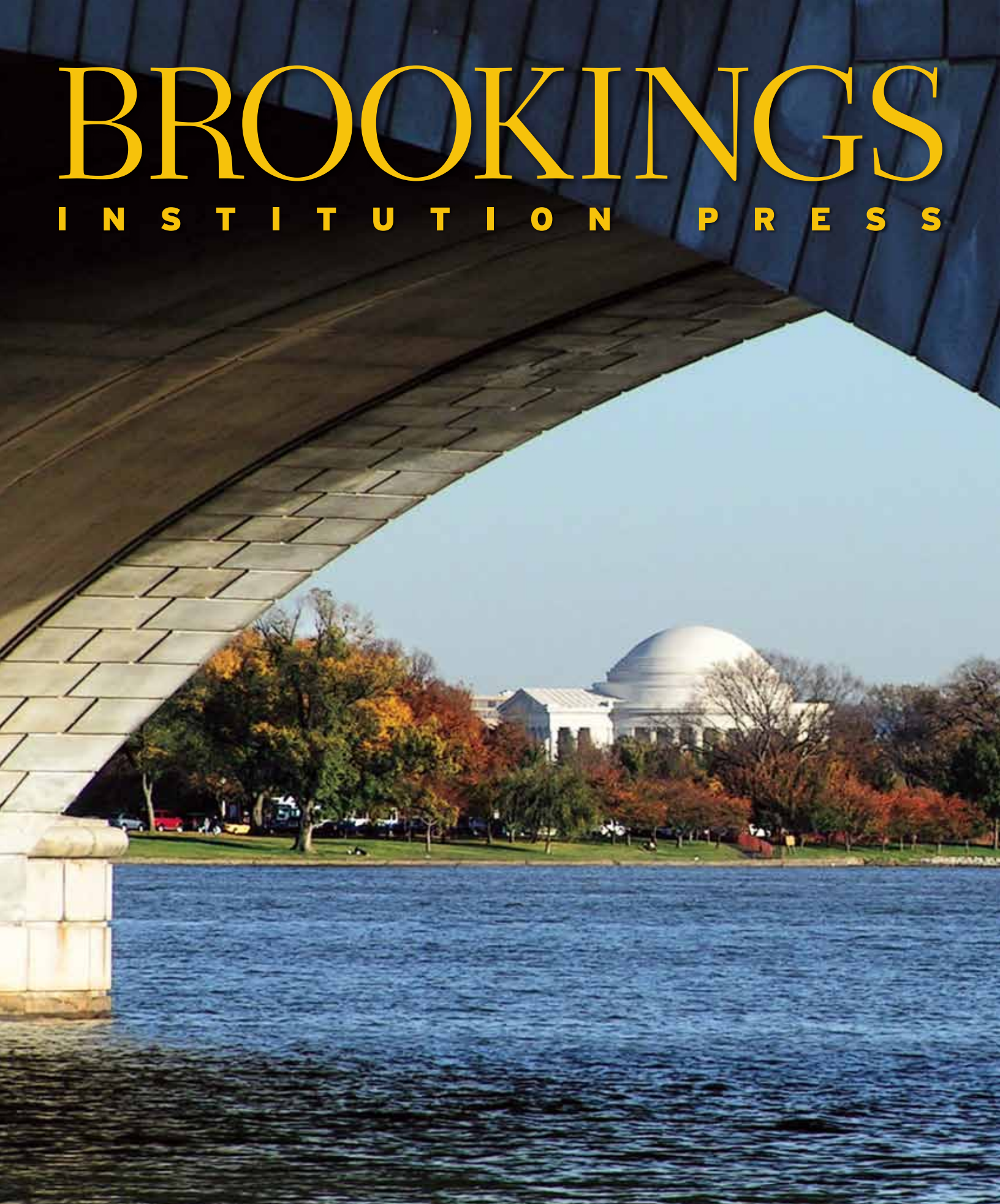


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FALL 2010

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## FAST FORWARD Ethics and Politics in the Age of Global Warming

William Antholis and Strobe Talbott

Just as war is too important to leave in the hands of generals, global climate is too important to leave solely in the hands of politicians who are being pulled in a million directions. This pithy yet compelling book makes abundantly clear what we know and don't know about global warming; why those uncertainties merit prudent but urgent action; how those actions, both at home and abroad, may amount to the most difficult political transaction in the history of mankind; and why "politics as usual"—both in the U.S. and in global negotiations—simply will not get the job done.

In a fast-paced narrative that is both a history lesson and an analytical argument, William Antholis and Strobe Talbott bring the reader through a quarter decade of global negotiations on climate change, clearly illustrating the economic fears and political constituencies that shape such discussions. Their behind-the-scenes coverage includes Barack Obama's spontaneous "drop by" meeting with the leaders of China, India, Brazil, and South Africa in Copenhagen, helping to break a logjam that nearly rendered the conference a disheartening waste of time.

Diplomatic and procedural changes are clearly needed. Climate change will not wait for incrementalist plodding or partisan knife fights. In the words of the authors,

"Those changes should entail, first and foremost, shifting from reliance on the cumbersome UN-led pursuit of a legally binding global treaty, which has been on slow forward for twenty years, to a less formal process by which the United States, the European Union, China, and India form the core of an expanding circle of countries that will develop their energy policies and regulate their emissions in an increasingly coordinated fashion."

Moreover, a whole new mindset is needed. It is a matter of individual ethics as much as politics or economics. While we need to focus on what can immediately be accomplished by public officials on the grand stage of diplomacy, we also must stay true to our long-term personal and ethical responsibilities to future generations. The world we leave to our children and their children is more than an abstraction—it is our legacy. And our responsibility.

*"Strobe Talbott and Bill Antholis have made an admirable and important effort to move beyond the recent political rancor in Washington. They have a plan for leaders who want to be serious about energy and climate. Instead of starting from entrenched ideological base camps, they concentrate on identifying common goals . . . on which Republicans and Democrats alike can agree."*

—Richard G. Lugar, U.S. Senator

**William Antholis** is managing director of the Brookings Institution, where he is also a senior fellow in Governance Studies. During Bill Clinton's presidency, he was director of International Economic Affairs at the National Security Council and the National Economic Council. He also served as deputy director of the White House climate change policy team and was a negotiator on the U.S. team at Kyoto. **Strobe Talbott** is the president of Brookings and a veteran diplomat, having spent seven years as U.S. deputy secretary of state. Prior to his government service, he spent twenty years as a columnist and editor with *Time* magazine. His previous books include *The Great Experiment* (Simon & Schuster, 2008), *Engaging India* (Brookings, 2004), and *The Russia Hand* (Random House, 2002).



