

LEVERAGING PRIVATE CAPITAL AND POLITICAL ACTION IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION

2014 Conference Report

April 9-11, 2014
Prague, Czech Republic

WORLD FORUM
ON GOVERNANCE

BROOKINGS ▪ ZAOSTŘENO

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ABOUT ZAOSTŘENO

Zaostřeno is a non-governmental and non-profit organization that supports the principles of good governance, as well as the transparent and responsible administration of public matters and the development of the political environment. Through its abundant and interesting programs, the organization supports the awareness of unfair practices within the political and economic environment in the Czech Republic. Zaostřeno promotes moral and ethical principles of the modern society at the local, regional and national levels by implementing -proven processes and thus establishing a brand new area for discussion of the given issues, with both experts and the public. Officially established in May 2012, Zaostřeno had already been active as an informal group under the name Bílá lilie.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would first like to extend our appreciation to each of the conference participants, without whom the convening of the third World Forum on Governance would not have been possible. A comprehensive list of participants appears at the conclusion of this report.

Additionally, we would like to thank our Czech partners at Zaostřeno o.p.s for their generous support of the World Forum on Governance. We would particularly like to thank Václav Pecha, Jana Bednářová, Adam Valenta, and Marie Wichterlová for their valuable assistance during the planning process and in Prague.

We would also like to acknowledge U.S. Ambassador to the Czech Republic Norman Eisen, who was instrumental in conceiving and launching the Forum. Our thanks go to Darrell West for his continued support of and participation in the WFG. We are also grateful for the contributions of Elaine Kamarck, whose experiences and insights further enhanced this year's conference.

Finally, we would like to recognize Anna Goodbaum, Robin Lewis, Beth Stone, and Raffaella Wakeman for their tireless efforts throughout the conference planning process. Our thanks go to Robin Lewis for conference preparation as well as drafting and editing this report. We are also appreciative of the contributions of Ashley Bennett, Robert Brier, and Courtney Dunakin at Brookings.

Stephen M. Davis, Thomas E. Mann, and Norman J. Ornstein
Co-Directors, World Forum on Governance

photo credits: Ondřej Besperát

THE WORLD FORUM ON GOVERNANCE

The collapse of a corruption-ridden government in Ukraine, Russia and Turkey's attempts to curb social media drives to expose alleged bribery, and ongoing public sector reform initiatives in Central and Eastern Europe all serve to highlight the salience of the World Forum on Governance (WFG) in today's geopolitical landscape. The first WFG, held in Prague in November 2011, established the conference's distinctive identity as a prestigious, multi-stakeholder working forum focused on creative, pragmatic approaches to fighting corruption. By integrating scholars and practitioners from the political, civil society, and private sector spheres, the intensive, dialogue-driven Forum provides an opportunity for participants to exchange insights and catalyze initiatives more directly.



PANELIST ZUZANA WIENK
AT THE OPENING
PLENARY SESSION.

Following the 2011 WFG, Brookings published the "Prague Declaration on Governance and Anti-Corruption," an integrated analytic framework designed to outline expectations and implementation guidelines for good governance best practices. In 2012, the second WFG addressed many of the topics alluded to in the Declaration; developed groundwork for future action on international treaty and enforcement ideas; led to a pilot "road show" engagement between institutional investors and high-level political officials in the Czech Republic; and prompted two follow-up roundtables in Washington exploring the creation of an international council of prominent governance experts and the role of faith communities in the anti-corruption movement. A report from the 2012 WFG entitled "Countering Corruption" outlines next steps and action items for future conferences.

In April 2014, nearly ninety delegates from more than twenty countries met again in Prague for the third WFG. They included investors, scholars, government officials, civil society actors, private sector representatives, and members of the media. Among the distinguished participants at the 2014 convening were Pietro Grasso, President of the Italian Senate; Thuli Madonsela, Public Protector of South Africa; Murat Yetkin, Editor-in-Chief of Turkish newspaper *Hürriyet*; several U.S. ambassadors; and representatives from Internet-based anti-corruption utilities Bribespot and Not in My Country. Ukrainian civil society leaders, fresh from demonstrations in Kiev's Maidan Square, participated despite difficult conditions at home, sharing perspectives on corruption in the region.

