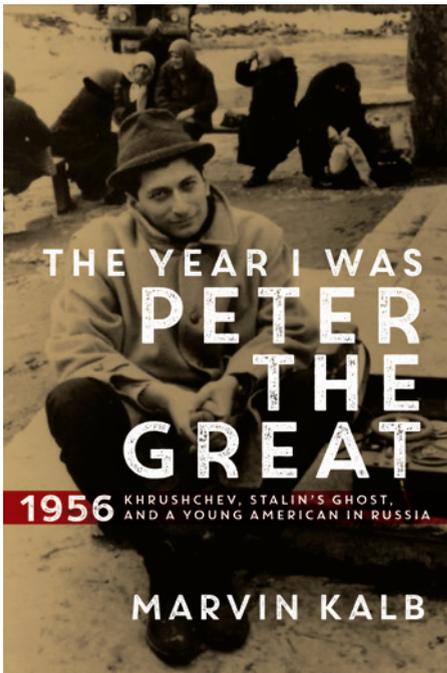
The year 1956 was an extraordinary one in modern Russian history. It was called “the year of the thaw”—a time when Stalin’s dark legacy of dictatorship died in February only to be reborn later that December. This historic arc from rising hope to crushing despair opened with a speech by Nikita Khrushchev, then the unpredictable leader of the Soviet Union. He astounded everyone by denouncing the one figure who, up to that time, had been hailed as a “genius,” a wizard of communism—Josef Stalin himself. Now, suddenly, this once unassailable god was being portrayed as a “madman” whose idiosyncratic rule had seriously undermined communism and endangered the Soviet state.

This amazing switch from hero to villain lifted a heavy overcoat of fear from the backs of ordinary Russians. It also quickly led to anti-communist uprisings in Eastern Europe, none more bloody and challenging than the one in Hungary, which Soviet troops crushed at year’s end.

Marvin Kalb, then a young diplomatic attaché at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, observed this tumultuous year that foretold the end of Soviet communism three decades later. Fluent in Russian, a doctoral candidate at Harvard, he went where few other foreigners would dare go, listening to Russian students secretly attack communism and threaten rebellion against the Soviet system, traveling from one end of a changing country to the other, and, thanks to his diplomatic position, meeting and talking with Khrushchev, who playfully nicknamed him Peter the Great.

In this, his fifteenth book, Kalb writes a fascinating eyewitness account of a superpower in upheaval and of a people yearning for an end to dictatorship.

**Marvin Kalb** is senior adviser to the Pulitzer Center on Crisis Reporting, a Harvard Professor emeritus, former network news correspondent at NBC and CBS, and nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution.



October 2017, 6 x 9, 300 pp  
cloth, 9780815731610, \$24.99†  
ebook, 9780815731627, \$24.99

A chronicle of the year that  
changed Soviet Russia—  
and molded the future  
path of one of America’s  
pre-eminent diplomatic  
correspondents.

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# The Eagle and the Trident

U.S.-Ukraine Relations in Turbulent Times

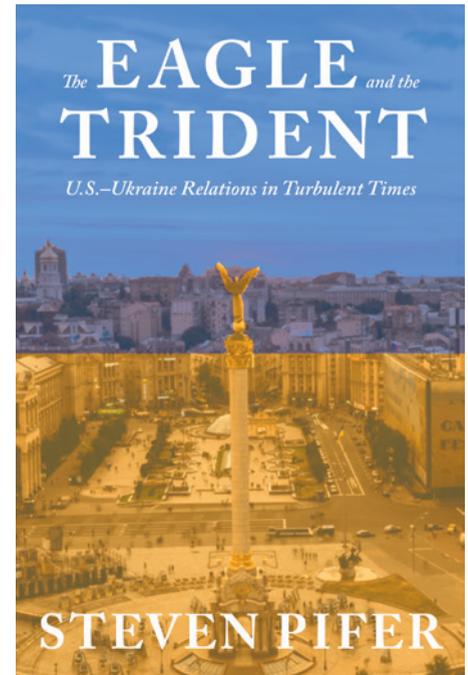
STEVEN PIFER

*The Eagle and the Trident* provides the first comprehensive account of the development of U.S. diplomatic relations with an independent Ukraine, covering the years 1992 through 2004 following the collapse of the Soviet Union. The United States devoted greater attention to Ukraine than any other post-Soviet state (except Russia) after the breakup of the Soviet Union. Steven Pifer, a career Foreign Service officer, worked on U.S.-Ukraine relations at the State Department and the White House during that period and also served as ambassador to Ukraine. With this volume he has written the definitive narrative of the ups and downs in the relationship between Washington and newly independent Ukraine.

The relationship between the two countries moved from heady days in the mid-1990s, when they declared a strategic partnership, to troubled times after 2002. During the period covered by the book, the United States generally succeeded in its major goals in Ukraine, notably the safe transfer of nearly 2,000 strategic nuclear weapons left there after the Soviet collapse. Washington also provided robust support for Ukraine's effort to develop into a modern, democratic, market-oriented state. But these efforts aimed at reforming the state proved only modestly successful, leaving a nation that was not resilient enough to stand up to Russian aggression in Crimea in 2014.

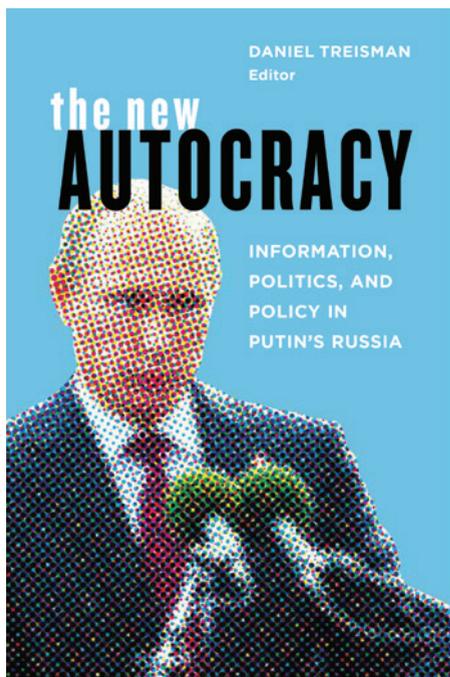
The author reflects on what worked and what did not work in the various U.S. approaches toward Ukraine. He also offers a practitioner's recommendations for current U.S. policies in the context of ongoing uncertainty about the political stability of Ukraine and Russia's long-term intentions toward its smaller but important neighbor.

**Steven Pifer** is a senior fellow in the Foreign Policy program at the Brookings Institution who served as U.S. ambassador to Ukraine from 1998 to 2000.



August 2017, 6 x 9, 366 pp  
cloth, 9780815730408, \$29.99†  
ebook, 9780815730620, \$29.99

**An insider's account of  
the complex relations  
between the United States  
and post-Soviet Ukraine.**



October 2017, 6 x 9, 316 pp  
paper, 9780815732433, \$35.99  
ebook, 9780815732440, \$27.99

**Corruption, fake news,  
and the “informational  
autocracy” sustaining  
Putin in power.**

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# The New Autocracy

## Information, Politics, and Policy in Putin's Russia

DANIEL TREISMAN, EDITOR

After fading into the background for many years following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia suddenly has emerged as a new threat—at least in the minds of many Westerners. But Western assumptions about Russia, and in particular about political decisionmaking in Russia, tend to be out of date or just plain wrong.

Under the leadership of Vladimir Putin since 2000, Russia is neither a somewhat reduced version of the Soviet Union nor a classic police state. Corruption is prevalent at all levels of government and business, but Russia's leaders pursue broader and more complex goals than one would expect in a typical kleptocracy, such as those in many developing countries. Nor does Russia fit the standard political science model of a “competitive authoritarian” regime; its parliament, political parties, and other political bodies are neither fakes to fool the West nor forums for bargaining among the elites.

The result of a two-year collaboration between top Russian experts and Western political scholars, *The New Autocracy* explores the complex roles of Russia's presidency, security services, parliament, media, and other actors. The authors argue that Putin has created an “informational autocracy,” which relies more on media manipulation than on the comprehensive repression of traditional dictatorships. The fake news, hackers, and trolls that were featured in Russia's foreign policy during the 2016 U.S. presidential election are also favored tools of Putin's domestic regime—along with Internet restrictions, state television, and copious in-house surveys. While these tactics have been successful in the short run, the regime that depends on them already shows signs of age: over-centralization, a narrowing of information flows, and a reliance on informal fixers to bypass the bureaucracy. The regime's challenge will be to continue to block social modernization without undermining the leadership's own capabilities.

**Daniel Treisman** is a professor of political science at the University of California, Los Angeles, and founding director of the Russia Political Insight project.

# The Sovereignty Wars

Reconciling America with the World

STEWART PATRICK

Americans have long been protective of the country's sovereignty—all the way back to George Washington who, when retiring as president, admonished his successors to avoid "permanent" alliances with foreign powers. Ever since, the nation has faced periodic, often heated, debates about how to maintain that sovereignty, and whether and when it's appropriate to cede some of it in the form of treaties and the alliances about which Washington warned.

As the recent election made clear, sovereignty is also one of the most frequently invoked, polemical, and misunderstood concepts in politics—particularly American politics. The concept wields symbolic power, implying something sacred and inalienable: the right of the people to control their fate without subordination to outside authorities. Given its emotional pull, however, the concept is easily hijacked by political opportunists. By playing the sovereignty card, they can curtail more reasoned debates over the merits of proposed international commitments by portraying supporters of global treaties or organizations as enemies of motherhood and apple pie.

Such polemics distract Americans from what is really at stake in the sovereignty debate: namely, the ability of the United States to shape its destiny in a global age. The United States cannot successfully manage globalization, much less insulate itself from cross-border threats, on its own. As global integration deepens and cross-border challenges grow, the nation's fate is increasingly tied to that of other countries, whose cooperation will be needed to exploit the shared opportunities and mitigate the common risks of interdependence.

*Sovereignty Reimagined* is intended to help today's policymakers think more clearly about what is actually at stake in the sovereignty debate and to provide some criteria for determining when it is appropriate to make bargains over sovereignty—and how to make them.

**Stewart Patrick** is James H. Binger Senior Fellow in Global Governance and director of the International Institutions and Global Governance Program at the Council on Foreign Relations.

## The Sovereignty Wars



*Reconciling America  
with the World*

STEWART PATRICK

October 2017, 6 x 9, 330 pp  
cloth, 9780815731597, \$29.99a  
ebook, 9780815731603, \$23.99

**Protecting sovereignty  
while advancing American  
interests in the global age.**

# End Game

## Does Israel Have a Plan?

NATAN SACHS

December 2017, 6 x 9, 266 pp  
cloth, 9780815731573, \$27.99a  
ebook, 9780815731580, \$27.99

Israel faces a fundamental question, a “trilemma.” It can choose only two of three different goals many Israelis hold dear: to maintain control over the West Bank, with its strategic and religious significance to Israel; to retain a clear Jewish majority, the goal of the Zionist movement that founded the state; or to remain a democracy, with full voting rights for all citizens.

This trilemma has caused world leaders and publics, Israel-supporters and critics, to wonder aloud time again: what does Israel want? If it wishes to maintain its Jewish and democratic character, surely it must separate from the West Bank and its population; Why then does Israel keep building settlements in the West Bank, making such separation all the more difficult? And if it plans to retain control over the West Bank, is it really willing to give up on either its Jewish nature or its democracy?

*End Game* attempts to solve the puzzle of why the Israeli strategic vision seems so elusive to many foreigners and Israelis alike. It explores how Israelis’ beliefs about their future are formed and how their visions are translated into policy, focusing on three factors in depth: the role of security concerns, ideology, and domestic political constraints that combine to shape Israel’s strategic posture.

The book contrasts the full range of views in Israel over the future of the West Bank, from supporters of a bi-national state or confederacy on the left, to supporters of “one state” on the far right of the political spectrum. It pays particular attention to the worldview of the political center-right, led by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu—a conservative, risk-averse, and “anti-solutionist” approach to the problem. This worldview, following decades of precedent, rejects the need for a full-fledged strategic “solution” to the problem, leading to widespread confusion over Israel’s goals. The book analyzes and critiques this approach, arguing forcefully for ending Israeli indecision over the future of the land and in favor of partition and, eventually, peace.

**Natan Sachs** is a fellow in the Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution.

**How Israelis envision  
and plan for the future  
of their country.**

---

# In Defense of Israel

## A Memoir of a Political Life

MOSHE ARENS

Moshe Arens is one of the last surviving members of the founding generation of Israelis. He is a political insider who has worked with every Israeli prime minister from Menachem Begin to Benjamin Netanyahu, serving in a variety of important positions, including foreign minister and defense minister.

He has also enjoyed an exceptionally close life-long relationship with the United States: he attended high school in New York and colleges in Massachusetts and California, married an American, and served as Israel's ambassador to the United States.

In this memoir, Arens recounts his early role in the birth of Israel and developing Israel's aerospace industry, followed by a long and distinguished political career that included service at the very top of Israel's government for the better part of three decades. Arens advocated relentlessly throughout his political career for his vision of an Israel strong enough to withstand all challenges in its volatile neighborhood.

*In Defense of Israel* vividly recounts the many battles Arens fought in the political arena, sometimes successfully, sometimes not. The latter included his strong opposition to Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's withdrawal from Gaza and parts of the West Bank—an action that led to the takeover of Gaza by Hamas.

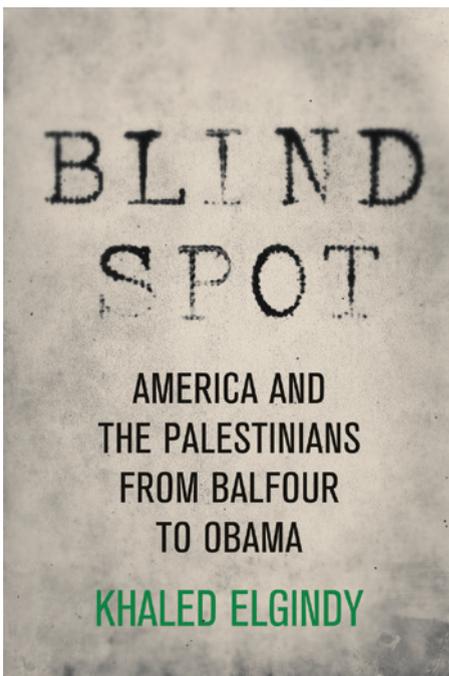
Anyone interested in Israel's place within the contemporary Middle East, including Israel's relationship with the United States, will find this memoir informative, even eye-opening, and often provocative.