June, 5½ x 8½, 150 pp.  
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This is the first in a new series: Brookings FOCUS Books. It features concise, accessible, and timely assessments of pressing policy issues, including recommendations for action, written for a broad audience. The second Brookings FOCUS book, Darrell M. West's *Brain Gain*, appears on p. 2 of this catalog.

# BRAIN GAIN

## Rethinking U.S. Immigration Policy

Darrell M. West

Many of America's greatest artists, chefs, investors, entrepreneurs, and leaders have come from abroad. Advances in atomic energy, information technology, international commerce, sports, arts, and culture are directly attributable to talented immigrants. Indeed, America experiences a "brain gain" from in-migration, and therefore needs to maintain its openness to new arrivals to stay competitive and gain access to the special talents of other lands. Yet many Americans still don't see it that way, despite pride in their own ethnic ancestries.

In *Brain Gain*, Darrell West addresses why immigration policy is so politically difficult in the United States despite the substantial social, economic, intellectual, and cultural benefits it brings. The problem is largely one of vision. U.S. policy ought to recognize and reflect the tremendous benefits of bringing in new blood, yet public discourse and political debates tend to emphasize the perceived downsides. Fear too often trumps optimism and reason.

Democracy is messy, with policy principles that are hard to reconcile. The seeming irrationality of U.S. immigration policy arises from a variety of thorny and inter-related factors: particularistic politics and fragmented institutions, concern regarding educational and employment opportunities, anger over taxes and social services, and ambivalence about national identity, culture, and language. Add to that stew a myopic press, persistent fears of terrorism, and the difficulties of implementing border enforcement and legal justice. No wonder we can't see the forest for the trees.

West argues for a series of reforms to U.S. immigration policy, including the following:

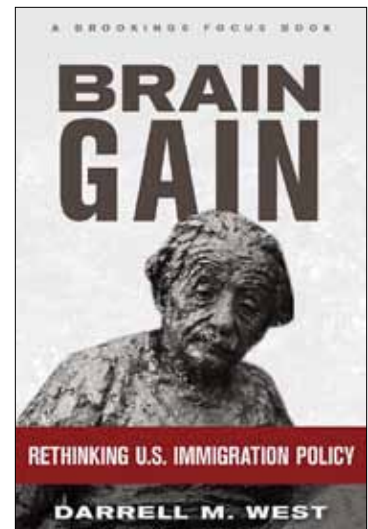
- Improve legal justice
- Take border security more seriously
- Tighten employment verification
- Depoliticize political conflict through an independent commission
- Tie immigration levels to national economic cycles
- Take stronger steps to integrate new immigrants into American life

These reforms will put America on a better course for the future and enhance our long-term social and economic prosperity. Reconceptualizing immigration will help us find the next Sergey Brin, the next Vartan Gregorian, or even the next Albert Einstein.

### Contents

- |                                          |                                       |
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| 1. The Costs and Benefits of Immigration | 5. Shifting Public Opinion            |
| 2. Competing Policy Principles           | 6. Porous Borders and Unequal Justice |
| 3. Overcoming Particularistic Politics   | 7. The Einstein Principle             |
| 4. Problematic Media Coverage            |                                       |

**Darrell M. West** is vice president and director of Governance Studies at the Brookings Institution. Among his sixteen previous books are *Digital Medicine: Health Care in the Internet Era* (Brookings, 2009), *Biotechnology Policy across National Boundaries* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), and *Digital Government: Technology and Public Sector Performance* (Princeton, 2005).



August, 5½ x 8½, 160 pp.  
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This is the second title in a new series: Brookings FOCUS Books. It features concise, nontechnical, timely assessments of pressing policy issues, including recommendations for action, written for a broad audience.

### OF RELATED INTEREST

**DIGITAL MEDICINE**  
Health Care in the  
Internet Era  
*Revised edition*

**Darrell M. West and  
Edward Alan Miller**

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# LEADING CHANGE IN A WEB 2.1 WORLD

## How ChangeCasting Builds Trust, Creates Understanding, and Accelerates Organizational Change

Jackson Nickerson

Recent advances in Web 2.0 technology enable new leadership processes and techniques to create great value for organizations. In this important new book, management expert Jackson Nickerson proposes a combination of processes and techniques utilizing Web 2.0 technology, which he refers to as Web 2.1, that will not only lead and direct change in an organization but actually accelerate it. He calls these processes and techniques “ChangeCasting.”

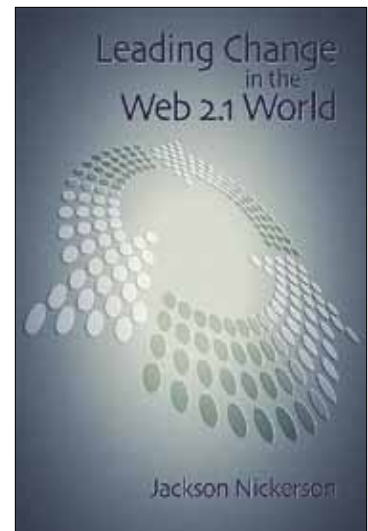
*Leading Change in a Web 2.1 World* provides new insights into why people and organizations are so difficult to engage in change. It explains how web-based video communications, when used in accordance with ChangeCasting’s specific process and techniques, is a keyway to building trust and creating understanding in an organization, thereby unlocking and accelerating organizational change.

Nickerson tells the stories of two Fortune 1000 firms facing dire economic and competitive circumstances. The CEOs of these two firms attempted extensive organizational change using web-based video communications. One CEO used ChangeCasting while the other CEO disregarded it. Nickerson traces the economic consequences of their two approaches to leading change. He also discusses how ChangeCasting was used so successfully in 2008 by President Obama’s campaign. His insights will be invaluable to business executives, public officials, students of management and organizations, and anyone who needs to take organizational change in the 21st century from the drawing board to successful implementation and replication.

### Contents

1. Introduction
  2. Managing Change—*The Test of Leadership*
  3. Why Is Leading Change so Difficult?
  4. Enabling Organizational Change
  5. Accelerating Change in a Web 2.0 World
  6. ChangeCasting Techniques—*The Message*
  7. The Delivery
  8. The Video
  9. Technology for Managing ChangeCasting
  10. Does ChangeCasting Improve Performance?
- Epilogue: Should You Adopt ChangeCasting?

**Jackson Nickerson** is the Frahm Family Professor of Organization and Strategy at the Olin Business School at Washington University in St. Louis, where he teaches strategic management courses on innovation, management of life science, organizational strategy, and critical thinking. He is a director of nformd.net, a new media firm, and Cleantech Biofuels, and engages in consulting for numerous profit and nonprofit organizations. He also is a Brookings nonresident senior fellow in Governance Studies and director of Brookings Executive Education. Jackson is the editor of the new Innovations in Leadership Series.