Plenary sessions featured a variety of topics related to political and corporate governance, including a discussion of anti-corruption initiatives in Central and Eastern Europe; a speech by President Grasso drawing from his experience as an anti-Mafia prosecutor to highlight the challenge of combating organized crime when it inhabits even the highest levels of state; an examination of good governance best practices by prominent business and capital market representatives, civil society leaders, and public officials; and a series of reports and reflections on the conference breakout sessions. Full recordings of the plenary sessions are available on Brookings' website. The conference also featured an off-the-record keynote address by U.S. Ambassador to the Czech Republic Norman Eisen, who offered insights from his endeavors to counter corruption in the public and private sectors.

Breakout sessions explored a broad scope of governance issues, including:

- Connecting institutional investors with one another and with relevant stakeholders to reduce corruption risk in markets;
- Enhancing the capacity of civil society leaders to advocate for integrity;
- Fostering accountability and transparency through effective political finance, whistleblower, and lobbying regulations; and
- Utilizing the proliferation of data indices and social media/Internet-based engagement tools to galvanize popular support and political will to counter corruption.



PRESIDENT OF THE ITALIAN SENATE PIETRO GRASSO ADDRESSES DELEGATES AT THE 2014 WFG.

Incorporated into the 2014 WFG agenda were several sessions addressing recommendations and action items from the 2011 and 2012 conferences. Session outcomes are detailed below.

Corruption hampers development, obstructs the principles of good governance and political ethics and eventually poses a threat to the rule of law, democracy, and the principle of equality and free competition.

—President Grasso, in his remarks at the third World Forum on Governance, 10 April 2014

Do We Need a Global Network of Anti-Corruption Experts?

One recommendation from the 2012 WFG proposed a roundtable discussion to explore the creation of a formalized, global network of anti-corruption leaders with experience in drafting anti-corruption legislation, formulating appropriate regulation, and enforcing and prosecuting those laws. Such a group, it was suggested, could potentially facilitate periodic exchanges of ideas and experiences in combating corruption, advise actors seeking expertise on the subject of good governance

measures, and, where appropriate, serve as a platform for comment on developments in the field. A roundtable on the topic was convened by Brookings in January 2014 and featured a diverse array of policymaker, private sector, civil society, and academic anti-corruption leaders. Participants established parameters to test the utility of a council and offered a framework to assure that such a group's mission would contribute uniquely to the sphere of anti-corruption initiatives.

A breakout session at the 2014 WFG further advanced the discussion. Session attendees identified programs by existing bodies that feature expert groups and noted institutional investors, in particular, could be more integrated into anti-corruption efforts through such a high-level council. A later breakout session on investor coordination supported the concept of developing a council that would be unique by representing an investor orientation. Some participants advised that supranational organizations should be held accountable to the same standards as other organizations, and suggested that a council could possibly serve as a watchdog for these groups. Participants identified a need to map existing efforts in the anti-corruption field and formulate a "narrative of success" to inform the work of existing institutions by articulating best practices. Mapping could help determine what gaps might be addressed by a council or other body. Brookings will continue to explore the concept of a global network of prominent anti-corruption voices, particularly one that could uniquely reflect views of institutional and foreign direct investors. Updates on this proposal will be provided at a future convening.

Transnational Instruments: Treaties, Courts, and International Organizations

Another breakout session featured two paper proposals conceptualized during the 2012 WFG. The first, by U.S. District Court Judge Mark Wolf, argues for the establishment of an international anti-corruption court to investigate, prosecute, and deter corruption. The second proposal, by Matthew Murray and Andrew Spalding, contends that freedom from corruption should be internationally recognized in treaties as a fundamental human right. Participants at the session broadly supported the treaty initiative and acknowledged merits of an international anti-corruption court. Some participants expressed that such a court could serve as a positive incentive for companies to develop and implement stronger compliance measures. Others highlighted the potential of such a court to serve as a more palatable, international alternative to a single nation extending prosecution across frontiers; the U.S. Foreign Corrupt Practices Act was cited as one example. Delegates reviewed practical hurdles to each concept, which authors committed to address in final papers. Brookings expects to publish both papers following submission.