**Moshe Arens** was Israel's ambassador to the United States, Israeli defense minister, and Israel's foreign minister.



November 2017, 6 x 9, 266 pp  
cloth 9780815731412, \$24.99†  
ebook, 9780815731429, \$24.99

**The revealing memoir  
of one of Israel's most  
respected statesmen.**



November 2017, 6 x 9, 333 pp  
cloth, 9780815731559, \$25.99†  
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**A historical perspective  
on the arm's length  
relationship between the  
United States and the  
"Palestinian question."**

## Blind Spot

**America and the Palestinians, from Balfour to Obama**

KHALED ELGINDY

The U.S. government and Palestinian leaders have had some form of direct contact for nearly four decades—and cooperation on economic, political, and security issues for the past two-plus decades—but that experience has never led to a genuine bilateral relationship. *Blind Spot: America and the Palestinians, from Balfour to Obama* explains why the two sides have an independent relationship and what this means for American efforts to broker peace between Palestinians and Israelis, and broader U.S. interests in the region.

While successive U.S. administrations have recognized the centrality of the "Palestinian question," American policymakers continue to treat the Palestinians as an "agenda item" in the U.S.-Israel relationship or the peace process. Elgindy argues that the United States continues to view the Palestinians and their political aspirations largely through the prism of its "special relationship" with Israel, as well as its policies with other regional parties. Indeed, even official U.S. support for Palestinian statehood stems not from a belief that Palestinians, like all peoples, have an inherent right to self-determination, but from an overriding concern for preserving Israel's character as both a Jewish and democratic state. For their part, Palestinian leaders have consistently misjudged U.S. foreign policy interests while undervaluing the role of domestic politics in shaping U.S. policies toward the region. Both Yasir Arafat and his successor, Mahmoud Abbas, have to one degree or another pursued strategies based on the mistaken expectation that Washington would "deliver" Israel, namely by applying sufficient pressure to compel it ultimately to end its occupation of the West Bank and allow the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

Unless and until U.S. policymakers are prepared to support Palestinian political aspirations for their own sake and Palestinian people on their own terms, there is little hope that the United States can successfully broker an enduring peace agreement. Likewise, only when Palestinian leaders are prepared to exercise self-determination over their own domestic politics will they be able to attain it for their people.

This book is part of the Geopolitics in the 21st Century series.

**Khaled Elgindy** is a fellow in the Center for Middle East Policy at Brookings.

# Kings and Presidents

## Saudi Arabia and the United States since FDR

BRUCE RIEDEL

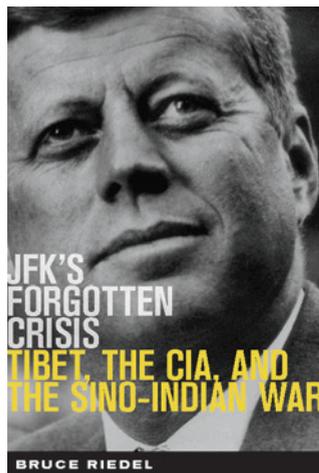
Saudi Arabia and the United States have been partners since 1943, when President Roosevelt met with two Saudi princes—future monarchs representing their father, King Ibn Saud—at the White House. Subsequent U.S. presidents have had direct relationships with those kings and their successors—setting the tone for a special partnership between an absolute monarchy with a unique Islamic identity and the world's most powerful democracy.

Although based in large part on economic interests, the U.S.-Saudi relationship has rarely been smooth. Differences over Israel have caused friction since the early days, and ambiguities about Saudi involvement—or lack of it—in the September 11 terrorist attacks against the United States continue to haunt the relationship. Now, both countries have new, still-to-be-tested leaders in President Trump and King Salman.

This book offers an insider's account of the U.S.-Saudi relationship, with unique insights. Using declassified documents, memoirs by both Saudis and Americans, and eyewitness accounts, this book takes the reader inside the royal palaces, the holy cities, and the White House to gain an understanding of this complex partnership.

This book is part of the Brookings Order from Chaos project.

**Bruce Riedel** is the director of the Intelligence Project at the Brookings Institution.



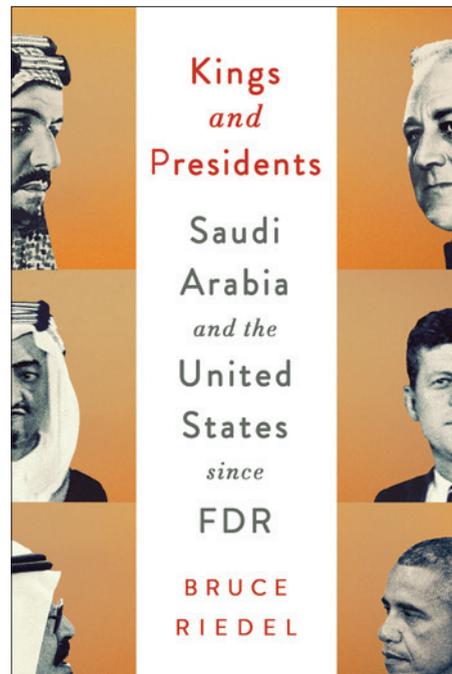
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Tibet, the CIA, and Sino-Indian War

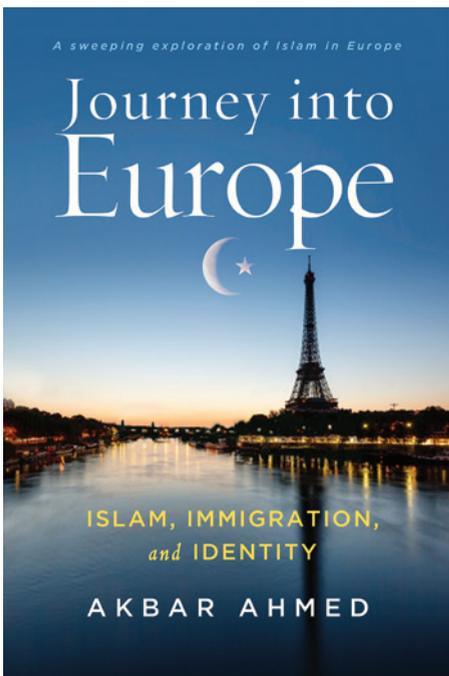
BRUCE RIEDEL

September 2017, 6 x 9, 177 pp  
paper 9780815731634, \$16.99†



October 2017, 6 x 9, 300 pp  
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ebook, 9780815731382, \$25.99

An insider's account of  
the often-fraught  
U.S.-Saudi relationship.



January 2018, 6 x 9, 600 pp  
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**An unprecedented,  
richly detailed, and  
clear-eyed exploration  
of Islam in European  
history and civilization.**

# Journey into Europe

## Islam, Immigration, and Identity

AKBAR AHMED

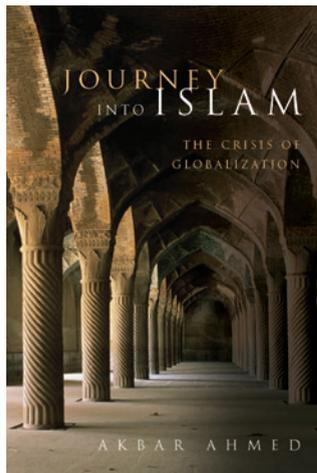
Daily headlines tell of escalating tensions surrounding Muslims in Europe: the refugee crisis, repeated episodes of terrorism, and cultural differences over language and female dress have helped shape a growing rift between the communities, while the parallel rise of right-wing, nationalist political parties throughout the continent, often espousing anti-Muslim rhetoric, has shaken the foundation of the European Union to its very core.

Over the past decade, the relationship between European and Islamic societies has been defined by steadily escalating tension. Many Europeans see Islam as an alien, even barbaric force that threatens to overwhelm them and their societies. Muslims, by contrast, are facing conflicting attractions to Europe's economic opportunities and repulsion to intolerance in the region, with anti-Semitism and other forms of discrimination causing many to feel unwelcome in their European homes.

Akbar Ahmed, widely acknowledged as a leading scholar of contemporary Islam, and a team of researchers have traveled across Europe over the last several years and interviewed Muslim and non-Muslims from all walks of life. They spoke with some of Europe's most prominent figures, including presidents and prime ministers, archbishops, chief rabbis, grand muftis, heads of right-wing parties, and everyday Europeans from a variety of backgrounds. Their findings reveal both the misunderstandings and the opportunities for Europe and its Muslims to improve their mutual relationship. Along with an analysis of what has gone wrong and why, this urgent, unprecedented study, the fourth in a quartet of studies examining relations between the West and the Muslim world, features recommendations for promoting integration and pluralism in the twenty-first century.

**Akbar Ahmed** is the Ibn Khaldun Chair of Islamic Studies at American University in Washington, D.C., and the former Pakistani high commissioner to the United Kingdom and Ireland.

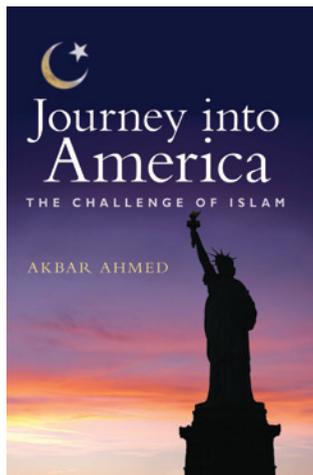
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## Journey into Islam

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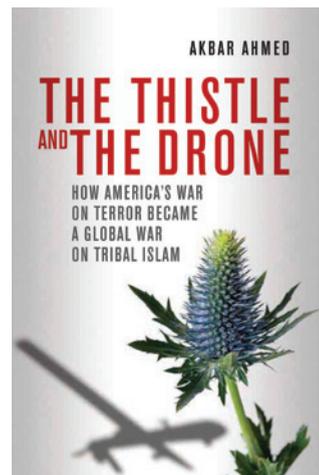
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## Journey into America

The Challenge of Islam

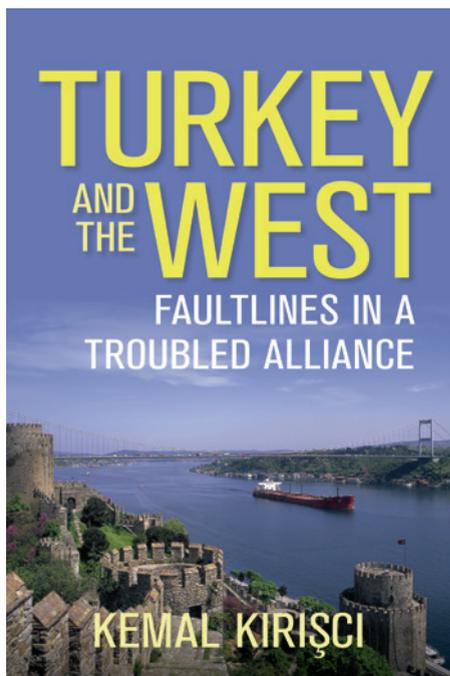
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## The Thistle and the Drone

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**Turkey: A necessary ally  
in a troubled region.**

## Turkey and the West

### Faultlines in a Troubled Alliance

KEMAL KIRIŞCI

With the new administration in office, it is not clear whether the U.S. will continue to lead and sustain a global liberal order that was already confronted by daunting challenges. These range from a fragile European Union rocked by the United Kingdom's exit and rising populism to a cold war-like rivalry with Russia and instability in the Middle East. A long-standing member of NATO, Turkey stands as a front-line state in the midst of many of these challenges. Yet, Turkey is failing to play a more constructive role in supporting this order—beyond caring for nearly 3 million refugees, mostly coming from the fighting in Syria—and its current leadership is in frequent disagreement with its Western allies. This tension has been compounded by a failed Turkish foreign policy that aspired to establish its own alternative regional order in the Middle East. As a result, many in the West now question whether Turkey functions as a dependable ally for the United States and other NATO members.

Kemal Kirişçi's new book argues that, despite these problems, the domestic and regional realities are now edging Turkey toward improving its relations with the West. A better understanding of these developments will be critical in devising a new and realistic U.S. strategy toward a transformed Turkey and its neighborhood.

Western policymakers must keep in mind three on-the-ground realities that might help improve the relationship with Turkey. First, Turkey remains deeply integrated within the transatlantic community, a fact that once imbued it with prestige in its neighborhood. It is this prestige that the recent trajectory of Turkish domestic politics and foreign policy has squandered; for it to be regained, Turkey needs to rebuild cooperation with the West. The second reality is that chaos in the neighborhood has resulted in the loss of lucrative markets for Turkish exports—which, in return, increases the value to Turkey of Western markets. Third, Turkish national security is threatened by developments in Syria and an increasingly assertive Russia, enhancing the strategic value of Turkey's "troubled alliance" with the West. However, the big question is whether rising authoritarianism in Turkey and the government's anti-Western rhetoric should cease and Turkey's democracy restored before the current fault lines can be overcome and constructive re-engagement between the two sides can occur.

In light of these realities, this book discusses the challenges and opportunities for the new U.S. administration as well as the EU of re-engaging with a sometimes-troublesome, yet long-time ally.

This book is part of the Geopolitics in the 21st Century series.

**Kemal Kirişçi** is the TÜSIAD senior fellow and director of the Center on the United States and Europe's Turkey Project at Brookings, with an expertise in Turkish foreign policy and migration studies.

# Epidemic

## Ebola and the Global Scramble to Prevent the Next Killer Outbreak

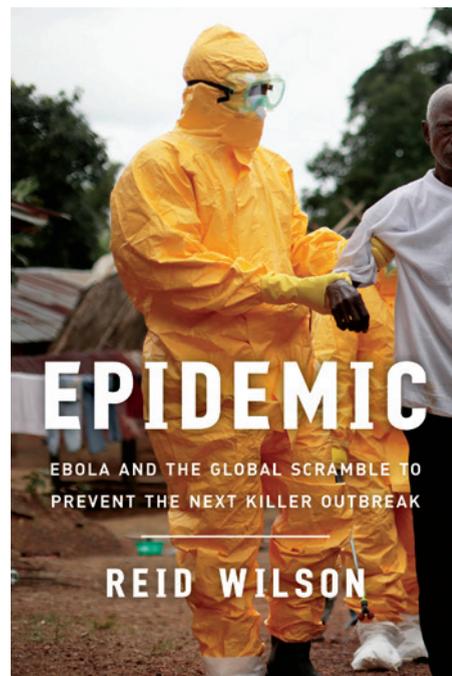
REID WILSON

In December 2013 a young boy in a tiny West African village contracted the deadly Ebola virus. The virus spread to his relatives, then to neighboring communities, then across international borders. The world's first urban Ebola outbreak quickly overwhelmed the global health system and threatened to kill millions.

In an increasingly interconnected world in which everyone is one or two flights away from New York or London or Beijing, even a localized epidemic can become a pandemic. Ebola's spread through West Africa to Nigeria, the United Kingdom and the United States sounded global alarms that the next killer outbreak is right around the corner—and that the world is woefully unprepared to combat a new deadly disease.