September, 5.5 x 8.5, 160 pp.  
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### ANNOUNCING A NEW SERIES ON “INNOVATIONS IN LEADERSHIP”

Series editor: **Jackson Nickerson**,  
*Olin Business School, Washington University  
in St. Louis*

This is the first title in our new Innovations in Leadership Series, a collaboration between the Olin Business School at Washington University and the Brookings Institution Press. Washington University and the Brookings Institution share the indelible stamp of philanthropist and businessman Robert S. Brookings, an innovator in responsible private enterprise and effective governance. The books in this series will be relatively short, action-oriented, and to the point—readable on a plane ride, in most cases. They will focus on current leadership challenges and on developing specific innovations to meet those challenges.

# THE PERILS OF PROXIMITY

## China-Japan Security Relations

Richard Bush

While the entire world watches China grow its economy and build up its military, its regional neighbors are keeping an especially keen eye on developments in Beijing. The rivalry between Japan and China has a long and sometimes brutal history, and they continue to eye each other warily as the balance of power tips toward the Middle Kingdom. They cooperate and compete at the same time, but if competition deteriorates into military conflict, the entire world has much to lose. *The Perils of Proximity* evaluates the chances of armed conflict between China and Japan, presenting in stark relief the dangers it would pose and revealing the steps that could head off such a disastrous turn of events.

Richard Bush's piercing analysis of Asian security relations focuses on the problematic East China Sea region. Although Japan's military capabilities are more considerable than some in the West realize, its defense budget has remained basically flat in recent years. On the other side of the water, however, China's military expenditures have grown by double digits annually. More worrisome is that the emphasis of China's military modernization is on power projection—the ability of its air and naval forces to stretch their reach to the east, encroaching on its island neighbor.

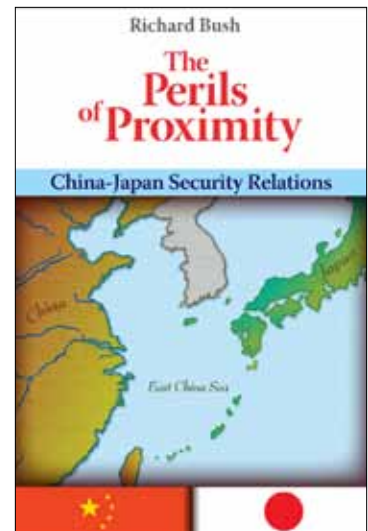
The Japanese regard the growth of Chinese power and its focus on the East China Sea with deep anxiety. How should they respond? The balance of power is changing, and Japan must account for that uncomfortable fact in crafting its strategy. It is incumbent on China, Japan, and the United States to take steps to reduce the odds of clash and conflict in the East China Sea, and veteran Asia watcher Bush presents recommendations to that end. The steps he suggests won't be easy, and effective political leadership will be absolutely critical. If implemented fully and correctly, however, they have the potential to reduce the perils of proximity in Asia.

### *Praise for the work of Richard Bush*

"Untying the Knot: Making Peace in the Taiwan Strait is *the most comprehensive English-language account of the vicissitudes of cross-strait relations.*"—PACIFIC AFFAIRS

"A War Like No Other provides a riveting case study about grand crisis and the key insights for managing one successfully. . . . China-Taiwan remains a dangerous standoff, mandating that all who represent any of the actors read this study."—General Eric K. Shinseki, U.S. Army (Retired)

**Richard Bush** is a senior fellow in Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution, director of its Center for Northeast Asian Policy Studies, and the Michael H. Armacost Chair. He is the author of, among other works, *Untying the Knot: Making Peace in the Taiwan Strait* (Brookings, 2006).



November, 6 x 9, 360 pp.  
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## COUNSEL FOR THE SITUATION

### Shaping the Law to Realize America's Promise

**William T. Coleman Jr.,  
with Donald T. Bliss**

**Foreword by U.S. Supreme Court Justice Stephen G. Breyer**

"Bill Coleman's story is one that younger generations should mark and inwardly digest, lest they forget the pioneers who helped to make a better America possible. That story also shows us something important about the legal profession, helping us understand how in the mid-twentieth century an individual could become, at one and the same time, a great lawyer, a wise statesman, and a leader in the fight for equal rights."—From the foreword by Justice Stephen Breyer

**B**ill Coleman has spent a lifetime opening doors and breaking down barriers. He has been an eyewitness to history; moreover, he has made history. This is his inspiring story, in his own words.

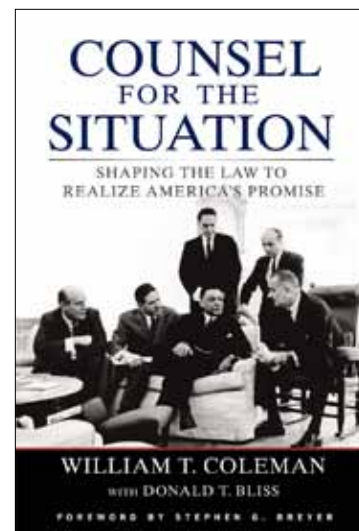
Americans of color faced daunting barriers in the 1940s. Despite graduating first in his class at Harvard Law and clerking for Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter, Coleman was shut out of major East Coast law firms. But as he writes, "The times, they were a'changing." He not only benefitted from that change—he helped propel it, by way of dogged determination, undeniable intellect, and stellar accomplishment.

- Coleman was the first American of color to clerk for the Supreme Court.
- He was the first American of color to join a major American law firm.
- He served as senior counsel to the Warren Commission, investigating the assassination of John F. Kennedy.
- His legal work with Thurgood Marshall and the NAACP Legal Defense Fund helped produce the historic 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*.
- In 1975, he was appointed Secretary of Transportation by President Ford.
- In 1995, he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom by President Clinton.

At his professional core, Bill is a lawyer—fiercely proud of the legal profession's responsibilities in a democratic society and free economy and grateful for the opportunities it has afforded him in the court room, the board room, and the corridors of power. It is through this prism that he relates his own story—his life and the law.

Coleman strives to be what Louis Brandeis described as a "counsel for the situation"—an advocate able to take on major matters in a variety of legal disciplines while upholding the highest traditions of justice and the public interest. The results speak for themselves, and in this immensely entertaining chronicle, the *Counsel for the Situation* speaks for himself.

**William T. Coleman Jr.** is a senior partner and the senior counselor in the Washington office of O'Melveny and Myers LLP, one of the world's foremost law firms. He joined the firm after serving as the U.S. secretary of transportation. **Donald T. Bliss** has had a long career in government and the law, having chaired the Transportation Practice Group of O'Melveny & Myers LLP. **Stephen G. Breyer** is an associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court and the author of *Active Liberty: Interpreting Our Democratic Constitution* (Knopf, 2005).