@SMDAIVSCORPGOV
“MADONSELA: PUNITIVE
JUSTICE IS NEEDED WHEN NOT DOING
SO RESULTS IN “INSTITUTIONALIZED IMPUNITY”
#CORPGOV #WFG2014”



Investor Road Show Update

2011 and 2012 WFG participants explored the concept of an “investor road show,” which would connect institutional and foreign direct investor representatives with political officials in order to facilitate dialogue on the business value of countering corruption. In December 2012, the International Corporate Governance Network (ICGN) coordinated with the U.S. Embassy in Prague and select WFG participants to develop and execute such a road show within the Czech Republic. Representatives from the road show were present at the 2014 WFG to report back on this effort during the “Connecting Investor Initiatives” breakout session. Participants at the session broadly affirmed the value of investors collectively exchanging views on the business benefits of good governance with public officials. Further, they reviewed ways to strengthen efforts by signatories of both the UN Global Compact and the UN Principles for Responsible Investment to address corruption risk.

Other sessions at the 2014 WFG were organized around three primary streams: public policy, capital, and media and civil society. Future WFG initiatives and agendas will reflect recommendations from these sessions; resulting activities may be undertaken by Brookings or directed to relevant organizations.



GEORGE DALLAS REPORTS PARTICIPANT VIEWS ON THE ROLE OF INVESTORS IN THE ANTI-CORRUPTION MOVEMENT DURING THE CLOSING PLENARY SESSION.

THREE THEMES FROM 2014

PUBLIC POLICY

Making Data a Driver of Change

With the vast expansion of data collection, analysis, and dissemination tools, groups across jurisdictions have greater opportunities than ever before to access and utilize data to facilitate accountability in the public and private sectors. WFG participants examined how individuals and organizations can successfully navigate and leverage data to improve governance at home and abroad. The discussion generated several recommendations:

- First, anti-corruption leaders must work to ensure that data held by government agencies and other relevant bodies is developed accurately. Crucially, information should also be provided in a machine-readable format that allows interested parties to interact with the data. Participants affirmed the central role of investigative journalists and other independent actors in critically assessing data.
- Second, participants suggested that given the changing global landscape, there may be a unique imperative for the development of a new rating tool for countries, companies, and other institutions.
- Third, participants expressed that the proliferation of data and associated indices may warrant a movement to identify an organization with sufficient moral capital, independent status, and appropriate resources to aggregate, centralize, and map the multiplicity of data sets relevant to anti-corruption leaders.

Corruption is everywhere. But corruption allegations are not immediately and properly prosecuted everywhere, and those who are responsible do not always face the consequences.

—Murat Yetkin

“Corruption Kills Democracies,” 12 April 2014, Hürriyet Daily News

Prosecutorial Initiatives: The Role of Judges, Police, and Prosecutors in Countering Corruption

Participants during this session examined approaches to discovering, confronting, and deterring corruption and highlighted several challenges faced by judges, police, and prosecutors. These challenges include ensuring jury impartiality, establishing

successful witness protection programs, and empowering citizens to bring suits forward when the government is unequipped or unwilling to do so, as in “captured” states. Delegates also shared observations and recommendations for anti-corruption leaders across jurisdictions:

- First, as corruption often crosses borders, it is vital for governments to prioritize global cooperation and share good governance best practices internally and internationally.
- Second, anti-corruption advocates should encourage states to minimize transactions with governments that oppress those who strive to combat corruption.
- Finally, governments should partner with international businesses to promote economic integrity and form “cartels of good.”

Rules of Political Engagement

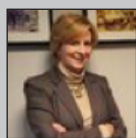
The session highlighted pitfalls and prospects for those seeking to improve regulation and compliance within the political sphere. Participants noted the importance of taking a long-term view of political reform and of identifying and collaborating with energetic reformers. Some participants highlighted the inherent challenge of holding politicians and political parties accountable to the establishment and enforcement of transparent and fair regulations—when those same politicians are responsible for the development and implementation of the regulations in question. Consequently, participants emphasized that the presence of an independent judiciary is vital to maintaining effective rules of political engagement in political finance and lobbying.

CAPITAL

Best Practices in the Private Sector

In addition to the breakout session on connecting institutional investors, a session exploring best practices in the private sector yielded recommendations for practitioners. First, participants affirmed the value of businesses coordinating with neutral third parties to promote accountability within their institutions. Second, consensus emerged that there must be both top-down and bottom-up accountability mechanisms in place—that is, while business executives must exhibit strong leadership by providing clear expectations of ethical behavior, there must also be action on

the part of investors to monitor and check corporate leaders. Third, some participants contended that entities within the public and private sectors should take the necessary steps to extend greater protections to whistleblowers. Finally, relevant groups should share narratives of success in order to disseminate best practices and highlight data on the business value of following compliance regulation.