From the poorest villages of rural West Africa to the Oval Office itself, this book tells the story of a deadly virus that spun wildly out of control—and reveals the truth about how close the world came to a catastrophic global pandemic.

**Reid Wilson** is national correspondent at *The Hill* newspaper in Washington, D.C., where he covers politics, public policy, campaigns, and elections.



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**A global health catastrophe narrowly averted. A world unprepared for the next great threat.**

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## Corruption

A Short History

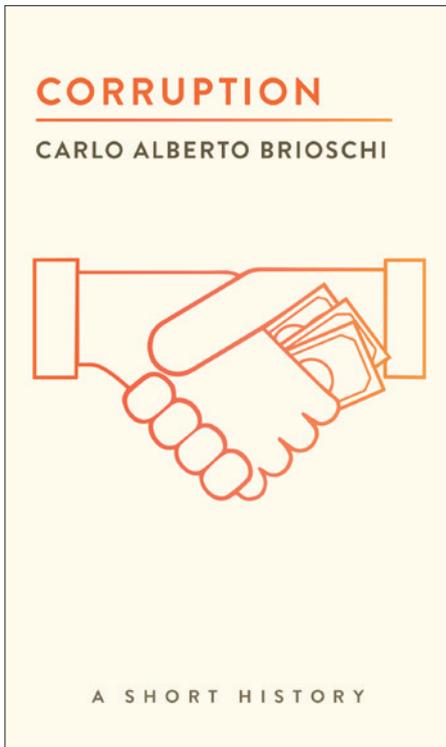
CARLO ALBERTO BRIOSCHI

From ancient times to modern, corruption has been ingrained in human society and is still a powerful issue in the contemporary world.

In *Corruption: A Short History*, Carlo Brioschi provides a thorough and entertaining look at how corruption was born and has evolved over time, without ever being stamped out. He examines corruption through politics and history—from Babylon to modern-day U.S. organized crime and the great market collapses—and concludes with reflections on the moral perception of corruption and its dangers for democracy.

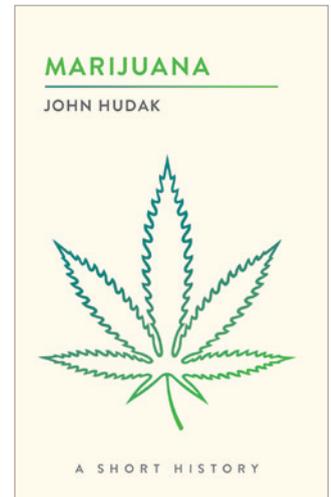
This book is part of the Short History series.

**Carlo Alberto Brioschi** is an Italian journalist, book author, and publisher.



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**Is corrupt behavior an  
indelible fact of political  
and economic life?**



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# Rio 2016

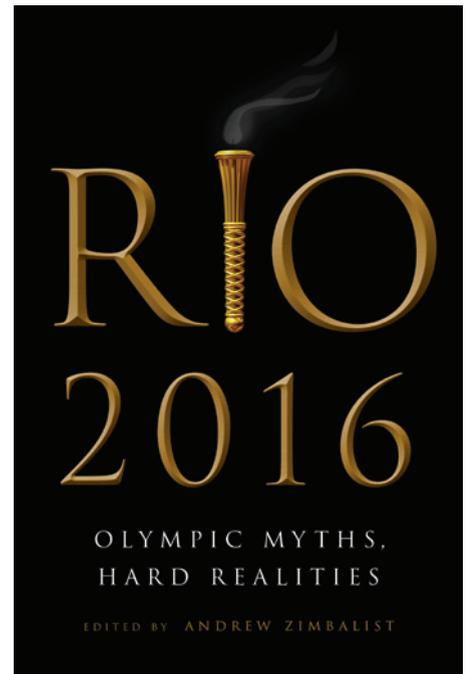
## Olympic Myths, Hard Realities

ANDREW ZIMBALIST, EDITOR

The selection of Rio de Janeiro as the site of the summer 2016 Olympic Games set off jubilant celebrations in Brazil—and created enormous expectations for economic development and the advancement of Brazil as a major player on the world stage. Although the games were held without major incident, the economic, environmental, political, and social outcomes for Brazil ranged from disappointing to devastating. Corruption scandals trimmed the fat profits that many local real estate developers had envisioned, and the local government was driven into bankruptcy. At the other end of the economic spectrum, some 77,000 residents of Rio's poorest neighborhoods—the *favelas*—were evicted and forced to move, in many cases as far as 20 or 30 miles to the west. Hosting the games ultimately cost Brazil \$20 billion, with little positive to show for the investment.

*Rio 2016* assembles the views of leading experts on Brazil and the Olympics into a clear-eyed assessment of the impact of the games on Brazil in general and on the lives of *Cariocas*, as Rio's residents are known. Edited by sports economist Andrew Zimbalist, the other contributors include Juliana Barbassa, Jules Boykoff, Jamil Chade, Stephen Essex, Renata Latuf, and Theresa Williamson.

**Andrew Zimbalist** is the Robert A. Woods Professor of Economics at Smith College and a noted sports economist and sports industry consultant.



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### OF RELATED INTEREST

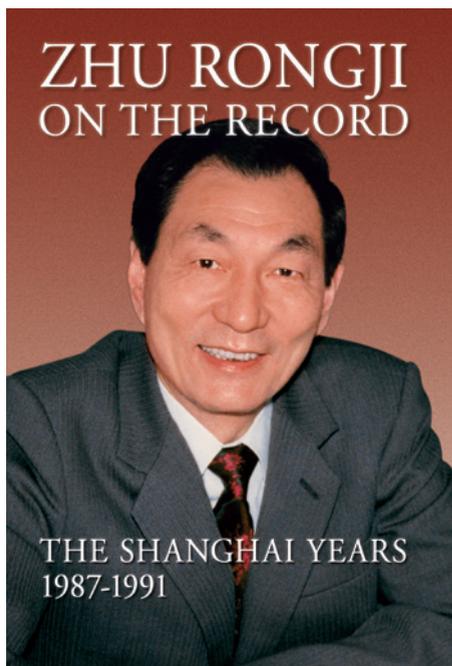
## Circus Maximus

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**The former Chinese premier's thoughts on combatting corruption and sclerotic bureaucracies during his time as mayor of Shanghai.**

## Zhu Rongji on the Record

The Shanghai Years, 1987–1991

ZHU RONGJI

Zhu Rongji served as party secretary and mayor of Shanghai from 1987 to early 1991. During that time, he began to reorganize state-owned industries, cracked down on bureaucratism, planned major reforms in land leasing and public housing, initiated massive infrastructure projects, launched construction projects in Pudong, which eventually doubled the developed land area of Shanghai, and laid the groundwork to transform Shanghai into China's financial center. In addition to these reforms, he became known for his work to eradicate corruption and was also responsible for maintaining calm in Shanghai during the political turmoil of June 1989. Many of these experiences as mayor influenced national policymaking when he went on to serve as China's vice premier and premier.

**Zhu Rongji** served as mayor of Shanghai from 1987 to 1991, then was China's vice premier, and served as the fifth premier of the People's Republic from 1998 to 2003.

ALSO BY THIS AUTHOR

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# Bombs without Boots

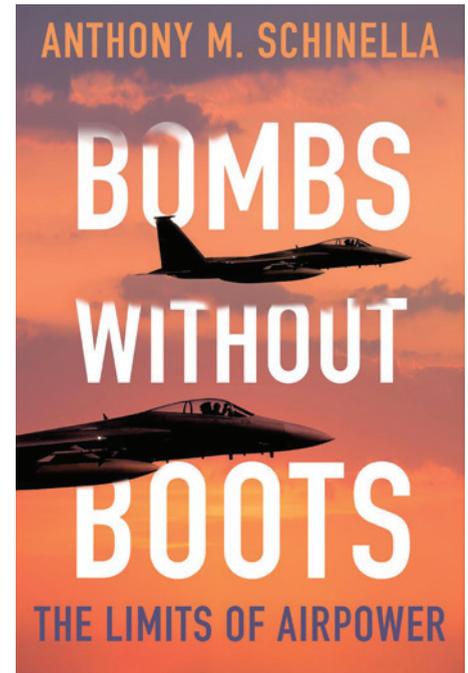
## The Limits of Airpower

ANTHONY M. SCHINELLA

It sounds simple: using airpower alone to intervene militarily in conflicts, thus minimizing the deaths of soldiers and civilians while achieving both tactical and strategic objectives. In reality, airpower interventions without ground combat forces can succeed, but only under the right conditions.

This book by a long-time U.S. intelligence analyst assesses the military operations and postconflict outcomes in five cases since the mid-1990s in which the United States or its allies used airpower to “solve” military problems: Bosnia in 1995, Kosovo in 1999, Afghanistan in 2001, Lebanon in 2006, and Libya in 2011. In each case, airpower helped achieve the immediate objective, but the long-term outcomes often diverged significantly from the original intent of policymakers. The author concludes that airpower sometimes can be effective when used to support indigenous ground forces, but decisionmakers should carefully consider all possible circumstances before sending planes, drones, or missiles aloft.

**Anthony M. Schinella** is the national intelligence officer for military issues on the National Intelligence Council.



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**Airpower can achieve  
military objectives—  
sometimes, in some  
circumstances.**

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# The Future of ISIS

## Regional and International Implications

SUMIT GANGULY *and* FEISAL AL-ISTRABADI, EDITORS

The Islamic State (best known in the West as ISIS or ISIL) has been active for less than a decade, but it has already been the subject of numerous histories and academic studies—all focus primarily on the past. *The Future of ISIS* is the first major study to look ahead: what are the prospects for the Islamic State in the near term, and what can the global community, including the United States, do to counter it?

Edited by two distinguished scholars at Indiana University, the book examines how ISIS will affect not only the Middle East but the global order. Specific chapters deal with such questions as whether and how ISIS benefited from intelligence failures, and what can be done to correct any such failures; how to confront the alarmingly broad appeal of Islamic State ideology; the role of local and regional actors in confronting ISIS; and determining U.S. interests in preventing ISIS from gaining influence and controlling territory.

Given the urgency of the topic, *The Future of ISIS* is of interest to policymakers, analysts, and students of international affairs and public policy.

**Sumit Ganguly** is a professor of political science, holds the Rabindranath Tagore Chair in Indian Cultures and Civilizations and directs the Center on American and Global Security at Indiana University.

**Feisal al-Istrabadi** is the director of the Center for the Study of the Middle East and University Scholar in International Law and Diplomacy, Maurer School of Law at Indiana University.

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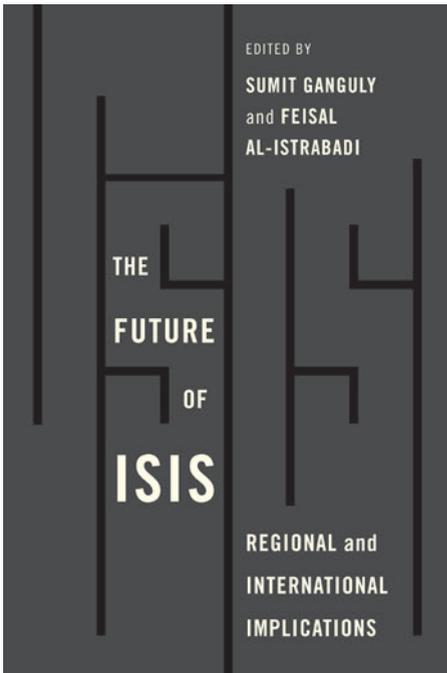
## The Islamic State

A Brief Introduction

CHARLES R. LISTER

FOREWORD *by* AHMED RASHID

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Looking to the future  
in confronting the  
Islamic State.

# The Terrorist Argument

## Studies of Modern Advocacy and Propaganda

CHRISTOPHER C. HARMON *and* RANDALL G. BOWDISH

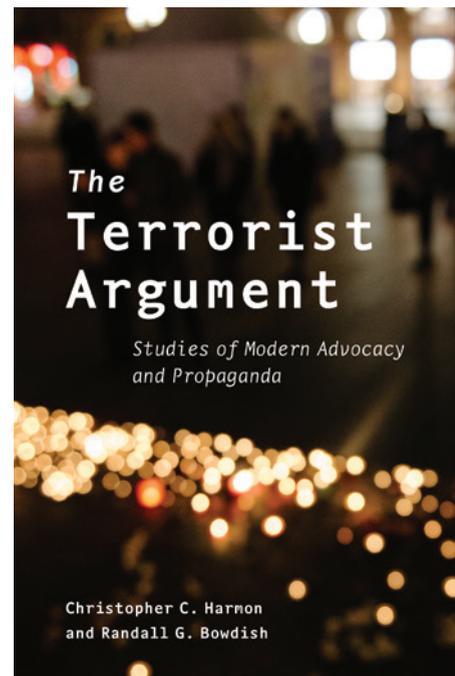
Propaganda used by terrorists and armed groups might not always be the most sophisticated or nuanced form of rhetoric, but with the right mix of emotion and logic it can be extremely effective in motivating supporters and frightening opponents. This book examines how terrorist groups in recent history have used propaganda, and how they had adapted to new communications technologies while retaining useful techniques from the past.

Harmon traces how armed groups and terrorists around the globe have honed their messages for maximum impact, both on the communities they hope to persuade to support them and on the official state organs they hope to overthrow. Sometimes both the messages and the techniques are crude; others are highly refined, carefully crafted appeals to intellect or emotion, embracing the latest forms of communications technology. Whatever the ideas or methodology, all are intended to use the power of ideas, along with force, to project an image and to communicate—not merely intimidate.

*The Terrorist Argument* uses nine case studies of how armed groups have used communications techniques with varying degrees of success: radio, newspapers, voice and song, television, books, e-magazines, advertising, the Internet, and social media. It is fascinating reading for anyone interested in civil conflict, terrorism, communications theory and practice, or world affairs in general.