**October, 6 x 9, 450 pp.**

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## DETENTION AND DENIAL

### The Case for Candor after Guantánamo

Benjamin Wittes

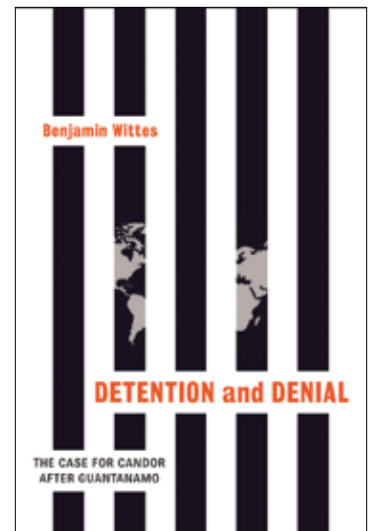
Barack Obama and John McCain agreed on very little during the 2008 presidential campaign, but both promised to shut down the detention center at Guantánamo Bay. Nearly two years later, “Gitmo” is still open, and it is unclear if and when that might change and what it actually means in the long run. Many Americans choose to remain blissfully ignorant about how their nation prosecutes the War on Terror, and public officials are happy to oblige them. But whether they realize it or not, the U.S. continues to detain individuals it deems enemy combatants.

Benjamin Wittes pulls back the curtain of silence to discuss what the U.S. and its allies currently are doing in the way of detention, and what they ought to be doing. Current policy is incoherent and muddled, sending mixed and confused signals. While that is perhaps understandable, given public ambivalence about detention, this is ineffective and counterproductive. Out of sight means out of mind to many people, but pretending a problem no longer exists does not make it so. Just because someone is not detained at Guantánamo doesn’t mean that person won’t be detained elsewhere, by either U.S. forces or its proxies.

Detention is an easy target for eager-to-please politicians and indignant commentators. But the issue truly is complex. Many detainees cannot simply be allowed to walk away. And things are not always as they seem. While reduced detention may assuage some angst, it might mean that potential detainees are being killed at a higher rate. Does that really ease worries about America’s moral compass?

Wittes issues a persuasive call for greater coherence, clarity, and candor in detention policy and practices. He lays out some of the problems that could result from the current state of obfuscation. For example, captured al Qaeda fighters can be detained by friendly “host governments” such as the Karzai regime. But if another front opens on the War on Terror, in a country such as Somalia or Yemen, the U.S. may need to detain its own prisoners. But it will find itself painted into a corner by the public assumption that “we don’t operate that way.” Far better to be frank and direct about the dangers we face and how to deal with them.

**Benjamin Wittes** is a senior fellow in Governance Studies at the Brookings Institution. He is the editor of *Legislating the War on Terror: An Agenda for Reform* (Brookings, 2009) and the author of *Law and the Long War: The Future of Justice in the Age of Terror* (Penguin, 2008), *Confirmation Wars: Preserving Independent Courts in Angry Times* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2006), and *Starr: A Reassessment* (Yale, 2002). Between 1997 and 2006, he served as an editorial writer for the *Washington Post* specializing in legal affairs. His writing has also appeared in a wide range of journals and magazines.



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An Agenda for Reform

Benjamin Wittes, ed.

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# A SKEPTIC'S CASE FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

Michael E. O'Hanlon

Is it realistic or even wise to envision a world without nuclear weapons? More and more people seem to think so. Barack Obama is himself on board, having declared "America's commitment to seek the peace and security of a world without nuclear weapons." But that is easier said than done. Michael O'Hanlon puts his own indelible stamp on this critical issue in *A Skeptic's Case for Nuclear Disarmament*.

Calls to "ban the bomb" are as old as the bomb itself, but the pace and organization have picked up greatly recently. The growing Global Zero movement, for example, wants to rid the world of nuclear weapons by 2030, with treaty negotiations to begin in 2019.

Would this be prudent or even feasible in a world that remains dangerous, divided, and unpredictable? After all, America's nuclear arsenal has been its military trump card since World War II. Pursuing zero prematurely or carelessly could alarm allies, leading them to consider building their own weapons—the opposite of the intended effect.

O'Hanlon endorses nuclear disarmament, but with conditions. He clearly presents the dangers of nuclear weapons and the advantages of disarmament as a goal. He believes that even once an accord is in place, however, temporary suspension of restrictions may be necessary in response to urgent threats such as nuclear "cheating" or discovery of an advanced biological weapons program.

"Even once we eliminate nuclear weapons, we will have to accept the fact that we may not have done so forever." The genie is out of the bottle, so to take all nuclear options off the table *forever* strengthens the hand of those that either do not make that pledge or do not honor it. But dismantling existing bomb inventories, in recognition of their dangerous and destabilizing potential, should become our goal, as President Obama has rightly emphasized.

**Michael E. O'Hanlon** is a senior fellow and the director of research in Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution, where he holds the Sydney Stein Jr. Chair. He is the author of numerous books, including *Toughing It Out in Afghanistan*, with Hassina Sherjan (Brookings, 2010), *The Science of War* (Princeton University Press, 2009), and *Hard Power: The New Politics of National Security*, with Kurt Campbell (Basic Books, 2006). He is also senior author of the Brookings Afghanistan, Iraq, and Pakistan indexes.



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O'Hanlon & Bruce Riedel

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# POLICY AND CHOICE

## Public Finance through the Lens of Behavioral Economics

William J. Congdon, Jeffrey R. Kling, and Sendhil Mullainathan

Behavioral economics—the integration of psychology and economics—has demonstrated a tremendous promise for informing economic policy in recent years. On topics ranging from retirement savings to college financial aid to prescription drug benefits, findings suggest that psychological forces such as procrastination and confusion underlie many policy challenges and influence important policy outcomes. These results have generated a demand for the further application and extension of behavioral insights, even as they have upended the standard economic analysis of government policy.

In *Policy and Choice*, economists William Congdon, Jeffrey Kling, and Sendhil Mullainathan argue that public finance—the study of the government’s role in the economy—can incorporate many lessons of behavioral economics and should serve as a framework for applying insights from psychology to questions of economic policy. The authors develop their own approach for thinking about the implications of behavioral economics for public finance. They illustrate how behavioral economics alters our thinking and changes our understanding, sometimes dramatically, of the most basic levers of traditional public finance.

The result is a fully behavioral public finance, an integration of psychology and the economics of the public sector that is explicit, systematic, and rigorous. The authors demonstrate how this framework applies to the standard set of topics in public finance, including externalities and public goods, asymmetries of information, poverty and inequality, and taxation and revenue. Their conclusions have direct implications for policy and point to promising directions for future research.