@AMB_DMCCARTHY



AGREE CAPITAL/
INVESTORS MUST

BE PART OF DISCUSSION ON COMBATTING
#CORRUPTION #CORPGOV #WFG2014



Fighting Corruption with Social Media

Government efforts to curtail freedom of expression online, including the attempted ban on Twitter in Turkey, restrictions on online blogs in Russia, and Beijing's ongoing censorship of online resources, attest to a global awareness that social media and Internet-based engagement tools can play a powerful role in supporting and enabling reform. Participants explored the parameters of social media's role in the fight against corruption and debated the relationship between traditional and social media. Several participants argued that traditional media serves to clarify, authenticate, and legitimize the plethora of information available on social media, while social media and other Internet utilities can amplify bottom-up perspectives, galvanize support for reform, and quickly relay the findings of traditional media to diverse audiences. Participants noted that social media and Internet-based engagement tools should enhance—not supplant—the activities of traditional investigative journalists.

Connecting Civil Society Institutions

The session explored ways in which the anti-corruption work of human rights groups, faith communities, grassroots organizations, and other members of civil society may be strengthened and better connected. A memo from a 2013 Brookings roundtable on the role of faith-based organizations in the anti-corruption movement served as a resource for the session. Participants expressed support for the use of both traditional and social media to communicate the work of various organizations, and noted that groups should employ these utilities as “matchmaking” tools to find organizations with similar visions. Delegates discussed the view that civil society organizations of all kinds face a challenge to apply robust accountability and transparency practices to their own activities in order to optimize trust in their work and strengthen their standing as a bulwark against corruption.

Whether it is a fledgling democracy in Eastern Europe or a well-oiled corrupt regime in a Latin American country—the battles for citizens and civil society looked incredibly similar. What helps? A vocal street level push-back by citizens is the base level of the beginning of change. But this must be followed by continuing solution-based work by anti-corruption organizations.

—Monika Halan

“Corruption in Low Places,” 15 April 2014, Live Mint

MOVING FORWARD

The 2014 WFG served to catalyze a variety of significant initiatives.

- **Curbing corruption in state-owned enterprises.** A proposal developed during the WFG by Kristian Mortensen of the Baltic Institute of Corporate Governance (BICG) involved collaboration between the BICG and officials in Ukraine to professionalize governance of Ukrainian state-owned enterprises. Initial meetings to advance the project were slated for shortly after the conference.
- **Enabling a surge in creative uses of social media.** A second recommendation proposes a Brookings-led roundtable featuring anti-corruption leaders in the field of social media and Internet-based utilities. The mission of the roundtable would be to explore ways to help such groups enhance their operational capacity, connect with similar entities, match with potential funders, and advance their organization's objectives. Brookings looks to convene such a roundtable in the fall of 2014.
- **Introducing reforms in treaties, law and enforcement.** Brookings expects to publish two papers developed by WFG participants, one exploring the establishment in treaties of freedom from corruption as a fundamental human right, and the second advancing the concept of an international anti-corruption court.
- **Enlisting the voice of capital.** The WFG will further test market appetite for an international council—composed of prominent institutional and foreign direct investors—to press anti-corruption stances.
- **Advancing business initiatives.** Brookings plans to collaborate with the U.S. Department of Commerce to coordinate a panel featuring leading investors during an Africa business summit in 2014.



UKRAINIAN DELEGATE DARIA KALENIUK POSES A QUESTION DURING THE SECOND PLENARY SESSION.

A Forum impact assessment, including media coverage, delegate reactions, and follow-up steps by the WFG and individual participants, shows that the WFG remains unique in the value it delivers from bringing together thought leaders representing a multitude of constituencies. The 2014 WFG highlighted pertinent regional issues illustrative of the broader fight against corruption, assessed proposals and projects from previous conferences, and connected dozens of anti-corruption public and private sector leaders through substantive dialogue. Future forums will continue to implement the framework of the Prague Declaration by advancing proposals identified in this report, engaging a diverse array of informed anti-corruption leaders, and developing programming that reflects both challenges and opportunities germane to promoting good governance around the globe.