**Christopher C. Harmon** is a professor at the Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies in Honolulu.

**Randall G. Bowdish** is a lecturer in political science at the University of Nebraska, Lincoln.



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**From chants and pamphlets to the Internet, terrorist propaganda can be deadly effective.**

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# Pakistan Under Siege

Extremism, Society, and the State

MADIHA AFZAL

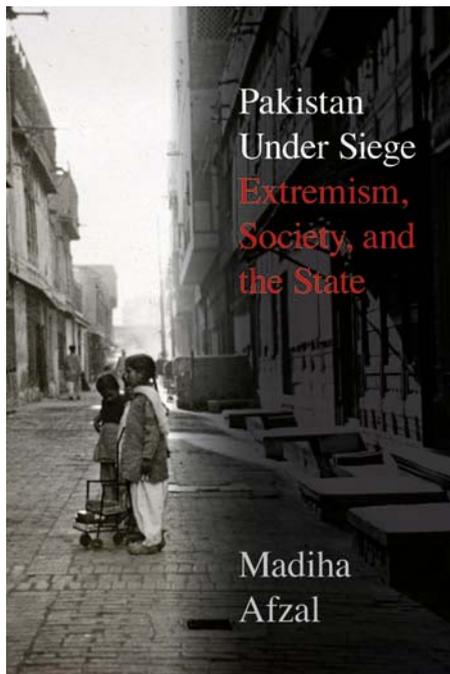
Much of the current work on extremism in Pakistan tends to study extremist trends in the country from a detached position—a top-down security perspective, that renders a one-dimensional picture of what is at its heart a complex, richly textured country of 200 million people. In this book, using rigorous analysis of survey data, in-depth interviews in schools and universities in Pakistan, historical narrative reporting, and her own intuitive understanding of the country, Madiha Afzal gives the full picture of Pakistan's relationship with extremism.

The author lays out Pakistanis' own views on terrorist groups, on jihad, on religious minorities and non-Muslims, on America, and on their place in the world. The views are not radical at first glance, but are riddled with conspiracy theories. Afzal explains how the two pillars that define the Pakistani state—Islam and a paranoia about India—have led to a regressive form of Islamization in Pakistan's narratives, laws, and curricula. These, in turn, have shaped its citizens' attitudes.

Afzal traces this outlook to Pakistan's unique and tortured birth. She examines the rhetoric and the strategic actions of three actors in Pakistani politics—the military, the civilian governments, and the Islamist parties—and their relationships with militant groups. She shows how regressive Pakistani laws instituted in the 1980s worsened citizen attitudes and led to vigilante and mob violence. The author also explains that the educational regime has become a vital element in shaping citizens' thinking. How many years one attends school, whether the school is public, private, or a madrasa, and what curricula is followed all affect Pakistanis' attitudes about terrorism and the rest of the world.

In the end, Afzal suggests how this beleaguered nation—one with seemingly insurmountable problems in governance and education—can change course.

**Madiha Afzal** is an Assistant Professor of Public Policy at the University of Maryland and a Non-Resident Fellow at the Brookings Institution.



November 2017, 6 x 9, 240 pp  
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**Pakistan has gradually over the last two decades come to be defined exclusively in terms of its struggle with terror. But are ordinary Pakistanis extremists? And what explains how Pakistanis think?**

# Militants, Criminals, and Warlords

## The Challenge of Local Governance in an Age of Disorder

VANDA FELBAB-BROWN, HAROLD TRINKUNAS, and SHADI HAMID

ISIS in the Middle East. The Taliban in South Asia. Pirate clans in Africa. Drug cartels and criminal gangs in Mexico and elsewhere in Latin America. All are examples of nonstate actors that control local territory and render public services that the nation-state cannot or will not provide.

This fascinating book takes the reader around the world to areas where national governance has broken down—or never really existed. The vacuum has been filled by insurgent and terrorist groups, local gangs, militias, and warlords, some with ideological agendas and others focused primarily on economic gain. Many of these actors are accepted by local populations, developing their own enduring institutions, and undermining the legitimacy of the state in the process. Where states are weak or illegitimate, these local challengers promise rough justice and speedy resolution of local disputes.

The authors, drawing from their diverse expertise, show that the rest of the world has more than a passing interest in these challenges, in part because transnational crime and terrorism often interact, but also because failed states can create dangerous spillover effects, threatening the very foundations of the international order.

How should the international community respond to local orders dominated by armed nonstate actors? And are local orders that compete with the state necessarily bad? In some cases, outsiders have accepted unsavory local actors out of expediency—but at the price of long-term instability or damage to human rights and other nefarious activities. Yet, in other situations, the reverse has been true: the United States and its allies have prioritized the state above all else, while failing to accommodate—or even understand—the cultural and religious contexts on the ground.

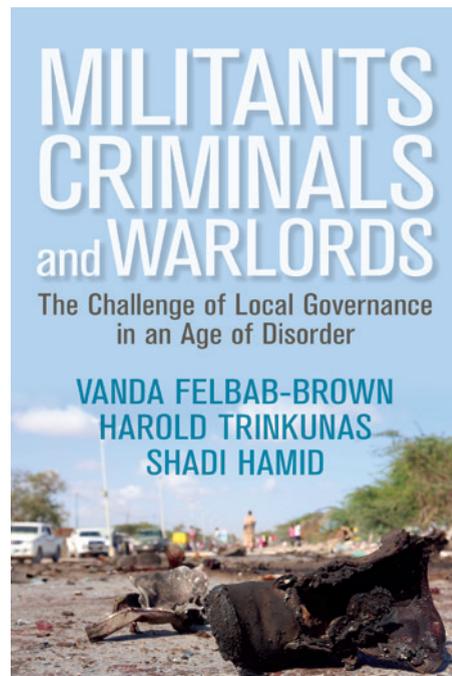
From the civil wars of the Middle East and Asia to the streets and prisons of Latin America, this book challenges longstanding approaches to governance and state-building and proposes a different path forward. At a time of seeming uncertainty and chaos, these leading scholars refocus attention on the difficult work that still needs to be done to rethink and rebuild local orders where they have all but collapsed.

This book is part of the Geopolitics in the 21st Century series.

**Vanda Felbab-Brown** is a senior fellow in the Center for 21st Century Security and Intelligence in the Foreign Policy program at Brookings.

**Harold Trinkunas** is a nonresident senior fellow in the Latin America Initiative in the Foreign Policy program at Brookings.

**Shadi Hamid** is a senior fellow in the Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World in the Center for Middle East Policy.



November 2017, 6 x 9, 220 pp  
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**What can be done to counter the breakdown of state authority and the rise of nonstate actors such as Hezbollah, ISIS, pirates, and criminal gangs that spring up when governance disappears?**

## A Glass Half Full?

Rebalance, Reassurance, and Resolve in the U.S.-China Strategic Relationship

MICHAEL E. O'HANLON and JAMES STEINBERG

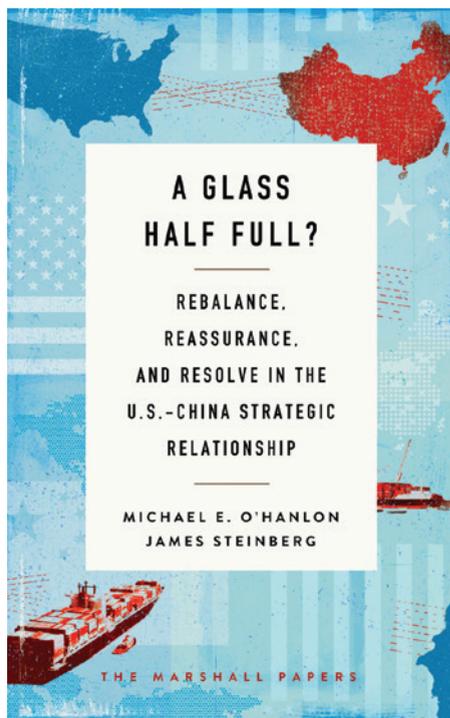
The U.S.-China relationship has not always been smooth, but since Richard Nixon's opening in the early 1970s, the two countries have evolved a relationship that has been generally beneficial to both parties. Economic engagement and a diplomatic partnership together with robust trade and investment relations, among other activities, have meant a peaceful context for reform and China's rise, helping to lift millions of Chinese out of poverty and giving the PRC incentive to work within the U.S.-led global order.

The logic of the relationship, however, is now open to serious debate on both sides of the Pacific. After a period of American preoccupation with the Middle East, President Obama attempted a rebalancing of U.S. interests toward the Asia-Pacific region. With the Trump administration in office, the U.S.-China relationship appears to be at a crossroads: does it continue to focus on constructive engagement and managing differences, or prepare for a new era of rivalry and conflict?

Here, following up on their 2014 book, *Strategic Reassurance and Resolve*, the authors provide a more balanced assessment of the current state of relations and suggest measures that could help stabilize the security relationship, without minimizing the very real problems that both Beijing and Washington must address. The authors are hopeful, but are also under no illusions about the significance of the challenges now posed to the bilateral relationship, as well as regional order, by the rise of China and the responses of America together with its allies.

**Michael E. O'Hanlon** is a senior fellow in Foreign Policy at the Brookings Institution.

**James Steinberg** is a professor of social science, international affairs, and law at the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University.



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How to stabilize the  
security relationship  
between Washington  
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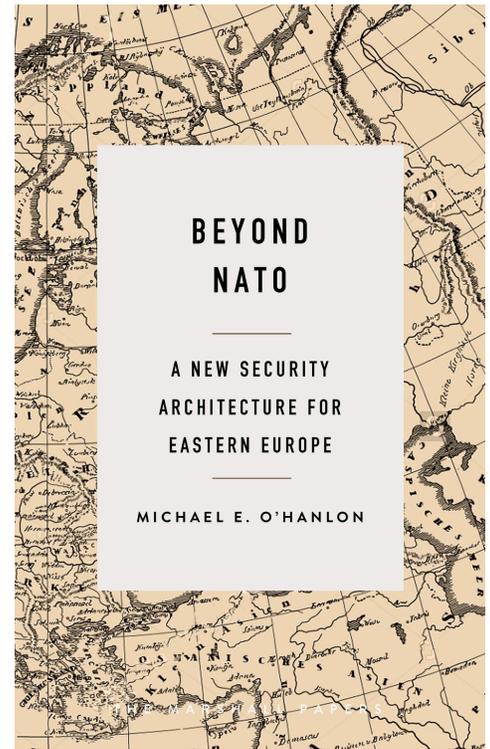
## Beyond NATO

### A New Security Architecture for Eastern Europe

MICHAEL E. O'HANLON

In this new Brookings Marshall Paper, Michael O'Hanlon argues that now is the time for Western nations to negotiate a new security architecture for neutral countries in eastern Europe to stabilize the region and reduce the risks of war with Russia. He believes NATO expansion has gone far enough. The core concept of this new security architecture would be one of permanent neutrality. The countries in question collectively make a broken-up arc, from Europe's far north to its south: Finland and Sweden; Ukraine, Moldova, and Belarus; Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan; and finally Cyprus plus Serbia, as well as possibly several other Balkan states. Discussion on the new framework should begin within NATO, followed by deliberation with the neutral countries themselves, and then formal negotiations with Russia.

The new security architecture would require that Russia, like NATO, commit to help uphold the security of Ukraine, Georgia, Moldova, and other states in the region. Russia would have to withdraw its troops from those countries in a verifiable manner; after that, corresponding sanctions on Russia would be lifted. The neutral countries would retain their rights to participate in multilateral security operations on a scale comparable to what has been the case in the past, including even those operations that might be led by NATO. They could think of and describe themselves as Western states (or anything else, for that matter). If the European Union and they so wished in the future, they could join the EU. They would have complete sovereignty and self-determination in every sense of the word. But NATO would decide not to invite them into the alliance as members. Ideally, these nations would endorse and promote this concept themselves as a more practical way to ensure their security than the current situation or any other plausible alternative.



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The core concept of this new security architecture would be one of permanent neutrality.

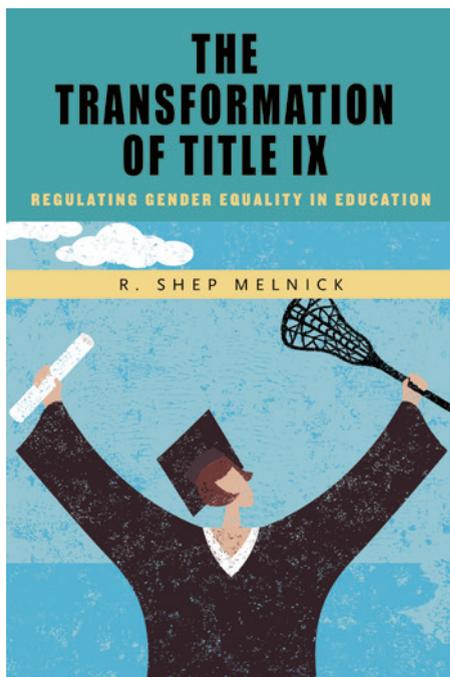
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**One civil rights—era law  
has reshaped American  
society—and contributed  
to the country’s ongoing  
culture wars.**

# The Transformation of Title IX

## Regulating Gender Equality in Education

R. SHEP MELNICK

Few laws have had such far-reaching impact as Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. Intended to give girls and women greater access to educational programs, the law has since been used by judges and agencies to issue federal mandates on intercollegiate athletics, by schools to respond to sexual assault cases and other forms of sexual harassment, and, most recently, by states to address the use of bathrooms and showers by transgender students.

In this comprehensive review of how Title IX has been implemented, political science professor R. Shep Melnick analyzes how interpretations of “equal educational opportunity” have changed over the years. In terms accessible to nonlawyers, Melnick examines how Title IX has become a central part of legal and political campaigns to correct gender stereotypes, not only in academic settings but in society at large. Title IX thus has become a major factor in America’s culture wars—and almost certainly will remain so for years to come.

**R. Shep Melnick** is the Thomas P. O’Neill, Jr. Professor of American Politics at Boston College and co-chair of the Harvard Program on Constitutional Government.

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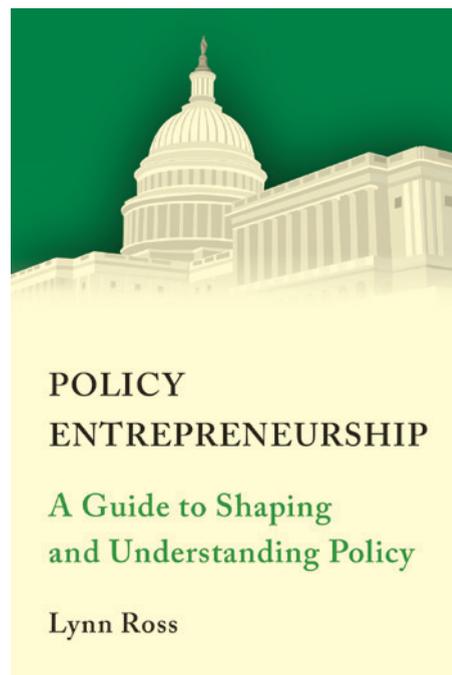
LYNN ROSS

Public policymaking in the United States is a dynamic, complex, and even circuitous process. That's where policy entrepreneurs come in. These critical catalysts and shapers of change are the engines that drive the whole policy process. Lynn C. Ross, director of the Master of Policy Management Program at Georgetown's McCourt School of Public Policy and an executive branch veteran, lays out what it takes to be a policy entrepreneur.

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Anyone who hopes to have any impact on policymaking will benefit from learning how to think and act like a policy entrepreneur.