### Contents

Introduction

I. Psychology and the Foundations of Public Finance

1. Psychology and Economics
2. Behavioral Economics and Public Finance

II. Behavioral Economics and Public Finance in Practice

3. Asymmetric Information
4. Poverty and Inequality
5. Externalities and Public Goods
6. Taxation and Revenue

III. Conclusion

**William J. Congdon** is a research director in the Economic Studies program at the Brookings Institution. **Jeffrey R. Kling** is the associate director for economic analysis at the Congressional Budget Office. **Sendhil Mullainathan** is a professor of economics at Harvard University.

January, 6 x 9, 240 pp.  
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# RECONSIDERING RETIREMENT

## How Losses and Layoffs Affect Older Workers

Courtney C. Coile and Phillip B. Levine

The economic crisis has led many older Americans to put their dreams of retirement on hold. As home prices and equity plunged, along with the value of 401(k) accounts, media reports highlighted the plight of would-be retirees forced to stay on the job. But as labor economists Courtney Coile and Phillip Levine show in *Reconsidering Retirement*, this focus paints an incomplete and misleading picture of the recession's impact on older workers.

In this important new book, Coile and Levine go beyond the headlines to explain how the economic crisis will affect retirement patterns and the well-being of older Americans. By looking separately at the stock, housing, and labor markets, the authors identify both the mechanisms behind changes in retirement behavior and their combined effect. As expected, they find that the decline in the stock market will lead some workers to delay retirement. However, lower home prices will have no effect on retirement decisions, while the weak labor market will cause other workers to withdraw from the labor force earlier than they might like.

Equally important, *Reconsidering Retirement* asks how the recession will affect different groups of workers. Will less-skilled workers fare worse than highly skilled or high-earning individuals? And what can and should policymakers do to aid those who are worst off?

Coile and Levine's conclusions will surprise many readers. For example, they find that the net effect of the current crisis will be to increase the number of retirements, particularly among low-skilled workers who are laid off and unable to find work. Among older Americans, these involuntary early retirees—who may number close to 400,000—will suffer the most as a result of the economic downturn. Yet they have been largely overlooked by pundits and the public alike. *Reconsidering Retirement* argues persuasively for moving them to center stage.

### Contents

1. Introduction
  2. Defining and Explaining Retirement
  3. Detecting the Impact of Market Conditions
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  6. Impact of the Labor Market Crash
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  8. Discussion and Policy Implications
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**Courtney C. Coile** is associate professor of economics at Wellesley College, a research associate of the National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER), and a member of the National Academy of Social Insurance (NASI). She serves as an editor of *The Journal of Pension Economics and Finance* and has published numerous articles on retirement behavior. **Phillip B. Levine** is the Class of 1919 Professor in the Department of Economics at Wellesley, an NBER research associate, a research affiliate of the National Poverty Center, and a member of NASI. From 1996 to 1997, he served as a senior economist at the White House Council of Economic Advisers. His publications include an undergraduate econometrics textbook and *Sex and Consequences: Abortion, Public Policy, and the Economics of Fertility* (Princeton, 2004).

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### OF RELATED INTEREST

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## DRAGON IN THE TROPICS Hugo Chávez and the Political Economy of Revolution in Venezuela

Javier Corrales and Michael Penfold

Since he was first elected in 1999, Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez Frías has reshaped a frail but nonetheless pluralistic democracy into a semi-authoritarian regime—an outcome achieved with spectacularly high oil income and widespread electoral support. This eye-opening book illuminates one of the most sweeping and unexpected political transformations in contemporary Latin America.

Based on more than fifteen years' experience in researching and writing about Venezuela, Javier Corrales and Michael Penfold have crafted a comprehensive account of how the Chávez regime has revamped the nation, with a particular focus on its political transformation. Throughout, they take issue with conventional explanations. First, they argue persuasively that liberal democracy as an institution was not to blame for the rise of *chavismo*. Second, they assert that the nation's economic ailments were not caused by neoliberalism. Instead they blame other factors, including a dependence on oil, which caused macroeconomic volatility; political party fragmentation, which triggered infighting; government mismanagement of the banking crisis, which led to more centralization of power; and the Asian crisis of 1997, which devastated Venezuela's economy at the same time that Chávez ran for president.

It is perhaps on the role of oil that the authors take greatest issue with prevailing opinion. They do not dispute that dependence on oil can generate political and economic distortions—the “resource curse” or “paradox of plenty” arguments—but they counter that oil alone fails to explain Chávez's rise. Instead they single out a weak framework of checks and balances that allowed the executive branch to extract oil rents and distribute them to the populace. The real culprit behind Chávez's success, they write, was the asymmetry of political power.

**Javier Corrales** is associate professor of political science at Amherst College. He is the author of *Presidents Without Parties: The Politics of Economic Reform in Argentina and Venezuela in the 1990s* (Penn State, 2002). **Michael Penfold** is associate professor of political economy at the Instituto de Estudios Superiores de Administración in Caracas, where he also serves as research dean. He was previously executive director at the Venezuelan Investment Council.

November, 6 x 9, 175 pp.  
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E-ISBN: 978-0-8157-0502-4

## MYANMAR / BURMA External Interests and Internal Challenges

Lex Rieffel

The nation of Myanmar—or Burma, the name still used in much of the West—is in the midst of a political succession process centered on multiparty elections to be held toward the end of 2010. Approaching that critical event, this volume looks at the nation through the eyes of the country's ASEAN partners, its superpower neighbors China and India, the United States, and its own people. It provides insights into the problem of national reconciliation, the strategic competition between China and India, the role of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and the underperforming, resource-cursed economy.

Burma had the brightest prospects of any Southeast Asian nation after World War II but has since dropped to the bottom rungs of the world's socioeconomic ladder and was labeled an “outpost of tyranny” by U.S. Secretary of State Condeleeza Rice in 2005. The current regime has ruled with an iron fist for several decades, producing an exodus of political and economic refugees. It came under intensified international scrutiny for repudiating the 1990 elections and suppressing Nobel Peace Laureate Aung San Suu Kyi. This important book was prompted by the change in U.S. policy toward Myanmar/Burma signaled very early in the Obama administration. Noting that fifteen years of sanctions had not had measurable impact, the administration adopted a new policy of “pragmatic engagement” that links the eventual removal of sanctions to implementation of greater freedom and respect for human rights.