The reason why I consider this conference to be particularly important is that it will enable us to look at the whole issue of corruption in terms of the ethical drift of public life. The new politics which I am striving to interpret every day of my life must begin here, from the ethical downward slope which politics has too often and in too many countries taken, in which people find illegality almost normal, numbed as they are by dishonesty, injustice and cynical individualism. I firmly believe that this direction can be reversed, as long as every country adopts a shared commitment to take serious, well thought-out measures to strike at the underground economy, tax evasion, corporate and financial crime, and money laundering; to extend and step up financial investigations in order to be able to identify illegally procured wealth; to moralise the way public resources are managed and to prevent the power of crime from becoming entrenched in the socio-economic system by ensuring the presence of the State. It is also necessary—and this is something that concerns everyone—for politics to begin to view public service as a means of fostering the common good, and the good of the weakest in society, rather than bending it to suit partisan interests.

—President Pietro Grasso

From President Grasso's address at the third World Forum on Governance

10 April 2014

When you really dig into problems related to governance, transparency, ethics, responsibility and anticorruption with the most distinguished expert groups in these fields from all over the world [...] on one side you sense that these problems are intractable, they are the same everywhere and are engraved too deep to be solved, which makes you hopeless. On the other side, you see those people who have put all their hearts, passion and lives to achieve a change that might not happen in the lifetime of any of them, but are still driven by the belief that this is the right direction and the right thing to do. You just feel the energy around this and you become full of hope.

—Mostafa Hunter

12 April 2014, via Facebook

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Jamal Al-Mussawi

U.S. Embassy Bratislava

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Alexander Barrasso

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Murat Yetkin

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Miroslav Zamecnik

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Pavel Zeman

Supreme Public Prosecutor of the Czech Republic

Robert Zimmerman

U.S. Embassy Prague

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

Fighting corruption can be a lonely and dangerous business. That is one reason why people interested in doing so are meeting this week at the annual World Forum on Governance in Prague. The gathering brings together thinkers from the public and private sectors to discuss ways to push for better governance, especially in societies in transition.

—Charles Recknagel

“Prague Forum Provides Anti-Corruption Platform,” 10 April 2014, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 9

Welcome Reception & Buffet Dinner

On the Record

THURSDAY, APRIL 10

Introductory Remarks

Speakers: Stephen Davis, Václav Pecha

On the Record

Opening Plenary: The Struggle for Good Governance in Central and Eastern Europe

Moderator: Radek Špicar

Panelists: Mircea Geoana, Dmytro Kotlyar, David Ondráčka, Zuzana Wienk

On the Record

Breakout Session 1: Do We Need a Global Network of Anti-Corruption Experts?

Facilitator: Nancy Boswell

Chatham House Rule

Breakout Session 2: Making Data a Driver of Change

Facilitator: Jeff Gedmin

Chatham House Rule

Breakout Session 3: Prosecutorial Initiatives: The Role of Judges, Police, and Prosecutors in Countering Corruption

Facilitator: Pavel Zeman

Chatham House Rule



AMBASSADOR EISEN SHARES INSIGHTS ON COUNTERING CORRUPTION DURING HIS KEYNOTE ADDRESS AT KAISERSTEIN PALACE.

Plenary Session 2: A Conversation with Pietro Grasso, President of the Italian Senate

Moderator: Norman Ornstein

On the Record

Breakout Session 4: Promoting Best Practices in the Private Sector

Facilitator: Alexandra Wrage

Chatham House Rule

Breakout Session 5: Transnational Instruments: Treaties, Courts, and International Organizations

Facilitator: Richard Stern

Presenters: Judge Mark Wolf, Andy Spalding

Chatham House Rule

Breakout Session 6: Connecting Civil Society Institutions

Facilitator: Mostafa Hunter

Chatham House Rule

Dinner

Remarks by Norman Eisen, U.S. Ambassador to the Czech Republic

Off the Record

FRIDAY, APRIL 11

Plenary Session 3: Government Reform and the Fight against Corruption

Moderator: Elaine Kamarck

Panelists: Jan Macháček, Ronald MacLean-Abaroa, Thuli Madonsela, Ana Vasilache

On the Record

Breakout Session 7: Rules of Political Engagement

Facilitator: Daniel Anýž

Chatham House Rule



PANELISTS ELAINE KAMARCK, RONALD MACLEAN-ABAROA, THULI MADONSELA, ANA VASILACHE, AND JAN MACHÁČEK (NOT PICTURED) EXPLORE THE ISSUE OF PUBLIC SECTOR CORRUPTION DURING THE THIRD PLENARY SESSION.