**Lynn Ross** is director of the Master of Policy Management Program (MPM) and associate teaching professor at Georgetown's McCourt School of Public Policy.



June 2017, 4 x 7, 60 pp  
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**Examining the impact of  
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# Trade in the 21st Century

## Back to the Past?

BERNARD M. HOEKMAN and ERNESTO ZEDILLO, EDITORS

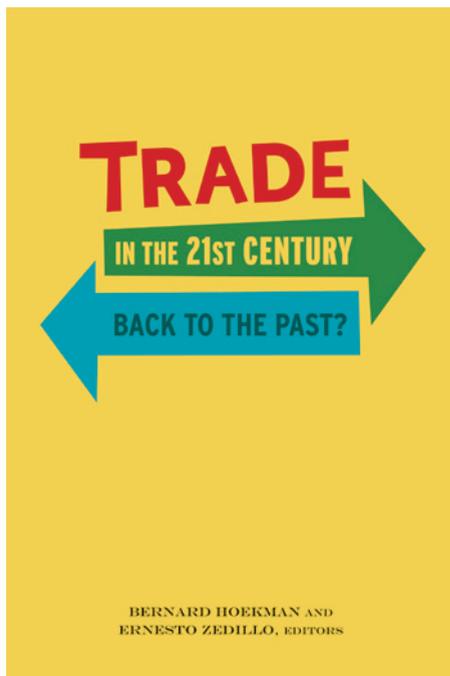
The repeated failures of global trade negotiations since 2001 and continuing uncertainties about the ultimate success of mega-regional trade agreements, like the recently concluded Trans-Pacific Partnership, have raised widespread questions about the future of global trade. In *Trade in the 21st Century*, two distinguished experts argue that despite appearances to the contrary, not only is trade policy alive and well, but also grounds for optimism exist for growth in international trade and investment in this century.

*Trade in the 21st Century* asks a central question: Was the creation of the World Trade Organization in 1995 the high point of multilateral cooperation on trade and investment? Is it possible that in the two decades since its founding, fundamental changes in technology and the structure of international production—such as global value chains and digitization of products—are leading to a renewed focus on unilateral policy processes and regional cooperation, to the detriment of the World Trade Organization?

*Trade in the 21st Century*, with contributions by some of the world's leading writers on the subject, covers key topics in the field: trade policy dynamics in the European Union and the United States; policies by and toward emerging economies, including China; incentives for governments to further open trade or reject past liberalization; implications of mega-regional trade agreements; issues surrounding digital trade, trade in services, agricultural trade policies; and trade and climate change policies.

**Bernard Hoekman** is professor and director of global economics at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, and research fellow at the Center for Economic Policy Research.

**Ernesto Zedillo** served as president of Mexico 1994–2000 and is now director of the Center for the Study of Globalization and professor in the field of international economics and politics at Yale University.



May 2017, 6 x 9, 240 pp  
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**Despite troubled trade negotiations, global trade—and trade policy—will thrive in the twenty-first century, but with a bow to the past.**

PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED

# Dilemmas of a Trading Nation

Japan and the United States in the Evolving Asia-Pacific Order

MIREYA SOLÍS

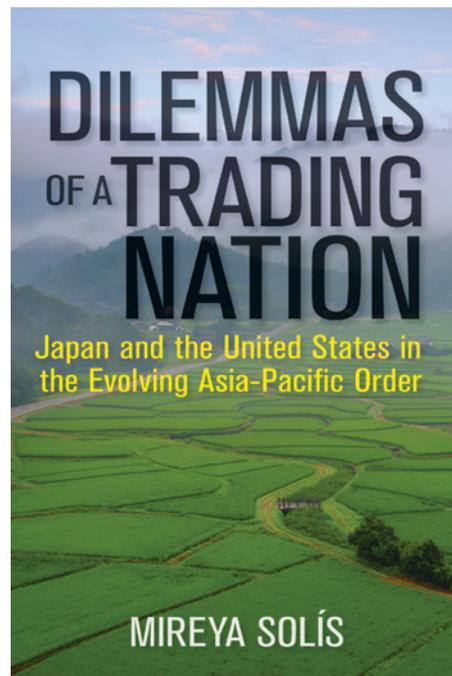
Japan and the United States face difficult choices in charting their paths ahead as trading nations. Tokyo has long aimed for greater decisiveness, which would allow it to move away from a fragmented policymaking system favoring the status quo in order to enable meaningful internal reforms and acquire a larger voice in trade negotiations. And Washington confronts an uphill battle in rebuilding a fraying domestic consensus in favor of internationalism essential to sustain its leadership role as a champion of free trade.

In *Dilemmas of a Trading Nation*, Mireya Solís describes how accomplishing these tasks will require the skillful navigation of vexing tradeoffs that emerge from pursuing desirable, but to some extent contradictory goals: economic competitiveness, social legitimacy, and political viability.

Trade policy has catapulted front and center to the national conversations taking place in each country about their desired future direction—economic renewal, a relaunched social compact, and projected international influence. *Dilemmas of a Trading Nation* underscores the global consequences of these defining trade dilemmas for Japan and the United States: decisiveness, reform, internationalism. At stake is the ability of these leading economies to upgrade international economic rules and create incentives for emerging economies to converge toward these higher standards. At play is the reaffirmation of a rules-based international order that has been a source of postwar stability, the deepening of a bilateral alliance at the core of America's diplomacy in Asia, and the ability to reassure friends and rivals of the staying power of the United States. In the execution of trade policy today, we are witnessing an international leadership test dominated by domestic governance dilemmas.

This book is part of the Geopolitics in the 21st Century series.

**Mireya Solís** is the Philip Knight Chair in Japan Studies and Senior Fellow in the Foreign Policy Program at the Brookings Institution.



August 2017, 6 x 9, 180 pp  
cloth, 9780815729198, \$34.99  
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**The balancing of competing interests and goals will have momentous consequences for Japan—and the United States—in their quest for economic growth, social harmony, and international clout.**

# Commitment to Equity Handbook

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Inequality has emerged in recent years as a major topic of economic and political discussion, but it is often unclear whether governments can or should do something about it, and if so, what that something might be. This unique volume, edited by Nora Lustig, an equity expert at Tulane University, helps fill that void. Developed by the Commitment to Equity Institute at Tulane, the book examines methods for determining the impact of taxation and public spending on inequality and poverty, both in theory and practice. It provides a step-by-step guide for policymakers, economists, and social planners when analyzing whether fiscal policy has narrowed or widened inequality. The book is accompanied by a user-written Stata package for conducting a Commitment to Equity Assessment, along with examples of these assessments from several countries.

In addition to serving as a manual, the book can be used as a stand-alone reference for those interested in the methods for assessing the impact on equity of fiscal policy. It also serves as a textbook for advanced undergraduate and graduate courses on public finance and income distribution.

**Nora Lustig** is Samuel Z. Stone Professor of Latin American Economics and director of the Commitment to Equity Institute at Tulane University.

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ESTIMATING THE IMPACT OF  
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NORA LUSTIG, EDITOR

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**A how-to guide for  
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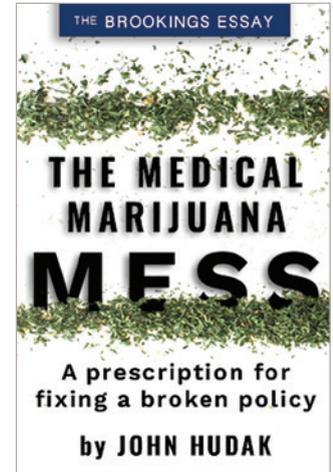
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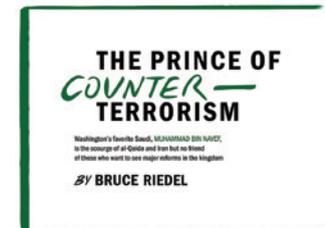


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# Financing Infrastructure in Asia and the Pacific

## Impacts and Sources of Investment

NAOYUKI YOSHINO, MATTHIAS HELBLE, and UMID ABIDHADJAEV,  
EDITORS

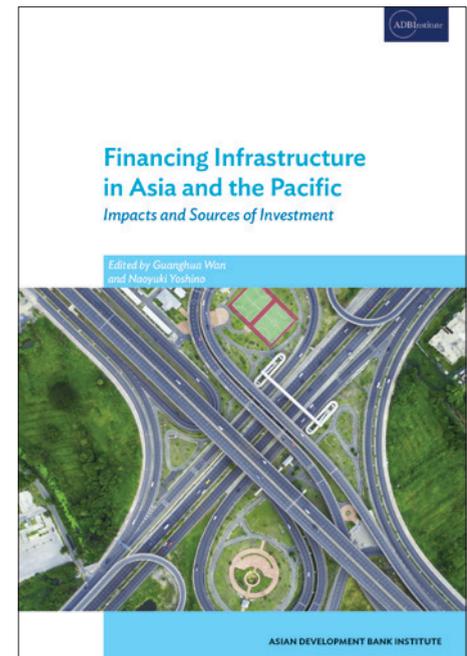
Infrastructure investment is synonymous with economic development. Insufficient roads, railways, and utility systems reduce the quality of life for billions of people and make firms less competitive. The demand for quality infrastructure is clear, but a significant gap exists between current financing schemes and the funding needs of recipient countries in Asia and the Pacific.

This book examines the modalities for financing infrastructure projects in Asia and the Pacific, including (i) mapping out the benefits and needs of infrastructure investment, (ii) evaluating public and private sources of finance, (iii) evaluating potential new sources of finance, and (iv) recommending policies to promote public-private partnerships and attracting new private financing sources.

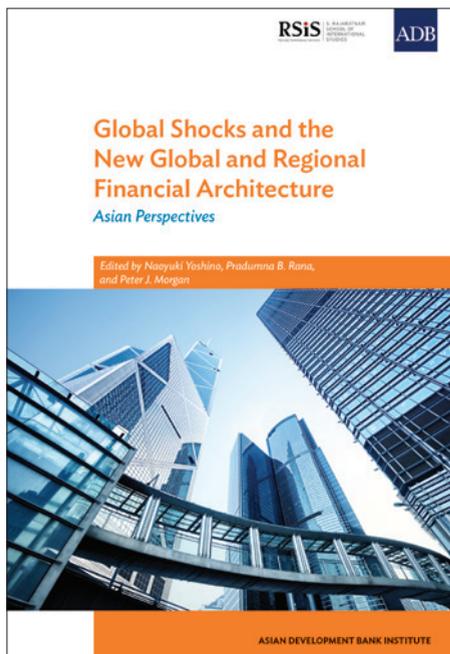
**Naoyuki Yoshino** is dean of the Asian Development Bank Institute.

**Matthias Helble** is a research economist at Asian Development Bank Institute.

**Umid Abidhadjaev** is a project consultant with Asian Development Bank Institute.



December 2017, 6 x 9, 340 pp  
paper, 9784899740711, \$38.00



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# Global Shocks and the New Global and Regional Financial Architecture

## Asian Perspectives

NAOYUKI YOSHINO, PRADUMNA B. RANA, and PETER J. MORGAN,  
EDITORS

Asian economies continue to be subject to new shocks: U.S. monetary policy tightening, the adoption of negative-interest-rate policies by central banks all over the world, the slowdown of the People's Republic of China, and the sharp drop in oil and other commodity prices. All these highlight the vulnerability of the region to volatile trade and capital flows even as the global and Asian regional financial architecture evolves.

This volume analyzes the vulnerabilities of Asian economies to external economic and financial shocks and assesses the performance of Asian regional institutions in financial surveillance and cooperation. It also evaluates ongoing reforms of the global financial architecture, including the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the Financial Stability Board, and reviews the experience of the "Troika" (European Commission, European Central Bank, and the IMF) in managing the European sovereign debt and banking crisis. Based on these, the book develops valuable recommendations to strengthen the Asian regional financial architecture and improve cooperation with global multilateral institutions.

**Naoyuki Yoshino** is dean of the Asian Development Bank Institute.

**Pradumna B. Rana** is associate professor at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.

**Peter J. Morgan** is senior consultant for research, Asian Development Bank Institute.

# Mission Incomplete

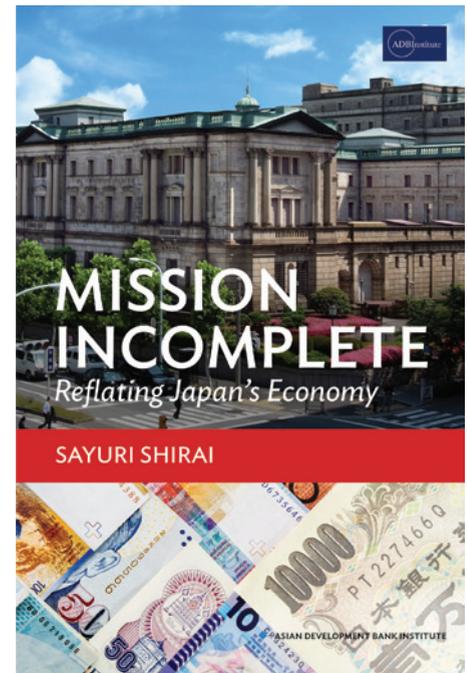
## Reflating Japan's Economy

SAYURI SHIRAI

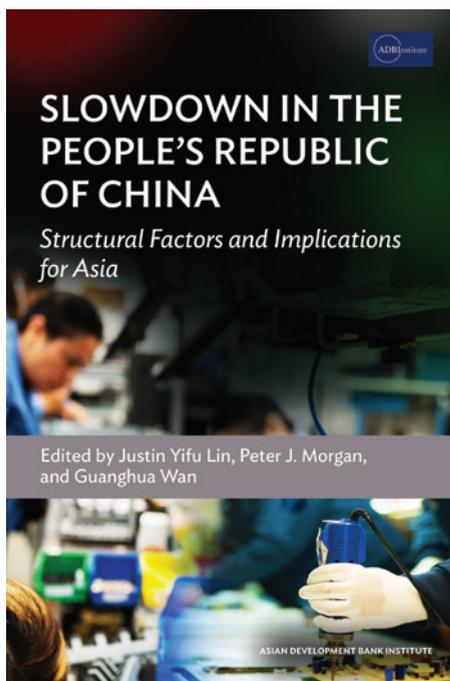
Mission incomplete! This phrase neatly captures the progress made by the Bank of Japan (BOJ) in reflating the economy. In April 2013, under its new governor, the BOJ launched an unprecedented quantitative and qualitative monetary easing policy, aiming that the 2% price stability target would be achieved within 2 years. About 4 years later, the BOJ lags behind other major central banks, with actual inflation and inflation expectations still well below 2%.

What happened? What should the BOJ do next? This former policy maker's account expertly traces and analyzes the policy's consequences.