### Part One: The Moment

1. Outside Interests, Inside Challenges
2. The New Policy of Pragmatic Engagement

### Part Two: Strategic Pressures

3. The Policies of China and India toward Myanmar
4. India-Myanmar Relations: A Strategic Perspective
5. Myanmar's Relations with North Korea
6. Misfit on the Margin of Southeast Asia

### Part Three: Myanmar in the ASEAN Community

7. ASEAN's Policy of Enhanced Interactions
8. The Last Bus to Nay Pyi Taw

### Part Four: National Reconciliation

9. Problems with the Process of Reconciliation
10. A Personal View of Reconciliation

### Part Five: Economic Outlook

11. Boom on the Route from Ruili to Mandalay
12. Recapitalizing the Rural Economy

**Lex Rieffel** is a nonresident senior fellow in Global Economy and Development at the Brookings Institution. He is coauthor of *Out of Business and on Budget: The Challenge of Military Financing in Indonesia* (Brookings, 2008).

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E-ISBN: 978-0-8157-0506-2

## MOVING FORWARD The Future of Consumer Credit and Mortgage Finance

Nicolas P. Retsinas and Eric S. Belsky, eds.

The recent collapse of the mortgage market revealed fractures in the credit market that have deep roots in the system's structure, conduct, and regulation. The time has come for a clear-eyed assessment of what happened and how the system should be strengthened and restructured. Such reform will have a profound and lasting impact on the capacity of Americans to use credit to build assets and finance consumption.

*Moving Forward* explores what caused the crisis and, more important, focuses on the path ahead. The challenge remains the same as ever: protect consumers, ensure fairness, and guarantee soundness of the financial system without stifling innovation and overly restricting access to credit and consumer choice. Nicolas Retsinas, Eric Belsky, and their colleagues aim to stimulate debate based on analysis of the opportunities and challenges presented by the various components of global capital markets: financial engineering, risk assessment and management, specialization of financial intermediation, and marketing methods. The contributors—leaders in business, government, academia, and the nonprofit sector—discuss new research and ideas about the future of credit markets, including how improvements might be shaped by industry leaders.

Contributors include John Campbell (Harvard University), Marsha J. Courchane (Charles River Associates), Ren Essene (Federal Reserve Board), Allen Fishbein (Federal Reserve Board), Howell E. Jackson (Harvard Law School), Melissa Koide (Center for Financial Services Innovation), Michael Lea (San Diego State University), Brigitte Madrian (Harvard Kennedy School of Government), Nela Richardson (Harvard's Joint Center for Housing Studies), Rachel Schneider (Center for Financial Services Innovation), Jennifer Tescher (Center for Financial Services Innovation), Peter Tufano (Harvard Business School), and (Peter M. Zorn (Freddie Mac).

**Nicolas P. Retsinas** is director of Harvard University's Joint Center for Housing Studies and a senior lecturer in Real Estate at the Harvard Business School. **Eric S. Belsky** is executive director of the Joint Center for Housing Studies and a lecturer in the Harvard Graduate School of Design. Together they have edited four previous Brookings/JCHS books, including most recently *Revisiting Rental Housing: Policies, Programs and Priorities* (2008) and *Borrowing to Live: Consumer and Mortgage Credit Revisited* (2008).

*Copublished with the Harvard University Joint Center for Housing Studies*

**December, 6 x 9, 275 pp.**  
**paper, 978-0-8157-0503-1, \$28.95 / £19.99**  
**E-ISBN: 978-0-8157-0504-8**

## LAST EXIT Privatization and Deregulation of the U.S. Transportation System

Clifford Winston

Although the Obama administration is trying to get the public excited about high-speed trains that travel over 300 mph, most travelers would gladly settle for roads with fewer potholes and flights that depart on time. Whether traveling for work or pleasure, most Americans are frustrated by a variety of problems with their transportation system and disillusioned by public officials who seem incapable or unwilling to enact policies that would improve their travel experiences. Vast economic inefficiencies and a lack of innovation are the legacy of a transportation policy still seeking to find the right balance of public and private provision.

In *Last Exit*, Brookings analyst Clifford Winston reminds us that transportation services and infrastructure in the United States were introduced by private firms and that the case for public takeover of private systems was weak. Accordingly, he assesses the case for privatizing and deregulating the system to greatly increase Americans' satisfaction with how they and their goods move throughout the country.

Winston proposes timely experiments to demonstrate the benefits of privatization as the nation explores ways to relieve its budgetary pressures and to spur innovations that could increase economic growth. At the same time, such experiments may lead to a fundamental transformation of urban, intercity, and international travel.

**Clifford Winston** is a senior fellow in Economic Studies at the Brookings Institution. His previous books include *Aviation Infrastructure Performance* (Brookings, 2008) and *Government Failure versus Market Failure* (Brookings, 2006).

**November, 6 x 9, 200 pp.**  
**paper, 978-0-8157-0473-7, \$24.95 / £16.99**  
**E-ISBN: 978-0-8157-0476-8**

### OF RELATED INTEREST

#### AVIATION INFRASTRUCTURE PERFORMANCE A Study in Comparative Political Economy

Clifford M. Winston & Gines de Rus, eds.

cloth, 978-0-8157-9394-6, \$59.95 / £39.99  
paper, 978-0-8157-9395-3, \$24.95 / £16.99  
E-ISBN: 978-0-8157-9396-0

## ITALY AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

Federiga Bindi

Italy is a founding member of the European Community and considers itself one of the most enthusiastic members of the European Union, and other nations look at her in the same way. It is curious, then, that there is no comprehensive study available of Italy's role and relations vis-à-vis the EU. Federiga Bindi fills that void with *Italy and the European Union*, the first book in a new partnership between the Brookings Institution Press and the Italian National School of Public Administration, or SSPA (*Scuola Superiore della Pubblica Amministrazione*).

The book argues that the incomplete "Europeanization" of a country can affect its influence in EU policymaking and that the variables underlying the negotiating potential of EU member states are of a domestic nature. Hence, a "medium-sized power" such as Italy can effectively shape EU policies only when it presents well-defined aims, credible actors, and consistent strategies. In analyzing the Italian case, the book considers the following variables and issues:

- *Actors and procedures*: How are national interests defined in Italy? Who are the relevant actors? What procedures are followed? How are national positions defended?
- *Aims and strategies*: What are Italy's aims, interests, and objectives in EU policymaking? How much have these changed over the years with different governments? Are Italy's EU policies coherent with one another?
- *Impact*: Is Italy a proactive or passive actor? Has Italy been successful in shaping EU policymaking?

**Federiga Bindi** is a nonresident senior fellow in Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution, where she is a scholar in the Center for the United States and Europe. A Jean Monnet Chair in European Political Integration and founding director of the European Centre of Excellence University of Rome Tor Vergata, Bindi is now director of international relations at the Italian National School of Public Administration (SSPA). Among her previous books is *The Foreign Policy of the European Union: Assessing Europe's Role in the World* (Brookings, 2010).