Breakout Session 8: Fighting Corruption with Social Media

Facilitator: Monika Halan

Chatham House Rule

Breakout Session 9: Connecting Investor Initiatives

Facilitator: George Dallas

Chatham House Rule

Closing Remarks: Reports from Breakouts, Wrap-Up, Next Steps

Speakers: Stephen Davis, Ambassador Norman Eisen, Elaine Kamarck, Thomas Mann, Norman Ornstein

On the Record



ELAINE KAMARCK, STEPHEN DAVIS, NORMAN ORNSTEIN, AND THOMAS MANN DISCUSS CONCLUSIONS AND ACTION ITEMS DURING THE CLOSING PLENARY SESSION.

@MURATYETKIN2

“ MIND OPENING ANTI-CORRUPTION CONFERENCE BY WORLD FORUM ON GOVERNANCE IN PRAGUE #WFG2014 CONCLUDES WITH NEW IDEAS ”



PARTICIPANT PERSPECTIVES

"I would hope that all of us have those moments when the course of our life pivots, and we suddenly find ourselves moving forward in a wonderfully new direction. Whether professional or personal, whether big and dramatic or small and subtle, these moments do much to define us. One of mine recently came at the Brookings Institution's World Forum on Governance."

–Andrew Spalding

29 April 2014, FCPA Blog

"Human relationships and personal contacts are very important. When people meet at the forum, sometimes they meet people from their own countries, and sometimes they meet people from neighboring countries who are confronting common problems. They get connected with each other and they also realize that there are counterparts to the people at the forum in their own communities and countries."

–Judge Mark Wolf

"Prague Forum Provides Anti-Corruption Platform," 10 April 2014,
Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty

"This year's Forum widened the perspective to include government reform as a means of getting at the underlying incentive structures in public sector corruption, a perspective highlighted by the presence of a delegation of Ukrainian reformers deeply committed to designing new institutions and laws to avoid another post-revolutionary collapse into pervasive corruption."

–Elaine Kamarck

"Report from the Third World Forum on Governance," 14 April 2014,
Brookings' FixGov blog

"As someone who has worked in [the anti-corruption] field for almost a quarter-century, I am honored to be giving the keynote address at this year's gala WFG dinner. I will urge my colleagues to participate vigorously and return to their home countries or institutions with a wider variety of the tools they will need to identify and fight corruption in our increasingly connected world."

–Ambassador Norman Eisen

"Welcoming the World's Top Anti-Corruption Fighters to Prague," 9 April 2014,
Ambassador Eisen's official blog

ABOUT THE CO-DIRECTORS



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Stephen Davis is a nonresident senior fellow in the Governance Studies program at the Brookings Institution, the associate director of the Harvard Law School Programs on Corporate Governance and Institutional Investors, and a senior fellow at the Program on Corporate Governance. From 2007-2012 he was executive director of the Yale School of Management's Millstein Center for Corporate Governance and Performance and Lecturer on the SOM faculty. Davis co-authored *The New Capitalists: How Citizen Investors are Reshaping the Corporate Agenda* (Harvard Business School Press, 2006). He serves on the board of Hermes Equity Ownership Service and as trustee of ShareAction, both in London. Davis pioneered the field of international corporate governance while at the Investor Responsibility Research Center in Washington, D.C. His *Shareholder Rights Abroad: A Handbook for the Global Investor* (1989) was the first study comparing corporate governance practices in top markets.