**Sayuri Shirai** is a professor at Keio University.



September 2017, 6 x 9, 176 pp  
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December 2017, 6 x 9, 416 pp  
paper, 9784899740773, \$37.00

# Slowdown in the People's Republic of China

Structural Factors and Implications for Asia

JUSTIN YIFU LIN, PETER J. MORGAN, and GUANGHUA WAN, EDITORS

The economy of the People's Republic of China (PRC) has surged almost 10% annually since economic reforms began in 1978, ensuring the PRC's position as an engine of global growth. But by 2016 growth slowed to less than 7%. Is it a structural or cyclical slowdown? If structural, the implications for growth, trade, and investment in other Asian economies will be significant.

This book (i) explains the long-term slowdown in advanced Asian economies and what it means for the PRC; (ii) assesses the structural factors shaping the PRC economy and how they will influence its growth over the next decade; (iii) shows how growth, trade, investment, and employment in emerging Asian economies could be impacted; and (iv) evaluates policies that could offset some of the negative factors.

**Justin Yifu Lin** is a professor at Peking University.

**Peter J. Morgan** is senior consultant for research at the Asian Development Bank Institute.

**Guanghua Wan** is director of research at the Asian Development Bank Institute.

# Avoiding the Middle-Income Trap in Asia

## The Role of Trade, Manufacturing, and Finance

NAOYUKI YOSHINO, PETER J. MORGAN, GUANGHUA WAN, and BIHONG HUANG, EDITORS

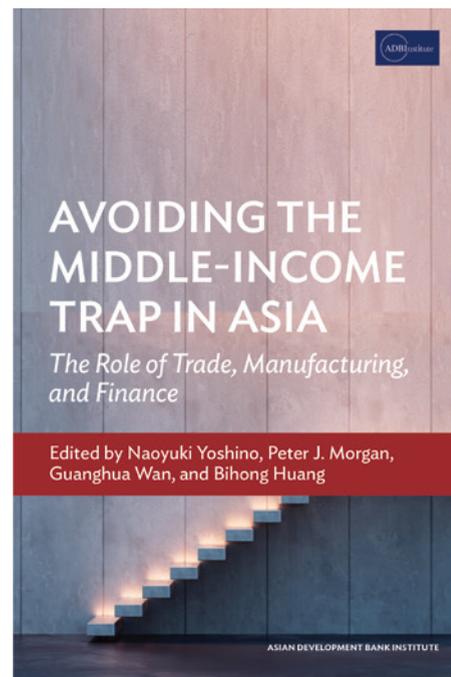
Since many policymakers aspire to pull their countries out of the middle-income trap and into the ranks of high-income countries, they must understand the factors that hinder or support the transition. This book defines the middle-income trap and examines the roles of manufacturing, finance, and trade openness in achieving sustainable development. The book also explores the role of government policy in fostering growth in the People's Republic of China. A common theme is that such policies may have unforeseen side effects that undermine their effectiveness, including how the *hukou* registration system and land-use policy control the pace of urbanization.

**Naoyuki Yoshino** is dean of the Asian Development Bank Institute.

**Peter J. Morgan** is senior consultant for research at the Asian Development Bank Institute.

**Guanghua Wan** is director of research at the Asian Development Bank Institute.

**Bihong Huang** is a research fellow at the Asian Development Bank Institute.



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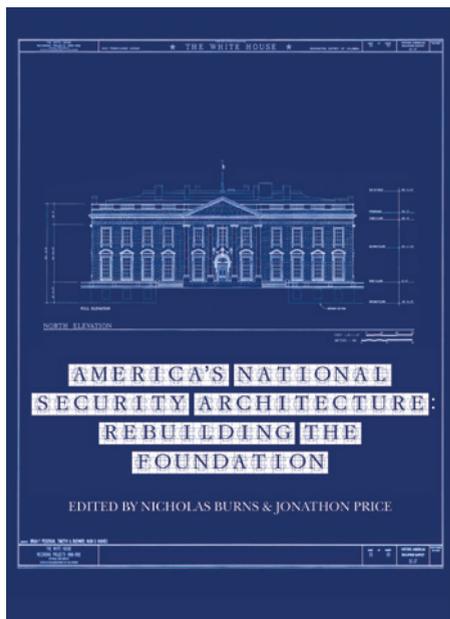
# America's National Security Architecture

## Rebuilding the Foundation

NICHOLAS BURNS *and* JONATHON PRICE, EDITORS

Aspen Policy Books is a series of publications released annually to inform timely debates in the public domain about ongoing foreign policy challenges and emerging threats to U.S. national security. In August 2016, the Aspen Strategy Group examined how to reform America's national security decision-making process. The papers in this volume provide practical solutions to repair the key functions of Washington's executive departments, agencies, and advisory bodies responsible for shaping U.S. foreign policy and national security.

Contributors include Nicholas Burns, Joseph S. Nye, Jr., Douglas Stuart, Graham Allison, Niall Ferguson, John Sawers, Leah Joy Zell, Zoë Baird, Christopher Kirchhoff, Julianne Smith, Stephen Hadley, Tom Pritzker, James B. Steinberg, Jane Holl Lute, James Cartwright, Dov S. Zakheim, Robert D. Blackwill, Jennifer M. Harris, John Dowdy, Kirk Rieckhoff, and Peter Feaver.



January 2017, 8 x 6, 218 pp  
paper, 9780898436501, \$21.95

# What's In, What's Out

## Designing Benefits for Universal Health Coverage

AMANDA GLASSMAN, URSULA GIEDION, and PETER C. SMITH,  
EDITORS

Vaccinate children against deadly pneumococcal disease, or pay for cardiac patients to undergo lifesaving surgery? Cover dialysis costs for kidney patients, or channel the money toward preventing the conditions that lead to renal failure in the first place? Policymakers dealing with the realities of limited health care budgets face tough decisions like these regularly. And for many individuals, their personal health care choices are equally stark: paying for medical treatment could push them into poverty.

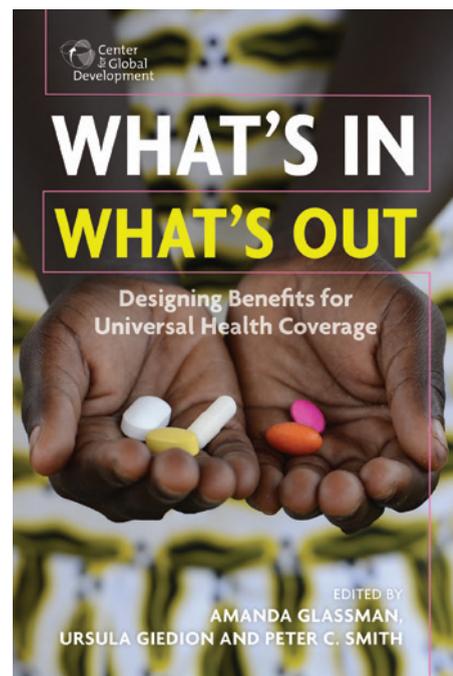
Many low- and middle-income countries now aspire to universal health coverage, where governments ensure that all people have access to the quality health services they need without risk of impoverishment. But for universal health coverage to become reality, the services offered must be consistent with the funds available—and this implies hard choices for policymakers that could be the difference between life and death for those affected by any given condition or disease. The situation is particularly acute in low- and middle-income countries where public spending on health is on the rise but budgets for health are still extremely low, and where demand for expanded services is growing rapidly.

*What's In, What's Out: Designing Benefits for Universal Health Coverage* argues that the creation of an explicit health benefits plan—a defined list of services that are and are not available—is an essential element in creating a sustainable system of universal health coverage. With contributions from leading health economists and policy experts, the book considers the many dimensions of governance, institutions, methods, political economy, and ethics that are needed to decide what's in and what's out in a way that is fair, evidence-based, and sustainable over time.

**Amanda Glassman** is the chief operating officer and a senior fellow at the Center for Global Development. Her research focuses on priority-setting, resource allocation and value for money in global health, and data for development.

**Ursula Giedion** has over 25 years of experience in health systems policy. Since 2010 she has served as a senior consultant for the Inter-American Development Bank in the area of health care financing and explicit priority setting.

**Peter C. Smith** is Emeritus Professor of Health Policy at Imperial College Business School. He previously served as Director of the Centre for Health Economics at the University of York.



September 2017, 8 x 10, 300 pp  
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September 2017, 6 x 9, 200 pp  
paper, 9781944691035, \$18.99

# Identification Revolution

## Achieving Sustainable Development in the Digital Age

ALAN GELB *and* ANNA DIOFASI

Some 600 million children worldwide do not legally exist. Without verifiable identification, they—and unregistered adults—could face serious difficulties in proving their identity, whether to open a bank account, purchase a SIM card, or cast a vote. Lack of identification is a barrier to full economic and social inclusion.

Recent advances in the reach and technological sophistication of identification systems have been nothing less than revolutionary. Since 2000, over 60 developing countries have established national ID programs. Digital technology, particularly biometrics such as fingerprints and iris scans, has dramatically expanded the capabilities of these programs. Individuals can now be uniquely identified and reliably authenticated against their claimed identities. By enabling governments to work more effectively and transparently, identification is becoming a tool for accelerating development progress. Not only is provision of legal identity for all a target under the Sustainable Development Goals, but this book shows how it is also central to achieving numerous other SDG targets.

Yet, challenges remain. Identification systems can fail to include the poor, leaving them still unable to exercise their rights, access essential services, or fully participate in political and economic life. The possible erosion of privacy and the misuse of personal data, especially in countries that lack data privacy laws or the capacity to enforce them, is another challenge. Yet another is ensuring that investments in identification systems deliver a development payoff. There are all too many examples where large expenditures—sometimes supported by donor governments or agencies—appear to have had little impact.

*Identification Revolution: Achieving Sustainable Development in the Digital Age* offers a balanced perspective on this new area, covering both the benefits and the risks of the identification revolution, as well as pinpointing opportunities to mitigate those risks.

**Alan Gelb** is a senior fellow and director of studies at the Center for Global Development, where he specializes in the development applications of biometric ID technology, aid and development outcomes, and the special development challenges of resource-rich countries. He was previously director of development policy at the World Bank and chief economist for the Bank's Africa Region.

**Anna Diofasi** is a researcher at the Center for Global Development. Her recent research includes the use of biometric ID technology in elections and financing for global public goods.

# Results Not Receipts

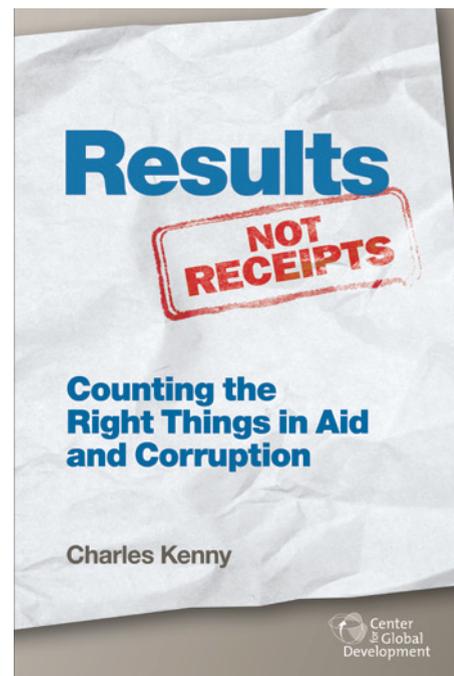
## Counting the Right Things in Aid and Corruption

CHARLES KENNY

In the aftermath of the invasion of Afghanistan, the U.S. Agency for International Development supported the Afghan Ministry of Public Health to deliver basic health care to 90 percent of the population, at a cost of \$4.50 a head. The program played a vital role in improving the country's health outcomes; the number of children dying before the age of five dropped by 100,000 a year. Despite this good news, accounting standards at the Ministry of Public Health concerned the United States Special Investigator General for Afghanistan. There was no evidence of malfeasance, or argument about the success of the program, but receipts were not in order. The investigator called for the health program to be suspended because of "financial management deficiencies" at the ministry.

This case illustrates a growing problem: an important and justified focus on corruption as a barrier to development has led to policy change in aid agencies that is damaging the potential for aid to deliver results. Donors have treated corruption as an issue they can measure and improve, and from which they can insulate their projects at acceptable costs by controlling processes and monitoring receipts. *Results Not Receipts* highlights the weak link between donors' preferred measures of corruption and development outcomes related to our limited ability to measure the problem. It discusses the costs of the standard anti-corruption tools of fiduciary controls and centralized delivery, and it suggests a different approach to tackling the problem of corruption in development: focus on outcomes.

**Charles Kenny** is a senior fellow at the Center for Global Development. He has researched and written on topics including economic growth, measuring and reducing corruption in infrastructure, the effectiveness of procurement rules, and the impact of transparency on contracting outcomes. He is the author of the book *Getting Better: Why Global Development is Succeeding, and How We Can Improve the World Even More*. He was previously at the World Bank, where his assignments included coordinating work on governance and anticorruption in infrastructure and natural resources, and managing a number of investment and technical assistance projects.



June 2017, 6 x 9, 120 pp  
paper, 9781933286976, \$18.99

# Global Agriculture and the American Farmer

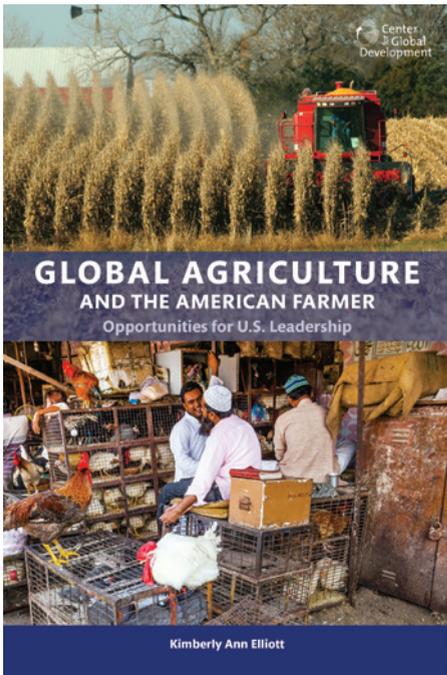
## Opportunities for U.S. Leadership

KIMBERLY ANN ELLIOTT

The United States is one of the world's largest producers and exporters of a range of agricultural commodities, and the largest provider of foreign assistance, so U.S. policies have big effects on global food security and other global public goods linked to agriculture. On the positive side of the ledger, President Obama created the Feed the Future aid initiative to promote agricultural development in poorer countries as a tool to achieve the global goals of ending hunger and extreme poverty, which are mostly rural. But that generosity is undercut by U.S. support for farmers that distorts global markets and ignores negative spillovers for the rest of the world.