**October, 6 x 9, 240 pp.**  
**paper, 978-0-8157-0496-6, \$28.95 / £19.99**  
**E-ISBN: 978-0-8157-0509-3**

This is the first in a series of books on comparative public administration, to be copublished by the Brookings Institution Press and the Italian National School of Public Administration (SSPA). Federiga Bindi, author of the first volume, will also act as Series Editor.

### OF RELATED INTEREST

**THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE EUROPEAN UNION**  
*Assessing Europe's Role in the World*

**Federiga Bindi, ed.**

paper, 978-0-8157-0140-8, \$29.95 / £21.99  
 E-ISBN: 978-0-8157-0463-8

## CHINA IN 2020

### A New Type of Superpower

Hu Angang

Foreword by John L. Thornton

Introduction by Cheng Li



After three decades of unprecedented economic growth, China is now the world's largest exporter and third-largest economy. It has also become the world's largest carbon emitter and second-largest consumer of energy. Extrapolating from these seismic changes, economist Hu Angang forecasts that by 2020 China will become a "mature, responsible, and attractive superpower" that will contribute, alongside the European Union, to the "end of the unipolar era dominated by the United States."

The rapid pace and grand scale of China's rise has produced a heady brew of wonder and consternation in the West. Is China on track to become a superpower? What would that mean for the rest of the world? Hu answers these questions through analysis of three major dimensions of China's rise: its overall economic and social development; advances in education, science, and technology (including alternative energy); and the likely complications posed by resource scarcity, environmental degradation, and climate change.

*China in 2020* presents a native Chinese perspective on the challenges and opportunities the PRC will face as its global footprint expands. Through a meticulous examination of China's development trajectory, Hu explains how his nation, as the world's largest emerging market, will impact global economic growth, foreign direct investment flows, energy consumption, and CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. He proposes a comprehensive strategic framework to guide the next stage of China's rise, seeking to maximize the country's positive impact on the world and minimize the negative externalities of its meteoric development.

**Hu Angang**, one of China's most influential economists, is a professor of economics and director of the Center for China Studies at Tsinghua University in Beijing. **Cheng Li**, a senior fellow and director of research in the John L. Thornton China Center at Brookings, is editor of *China's Emerging Middle Class* (Brookings, 2010). **John L. Thornton** is chairman of the board of trustees at the Brookings Institution and professor and director of global leadership at Tsinghua University.

*Thornton Center Chinese Thinkers Series*

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**E-ISBN: 978-0-8157-0479-9**



## DELIVERING AID DIFFERENTLY Lessons from the Field

Wolfgang Fengler and Homi Kharas, eds.

For many years after the Second World War, development assistance was built on a relatively stable system of aid from rich countries to poor countries, delivered mainly through government institutions. The twenty-first century has seen this model supplanted by a new configuration in which new donors and nongovernmental organizations play increasingly important roles. But the entry of many new players into what is now a \$200 billion “aid industry” demands fresh kinds of coordination to be truly effective. *Delivering Aid Differently* provides a valuable overview of aid programs today, focusing on what works and what still needs improvement.

Nearly every nation today is part of the “aid business,” either as a recipient or as a donor. To date, most analyses of aid effectiveness have been developed by scholars from donor countries. This volume differs substantially by providing assessments from recipient-nation authors who consider the impacts of aid in *their own* countries. The volume closes with studies that address more broadly the features of successful aid coordination tools. Looking toward the future, *Delivering Aid Differently* makes a convincing argument that differentiated delivery of aid, from a diverse group of donors, acting to change development dynamics—supported by shared networks of high-quality information on needs, aid inputs, and aid outcomes—can yield benefits of tens of billions of dollars a year by preventing waste while still providing fair and sustainable assistance.

### Topics include

Overview: Delivering Aid Differently (Wolfgang Fengler and Homi Kharas)  
Aceh, Indonesia (Harry Masyrafah and Jock MJA McKeon)  
Cambodia (Chanboreth Ek and Hach Sok)  
Ethiopia (Getnet Alemu)  
Kenya (Francis M. Mwega)  
Pakistan (Abdul Malik)  
Tajikistan (Rustam Aminjanov, Matin Kholmatov, and Firuz Kataev)  
Joint Country Assistance Strategies (Johannes F. Linn)  
Aid Information Systems (Cut Dian Agustina and Ahmad Fahmi Zaki)  
Learning from Humanitarian Aid (Rebecca Winthrop)

**Wolfgang Fengler** is a lead economist in the Nairobi office of the World Bank, where he covers Kenya, Eritrea, Somalia, Comoros and Seychelles. He was previously a senior economist in the Jakarta office. **Homi Kharas** is a senior fellow for Global Economy and Development with the Wolfensohn Center for Development at Brookings. Previously he was chief economist for the East Asia and Pacific Region at the World Bank.

August, 6 x 9, 275 pp.  
paper, 978-0-8157-0480-5, \$28.95 / £19.99  
E-ISBN: 978-0-8157-0481-2

## FINANCIAL MARKET REGULATION AND REFORMS IN EMERGING MARKETS

Masahiro Kawai and Eswar Prasad, eds.



The global financial crisis that began in 2008 highlighted the need for strengthening financial systems in emerging markets and in low-income developing economies. The contributors to this volume outline these and other pressing issues in this insightful book.

Emerging markets face particular challenges in stabilizing their nascent financial systems in the face of shocks, both domestic and external, and financial reforms are

critical to these economies as they pursue programs of sustainable high growth. Low-income countries, where the breadth of formal financial systems is severely limited, pose even greater problems. At the moment, policymakers in emerging markets are struggling to learn from the crisis how they can refashion financial regulatory structures, how they might best contend with multinational financial institutions, and how they can extend financial services to underserved segments of their populations.

Masahiro Kawai, Eswar Prasad, and their contributors offer a systematic overview of recent developments in—and the latest thinking about—regulatory frameworks in both advanced countries and emerging markets. At the same time, their contributions clearly point out the challenges to improving regulation, markets, and access in developing economies.