Thomas Mann

The Brookings Institution

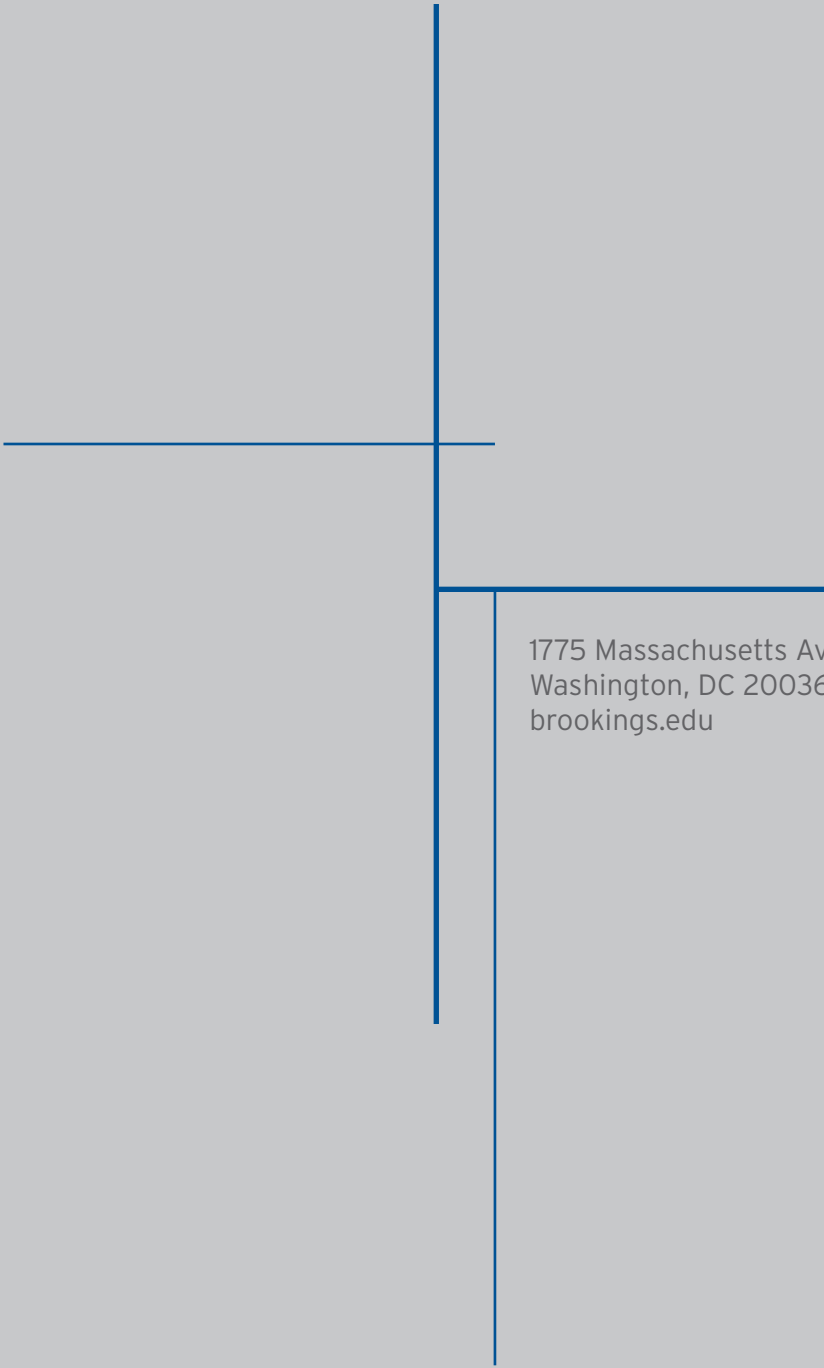
Thomas E. Mann is the W. Averell Harriman Chair and Senior Fellow in Governance Studies at the Brookings Institution. Between 1987 and 1999, he was Director of Governmental Studies at Brookings. Before that, Dr. Mann was executive director of the American Political Science Association. Dr. Mann is a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. He and Norman Ornstein co-authored *The Broken Branch: How Congress Is Failing America and How to Get It Back on Track* (named by the *Washington Post* as one of the best books of 2006 and called by *The Economist* "a classic") and the *New York Times* bestseller *It's Even Worse Than It Looks: How the American Constitutional System Collided With the New Politics of Extremism*.



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Norman Ornstein, a Resident Scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, is a long-time observer of Congress and politics. Dr. Ornstein is a contributing editor and columnist for *National Journal* and *The Atlantic* and serves as an election analyst for BBC News. Dr. Ornstein led a working group of scholars and practitioners that helped shape the law, known as McCain-Feingold, which reformed the campaign financing system. He was elected as a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 2004. His many books include *The Permanent Campaign and Its Future* (AEI Press, 2000); *The Broken Branch: How Congress Is Failing America and How to Get It Back on Track*; and, most recently, the *New York Times* bestseller *It's Even Worse Than It Looks: How the American Constitutional System Collided With the New Politics of Extremism*, all written with Thomas Mann.



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