In this book, Elliott focuses on three policy areas that are particularly damaging for developing countries: traditional agricultural subsidy and trade policies that support the incomes of American farmers at the expense of farmers elsewhere; the biofuels mandate, which in its current form increases market volatility while doing little if anything to mitigate climate change; and weak regulation of antibiotic use in livestock, which contributes to the global spread of drug-resistant super bugs. While noting that broad reforms are needed to fix these problems, Elliott also identifies practical steps that U.S. policymakers could take in the relatively short run to improve farm policies—for American taxpayers and consumers as well as for the poor and vulnerable in developing countries.

**Kimberly Ann Elliott** is a senior fellow with the Center for Global Development and the author or coauthor of numerous books and articles on trade policy and globalization, economic sanctions, and food security. Her book, *Delivering on Doha: Farm Trade and the Poor*, was copublished in July 2006 by the Center for Global Development and the Peterson Institute for International Economics. She served on a National Research Council committee on Monitoring International Labor Standards and on the USDA Consultative Group on the Elimination of Child Labor in U.S. Agricultural Imports, and is currently a member of the National Advisory Committee for Labor Provisions in U.S. Free Trade Agreements.



May 2017, 6 x 9, 200 pp  
paper, 9781933286983, \$18.99

## Vision 2020 Bosnia and Herzegovina

Towards Its European Future

SASHA TOPERICH, HEIDI OBERMEYER, *and* TEA IVANOVIC, EDITORS

Reforms in Bosnia and Herzegovina are essential if the country is to join the European Union and NATO. The Vision 2020 for Bosnia and Herzegovina project supports ongoing social and economic reforms needed in the country to create a better legal framework in accordance with the European Union, but also to improve the business environment and attract foreign investment. The set of already-launched reforms is comprehensive: it includes health reform, public administration reform, restructuring and privatization of state-owned enterprises, private sector growth, strengthening of the judicial system, and the fight against corruption, among others. This volume addresses achievements made to date, reports on the work still to be done, and provides creative ideas on how to engage in the broader political and institutional reform necessary in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

April 2017, 6 x 9, 300 pp  
paper, 9780990772101, \$35.00

## Turkey and Transatlantic Relations

SASHA TOPERICH *and* AYLIN UNVER NOI, EDITORS

Turkey's position in transatlantic alliances goes back to the 1950s, and the nation has always been seen as a bridge between the West and East because of its geographic location. Just before the failed coup d'état last July, the country had launched "Fresh Look," a project aimed at mending ties with neighbors with whom Turkey has strained relationships. This new and pragmatic reconciliation policy strives to build bridges without damaging existing any transatlantic alliance. But the worthy goal of developing good relations with its neighbors presents Turkey with a number of challenges. This volume intends to shed more light into past, present, and future of Turkish relations with its transatlantic partners, focusing on history, the impact of current developments affecting Turkey and its neighbors, and Turkish domestic and foreign policies.

July 2017, 6 x 9, 400 pp  
paper, 9780990772125, \$35.00

## Algeria and Transatlantic Relations

SASHA TOPERICH, SAMY BOUKAILA, *and*  
TEA IVANOVIC, EDITORS

The U.S.-Algeria relationship is characterized by mutual respect and cooperation. The United States has been supportive of Algerian independence, and both nations are committed to further improving the bilateral relationship through increased trade, education, and cultural partnerships. The two nations are allies in the fight against terrorism, an issue that is of particular importance to Algeria, which went through a black decade (1991–2001) when the Front Islamique du Salut (FIS) conducted acts of terror that set the nation on edge and claimed more than 100,000 lives. In this volume, we will address Algeria's ongoing reforms to diversify its economy, the formation of a stronger democracy, and its effort to position itself as a pillar of stability in the region.

September 2017, 6 x 9, 300 pp  
paper, 9780990772149, \$35.00

## Forward Resilience

Protecting Society in an Interconnected World

DANIEL S. HAMILTON, EDITOR

The capacity of a society to anticipate, pre-empt, and resolve disruptive challenges to its vital functions has become a high priority for many countries across the Atlantic and around the world. But is resilience enough to deal with disruptive threats in a deeply interconnected world? In this volume, eminent authors argue that state-by-state approaches to resilience are insufficient. Not only must resilience be shared, it must be projected forward, and traditional notions of territorial security must be supplemented with actions to address flow security- protecting critical links that bind societies to one another. Authors include Robert Bach, Alyson J. K. Bailes, Hans Binnendijk, Charlotta Collen, Bjorn Fagersten, Axel Hagelstam, Daniel S. Hamilton, Tomas Jermalavicius, David J. Kaufman, Lorenz Meyer-Minnemann, Piret Pernik, Tim Prior, Mark Rhinard, Tomas Ries, Bengt Sundelius, and Anna Wieslander.

**Daniel S. Hamilton** is the Austrian Marshall Plan Foundation Professor and Director of the Center for Transatlantic Relations at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University, named consistently in annual surveys conducted by the University of Pennsylvania as the top university-affiliated think tank in Washington, D.C., and among the top 10 in the world in 2014, 2013, 2012, 2011 and 2010. He also serves as Executive Director of the American Consortium for EU Studies, designated by the European Commission as the EU Center of Excellence Washington, D.C.

January 2017, 6 x 9, 169 pp  
paper, 9780990772156, \$35.00

# Regroup and Reform

## Ideas for a More Responsive and Effective European Union

STEVEN BLOCKMANS *and* SOPHIA RUSSACK

This incisive report comes at a time of almost unprecedented self-examination for the European Union. Faced with growing nationalism, “illiberalism,” economic, security and political challenges—not least to the very membership of the Union—the relevance of the EU has become a matter of intense debate. How the EU responds to these challenges will define the next era of cooperation and integration in Europe.

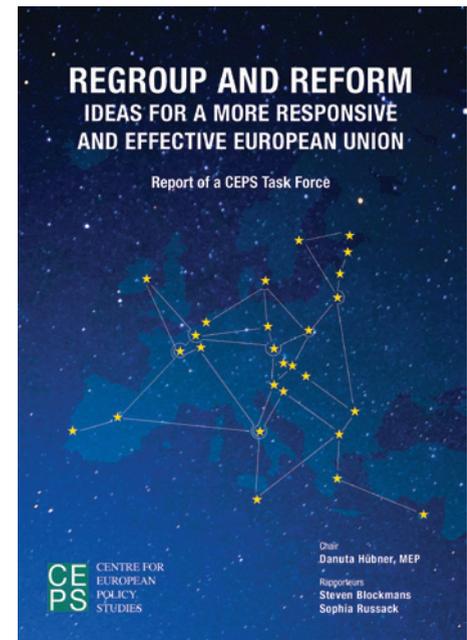
This accessible report is the result of discussions in a CEPS Task Force comprising experts from across Europe and a number of key policy fields. Members of the European Parliament, former members of the College of Commissioners, the European Council and Council of Ministers, as well as leading scholars of EU politics and law came together to share insights into the issues that will decide the future of the EU. The group was chaired by Danuta Hübner, Member of the European Parliament.

The report offers concrete recommendations for how the EU can show added value to European citizens in the areas of security and justice, socioeconomics, and monetary policy—recommendations that will help reform the workings of the EU and ensure that it is worthy of the continuing confidence of its members.

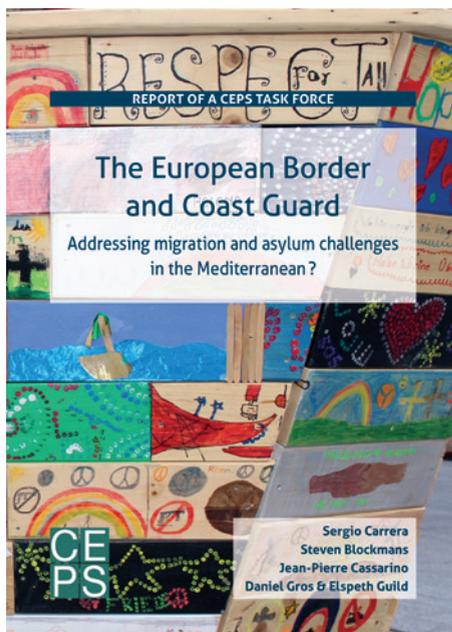
**Steven Blockmans** is senior research fellow and head of the EU foreign policy unit at CEPS.

**Sophia Russack** is researcher at CEPS.

The task force was chaired by Danuta Hübner, Member of the European Parliament.



February 2017, 6 x 9, 40 pp  
paper, 9789461385758, \$10.00



February 2017, 6 x 9, 72 pp  
paper, 9789461385659, \$17.00

# The European Border and Coast Guard

## Addressing Migration and Asylum Challenges in the Mediterranean?

SERGIO CARRERA, STEVEN BLOCKMANS, JEAN-PIERRE CASSARINO, DANIEL GROS, and ELSPETH GUILD

The humanitarian refugee crisis in Europe of 2015–16 has revealed several unfinished elements and shortcomings in current EU policies and approaches to migration, asylum, and borders, particularly those applying to southern EU maritime borders and frontier states in the Mediterranean. This book provides a critical examination of the main issues and lessons learned from this crisis and gives an up-to-date assessment of the main policy, legal, and institutional responses that are in place at the EU level. It further examines the extent to which these responses can be expected to work under the current system of sharing responsibilities among EU member states in assessing asylum applications and ensuring a consistent implementation of EU legal standards that comply with the rule of law and fundamental rights. This report is based on original research and draws upon the existing literature, along with the discussions of a CEPS Task Force that met over six months. The rapporteurs offer specific recommendations and possible scenarios for policy optimization and assess the extent to which the establishment of a European Border and Asylum Service (EBAS) could address the current gaps and challenges in EU and member states' migration policies.

**Sergio Carrera** is Senior Research Fellow and Head of the Justice and Home Affairs section at CEPS, Visiting Professor at the Paris School of International Affairs (PSIA) at Sciences Po, Associate Professor/Senior Research Fellow at the University of Maastricht, and Honorary Industry Professor and Senior Research Fellow at the School of Law at Queen Mary, University of London.

**Steven Blockmans** is Senior Research Fellow and Head of EU Foreign Policy at CEPS.

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**Daniel Gros** is Director of CEPS.

**Elsbeth Guild** is Associate Senior Research Fellow at CEPS and Jean Monnet Professor ad personam at Queen Mary, University of London, as well as at Radboud University Nijmegen.

The Task Force was chaired by Enrico Letta, President of the Jacques Delors Institute, Dean of the Paris School of International Affairs (PSIA) at Sciences Po and former Prime Minister of Italy.

# Arab Politics beyond the Uprisings

## Experiments in an Era of Resurgent Authoritarianism

THANASSIS GAMBANIS and MICHAEL WAHID HANNA, EDITORS

Political experimentation and invention survive in unlikely places years after resurgent authoritarianism interrupted the Arab revolts. Despite violent conflict and state repression, attempts to build new institutions and ideologies continue outside the confines of traditional opposition politics.

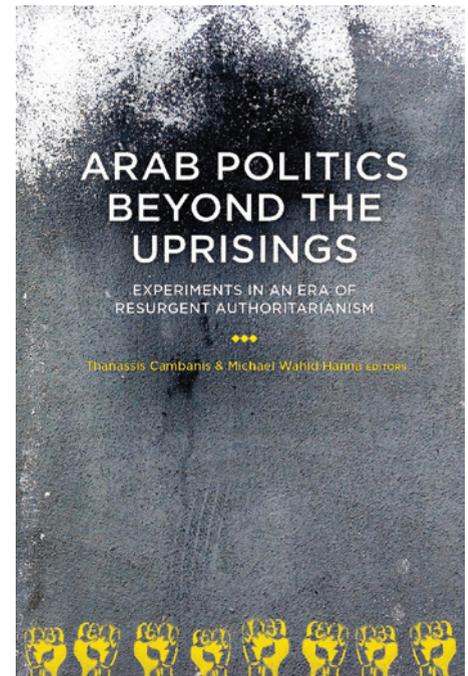
In this volume, established researchers, new scholars, and active participants explore political initiatives in other realms: media, artists' collectives, rebel enclaves, neighborhood councils, fledgling citizen campaigns, and elsewhere.

With rich ethnographic detail, these studies pay special attention to regional dynamics, cross-border learning, and the intellectual history of ideas central to the uprisings. They reveal an unresolved struggle between resilient authoritarian structures and alternative centers of political power.

Contributors include Nathan J. Brown, Benjamin Helfand, Monica Marks, Michael Stephens, Khaled Mansour, Sima Ghaddar, Karim Ennarah, Ursula Lindsey, Jonathan Guyer, Sultan Sooud Al Qassem, Laura C. Dean, Marc Lynch, Samer Abboud, Yasser Munif, Aron Lund, Sam Heller, Cilja Harders, Dina Wahba, and Asya El-Meehy.

**Thanassis Cambanis** is a fellow at The Century Foundation in Beirut and columnist for the *Boston Globe*.

**Michael Wahid Hanna** is a senior fellow at The Century Foundation in New York and an adjunct senior fellow at the Center on Law and Security at New York University School of Law.



May 2017, 6 x 9, 560 pp  
paper, 9780870785474, \$34.99

## Artificial Intelligence

JACOB PARAKILAS, HANNAH BRYCE, MUSTAFA SULEYMAN, KENNETH CUKIER, HEATHER ROFF, *and* MISSY CUMMINGS

Discussions about the future of Artificial Intelligence (AI), whether philosophical or popular, tend to view artificial intelligence as distinct from, and potentially as a threat to, human intelligence. What has been less examined are the potential applications for AI in assisting the human decisionmaking process on international financial, political, and military issues. Discussions about these issues generally are highly technical discussions among computer engineers and AI scientists—the substance of which is inaccessible to non-expert communities, including business leaders, policymakers, and the majority of the public. It is the intention of this project to produce a report that bridges the gap between the technical and policy sectors to examine how AI can contribute to different aspects of security policy.

June 2017, 8 x 11, 60 pp  
paper, 9781784132125, \$15.00

## Potential for Transatlantic Rifts

XENIA WICKETT

The United States and European nations extoll the closeness of their common interests and values. And while events over past decades have indeed shown them to be very closely aligned, on some important issues there do appear to be growing divergences with regard to their interests, objectives, and the methodology to achieve them. Increasingly there are policy areas that could come to divide the United States and many European states, and weaken their ability to take action together. Understanding how to deal with such contingencies in advance would allow policymakers to avoid unfortunate misunderstandings and miscalculations and could lead to more collaborative actions that result in greater impact.

The objective of this report is to establish greater understanding and transparency between the United States and the major European states over whether the relationships are converging or diverging and whether this is structural or cyclical. Based on an understanding of the factors leading to any divergence, we will identify possible approaches that would help manage any differences.

June 2017, 8 x 11, 60 pp  
paper, 9781784132118, \$15.00

## Russia in Decline

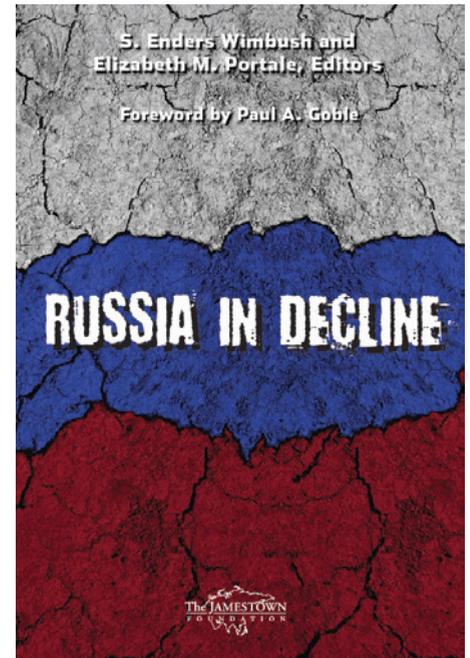
S. ENDERS WIMBUSH and ELIZABETH M. PORTALE, EDITORS

Foreword by PAUL A. GOBLE

Russia is in precipitous decline, which is unlikely to be reversed. Based on the research of Russian and American experts, this conclusion constitutes the bottom line of this short volume and research project of the same name undertaken by The Jamestown Foundation. Moreover, the tempo of Russia's decay is accelerating across virtually every facet of its politics, economy, society, and military. Russia is a poor candidate to survive globalization, let alone claim the mantle of a Great Power. *Russia in Decline* details why Russia's spiraling into decline and disarray should keep strategists awake at night. It should also alert foreign policy, security, and military planners, for whom Russia's deterioration will necessarily become the leitmotif of informed planning.

**S. Enders Wimbush** is Distinguished Senior Fellow, The Jamestown Foundation, and Partner, StrateVarious LLC.

**Elizabeth M. Portale** is a Partner at StrateVarious LLC and for this project serves as Senior Project Associate at The Jamestown Foundation.

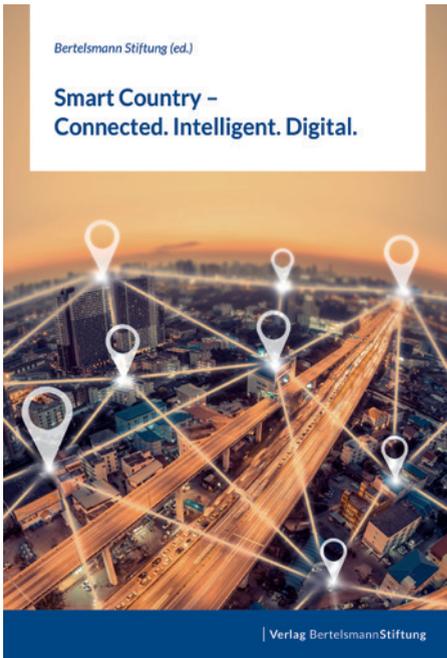


April 2017, 6 x 9, 380 pp  
paper, 9780998666006, \$24.95

# Smart Country—Connected. Intelligent. Digital.

BERTELSMANN STIFTUNG, EDITOR

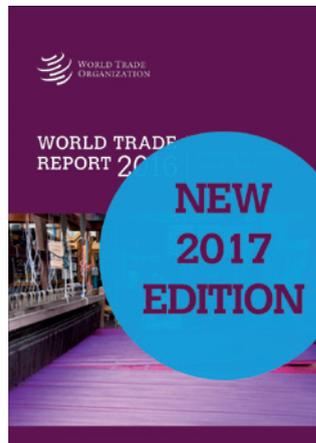
*Smart Country—Connected. Intelligent. Digital.* demonstrates how the opportunities inherent to digitization can strengthen social inclusion and improve the quality of life across all socioeconomic groups and regions in Germany. The global survey of good practices, conducted for the Reinhard Mohn Prize, allows the Bertelsmann Stiftung to recognize innovative approaches and effective solutions to sociopolitical problems. To award the prize it carries out a global search for exemplary programs and initiatives. This prize highlights innovative solutions to a variety of challenges in eight countries. These states offer digital solutions in key areas such as health care, mobility, education, and politics, thereby helping their societies address the challenges associated with demographic change and rapid urbanization. A comprehensive digital strategy is needed if governments are to enable full and active participation in society for everyone. On-site research was conducted in countries considered the world's pioneers of digitization: Austria, Estonia, Israel, and Sweden. The lessons learned in each regarding promulgating a political digital strategy, expanding Internet infrastructures, improving digital competences, and ensuring the smart application of digital technology have much to offer Germany.



July 2017, 7 x 10, 100 pp  
paper, 9783867937856, \$22.00

## World Trade Report 2017

Trade, Technology and Labour



### English Edition

October 2017, 8 x 11, 178 pp  
paper, 9789287043580, \$50.00

### French Edition (*Rapport sur le commerce mondial 2017*)

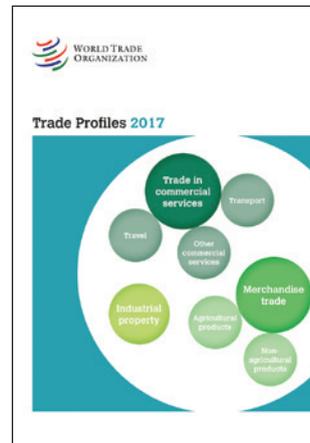
October 2017, 8 x 11, 178 pp  
paper, 9789287043597, \$50.00

### Spanish Edition (*Informe sobre el comercio mundial 2017*)

October 2016, 8 x 11, 178 pp  
paper, 9789287043603, \$50.00

The *World Trade Report 2017* discusses the effects of international trade and technological progress on labour market outcomes. It aims to provide an objective and balanced, research-based assessment of these effects in developed and developing countries and to inform readers about possible policy responses to adjustment problems and distributional effects, regardless of their sources. It is part of the response of the WTO to the current anti-trade rhetoric fuelled by concerns that trade may cause job losses and raise inequality.

## Trade Profiles 2017



### English Edition

December 2017, 8 x 11, 400 pp  
paper, 9789287041579, \$50.00

### French Edition (*Profils Commerciaux 2017*)

December 2017, 8 x 11, 400 pp  
paper, 9789287041593, \$50.00

### Spanish Edition (*Perfiles Comerciales 2017*)

December 2017, 8 x 11, 400 pp  
paper, 9789287041616, \$50.00

The annual “Trade Profiles” covers key data on both trade in goods and services. Each profile provides the most important indicators for trade in goods, including major imports and exports, and a breakdown of trade in services. Data are provided in a handy double-page format for each of the 180 economies covered by the publication. Tabular data are complemented by charts illustrating the key information.

## World Tariff Profiles 2017



### English Edition

December 2017, 8 x 11, 200 pp  
paper, 9789287041630, \$50.00

### French Edition (*Profils tarifaires dans le monde 2017*)

December 2017, 8 x 11, 200 pp  
paper, 9789287041654, \$50.00

### Spanish Edition (*Perfiles Arancelarios en el Mundo 2017*)

December 2017, 8 x 11, 200 pp  
paper, 9789287041678, \$50.00

*World Tariff Profiles 2017* provides a unique collection of data on tariffs imposed by WTO members and other countries. It contains summary tables showing the average tariffs imposed by individual countries and more detailed tables for each country, listing the tariffs it imposes on imports (by product group) and the tariffs it faces for exports to major trading partners. The profiles show the maximum tariff rates that are legally “bound” in the WTO and the rates that countries actually apply. Co-published with ITC and UNCTAD.

## Boxed Set of WTO Statistical Titles 2017

The latest trade data from the WTO are now available in one complete package. The boxed set brings together:

*World Trade Statistical Review 2017*

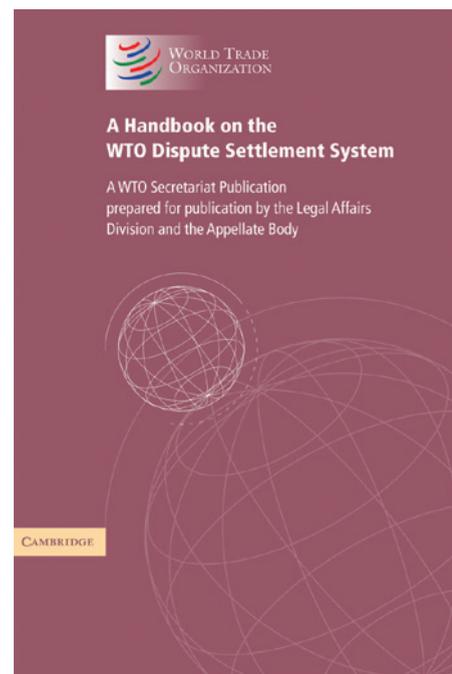
*World Tariff Profiles 2017*

*Trade Profiles 2017*

December 2017, 8 x 11, 800 pp  
paper, 9789287041692, \$120.00

## A Handbook on the WTO Dispute Settlement System, Second Edition

This second edition is a great improvement over the first edition published in 2004. Working through this guide, the reader will be introduced to all elements of the process, from the initiation of a case through to the implementation of the decision. In addition to incorporating over a decade of jurisprudence by the WTO adjudicating bodies, it provides a wealth of practical information about the WTO dispute settlement system as it operates today, including tips about notification procedures, templates of working procedures, and timetables for various types of panel proceedings. This book also expands the discussion surrounding the compliance process and reviews ongoing negotiations to clarify the Dispute Settlement Understanding (DSU) and the panel process.

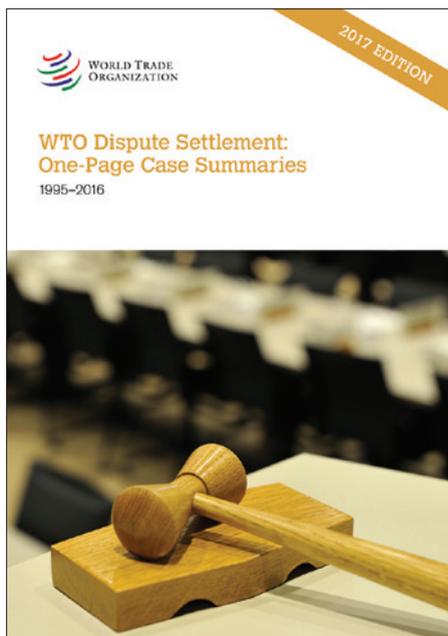


November 2017, 6 x 9, 300 pp  
cloth, 9781108417273, \$160.00  
paper, 9781108404853, \$90.00

# WTO Dispute Settlement

## One-Page Case Summaries 2017

*WTO Dispute Settlement: One-Page Case Summaries* provides a succinct summary of the key findings of every dispute panel report up to the end of 2016 and, where applicable, the subsequent Appellate Body report. Each one-page summary comprises three sections: the core facts; the key findings contained in the reports; and, where relevant, other matters of particular significance. The disputes are presented in chronological order (by dispute settlement number). Two indexes at the end of the publication list the disputes by WTO agreement and by WTO member responding to the complaint.



### English Edition

July 2017, 8 x 11, 220 pp  
paper, 9789287045294, \$40.00

### French Edition (*Le règlement des différends dans le cadre de l'OMC: Une affaire, une page 1995-2016 ÉDITION 2017*)

July 2017, 8 x 11, 220 pp  
paper, 9789287045300, \$40.00

### Spanish Edition (*Solución de diferencias en la OMC: Resúmenes de una página por caso 1995-2016 EDICIÓN DE 2017*)

July 2017, 8 x 11, 220 pp  
paper, 9789287045317, \$40.00

## 20 Years of the Information Technology Agreement

The Information Technology Agreement (ITA) commits participants to completely eliminate duties on IT products covered by the Agreement. To celebrate its 20th anniversary, this publication provides a description of the obstacles that negotiators had to overcome, the issues that remain in the implementation of the agreement, the link between the ITA and innovation, and the profound structural change that has been brought about by the reliance on global production networks.

September 2017, 8 x 11, 80 pp  
paper, 9789287045355, \$40.00

## Trade and Food Standards

This WTO/FAO co-publication focuses on the institutional framework for international trade in food, the significance of international food standards, and the benefits for public health and for trade that can be derived through the implementation of such standards. It aims to raise awareness of international food standards, highlighting the importance of coordination and cooperation among agriculture, health, and trade authorities.

September 2017, 8 x 11, 80 pp  
paper, 9789287045379, \$40.00

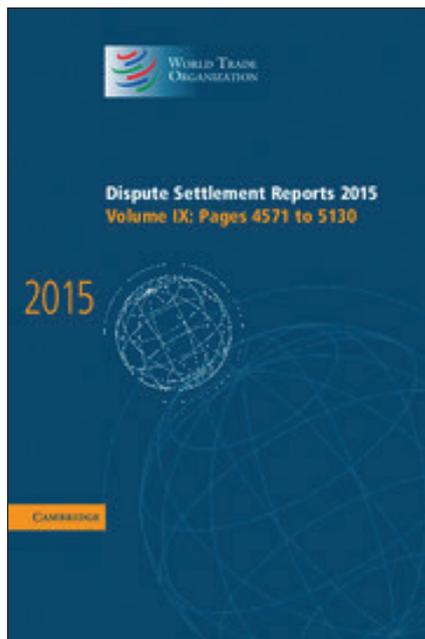
## Aid for Trade at a Glance 2017

This joint OECD/WTO publication puts a spotlight on aid for trade to assess what is happening, what is not happening, and where improvements are needed. The analysis is focused on trends in aid for trade policies, programs, and practices. It shows that the Aid-for-Trade Initiative is delivering tangible results in improving trade performance and bettering people's lives in developing countries, notably those of women.

September 2017, 8 x 11, 350 pp  
paper, 9789287045393, \$70.00

## Dispute Settlement Reports

The Dispute Settlement Reports of the World Trade Organization (WTO) include Panel and Appellate Body reports, as well as arbitration awards, in disputes concerning the rights and obligations of WTO members under the provisions of the Marrakesh Agreement Establishing the World Trade Organization. These are the only authorized paginated reports in English. As such, they are an essential addition to the library of every practicing and academic trade lawyer and will be widely consulted by students taking courses in international economic or trade law. The publication of the Cambridge printed edition follows the WTO website publication of all new reports.



### **DISPUTE SETTLEMENT REPORTS 2015: VOLUME 9**

February 2016, 9.6 x 6.3, 570 pp  
cloth, 9781107194045, \$220.00



### **DISPUTE SETTLEMENT REPORTS 2015: VOLUME 10**

February 2016, 9.6 x 6.3, 530 pp  
cloth, 9781107194458, \$220.00



### **DISPUTE SETTLEMENT REPORTS 2015: VOLUME 11**

February 2016, 9.6 x 6.3, 405 pp  
cloth, 9781107194472, \$220.00

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