### Topics include

- Rewriting Financial Sector Regulation
- Evaluating U.S. Plans for Financial Regulatory Reform
- Emerging Contours of Financial Regulation
- What Regulatory Policies Are Suitable for Emerging Markets
- Banking Supervision in Indonesia
- Containing a Systemic Crisis: Is There a Playbook?
- Financial Development: A Broader Perspective
- Financial Development in Emerging Markets: The Indian Experience
- Universalizing Complete Access to Finance

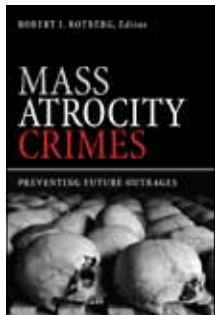
**Masahiro Kawai** is dean of the Asian Development Bank Institute. From 1998 to 2001, he was chief economist for the World Bank’s East Asia and the Pacific Region. **Eswar Prasad** holds the New Century Chair in International Economics at the Brookings Institution. He is the Tolani Senior Professor of Trade Policy at Cornell University and a research associate at the National Bureau of Economic Research. He was previously head of the Financial Studies Division and the China Division at the International Monetary Fund.

September, 6 x 9, 240 pp.  
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E-ISBN: 978-0-8157-0490-4

## MASS ATROCITY CRIMES

### Preventing Future Outrages

Robert I. Rotberg, ed.



What can be done to combat genocide, ethnic cleansing, and other crimes against humanity? Why aren't current measures more effective? Is there hope for the future? These and other pressing questions surrounding human security are addressed head-on in this provocative and all-too-timely book.

Millions of people, particularly in Africa, face daily the prospect of death at the hands of state or state-linked forces.

Although officially both the United Nations and the African Union have adopted "Responsibility to Protect" (R2P) principles, atrocities continue. The tenets of R2P, recently cited in a UN Outcomes Document, make it clear that states have a primary responsibility to protect their citizens from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity. When states cannot—or will not—protect their citizens, however, the international community must step into the breach.

Why have efforts to stop horrific state-sanctioned crimes seen only limited success, despite widespread support of R2P? As this enlightening volume explains and illustrates, converting a norm into effective preventive measures remains difficult. The contributors examine the legal framework to inhibit war crimes, use of the emerging R2P norm, the role of the International Criminal Court, and new technologically sophisticated methods to gather early warnings of likely atrocity outbreaks. Together they show how mass atrocities may be anticipated, how they may be prevented, and when necessary, how they may be prosecuted.

Contributors include Claire Applegarth (Harvard Kennedy School), Andrew Block (Harvard Kennedy School), David M. Crane (Syracuse University College of Law), Frank Chalk (Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies, Concordia University), Richard J. Goldstone (Georgetown University Law Center), Don Hubert (University of Ottawa), Sarah Kreps (Cornell University), Dan Kuwali (Malawi Defence Force), Jennifer Leaning (Harvard Francois Xavier Bagnoud Center for Health and Human Rights), Edward C. Luck (International Peace Institute), Robert I. Rotberg (Harvard Kennedy School), and Sarah Sewall (Harvard Kennedy School).

**Robert I. Rotberg** is director of the Program on Intrastate Conflict and Conflict Resolution at the Harvard Kennedy School and president of the World Peace Foundation. He is the author or editor of numerous books and articles on international affairs and the United States, most recently *Corruption, Global Security, and World Order* (Brookings/WPF, 2009) and *China into Africa: Trade, Aid, and Influence* (Brookings/WPF, 2008).

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## NEW IN PAPERBACK

## POWER AND RESPONSIBILITY

### Building International Order in an Era of Transnational Threats

Bruce Jones, Carlos Pascual, and Stephen John Stedman



The twenty-first century will be defined by security threats unconstrained by borders—from economic instability, climate change, and nuclear proliferation to conflict, poverty, terrorism, and disease. The greatest test of global leadership will be building partnerships and institutions for cooperation that can meet the challenge. *Power and Responsibility* describes how American leadership can rebuild international order to promote

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"By accepting that sovereignty incurs responsibilities and by strengthening international institutions, governments can create an international order in which all can be safe and thrive. This book makes a compelling argument for such an approach."  
—Kofi Annan, former Secretary General of United Nations

**Bruce Jones** is director of the Managing Global Insecurity initiative, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, and director of the Center on International Cooperation at New York University. **Carlos Pascual** is the United States ambassador to Mexico and former vice president and director of Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution. **Stephen John Stedman** is a nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and a former assistant secretary general and special adviser to the secretary general of the United Nations.

October, 6 x 9, 360 pp.

paper, 978-0-8157-0512-3, \$24.95 / £16.99

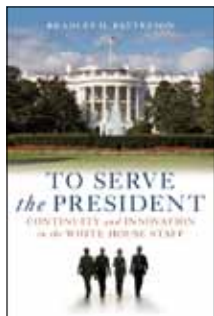
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## TO SERVE THE PRESIDENT

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Bradley H. Patterson



Nobody knows more about the duties, the difficulties, and the strategies of staffing and working in the White House than Brad Patterson. In *To Serve the President*, Patterson combines insider access, decades of Washington experience, and an inimitable style to open a window onto closely guarded Oval Office turf. The fascinating and entertaining result is the most complete look ever at the White House and the people that make it work.

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**Bradley H. Patterson** has lived and worked in Washington for sixty-five years, fourteen of them on the White House staff under Presidents Dwight Eisenhower, Richard Nixon, and Gerald Ford. He is a former president of the American Society for Public Administration and is a senior fellow with the National Academy of Public Administration. Patterson is also the author of *Ring of Power* (Brookings, 1988) and *The White House Staff: Inside the West Wing and Beyond* (Brookings, 2000).

August, 6 x 9, 475 pp.

paper, 978-0-8157-0511-6, \$26.95 / £18.99

E-ISBN: 978-0-8157-0179-8

## NEW IN PAPERBACK

## WIKI GOVERNMENT

### How Technology Can Make Government Better, Democracy Stronger, and Citizens More Powerful

Beth Simone Noveck



Collaborative democracy—government with the people—is a new vision of governance in the digital age. *Wiki Government* explains how to translate the vision into reality. Beth Simone Noveck draws on her experience in creating Peer-to-Patent, the federal government's first social networking initiative, to show how technology can connect the expertise of the many to the power of the few.

In the process, she reveals what it takes to innovate in government.

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"Noveck's approach to e-governance is to study where citizen online collaboration can have an impact, and she shows that one can design for participatory democracy with compelling results."

—LIBRARY JOURNAL

"A well-argued and fact-filled promotion of "expertocracy," the ways in which experts can contribute their narrow skills to specific problems."—SCIENCE

"With a compelling blend of high theory and practical know-how, Beth Noveck explains how political institutions can directly engage the public to solve complex problems and create a better democracy."

—Eric Schmidt, chairman and CEO, Google Inc.

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"Not just for tech geeks and policy wonks but also for the millions of Americans who demonstrated in 2008 how eager they are to engage individually in government reform."—John Podesta, president and CEO, Center for American Progress, and former White House chief of staff

**Beth Simone Noveck** is the U.S. deputy chief technology officer and director of the White House Open Government Initiative. She is currently on leave from her position as professor of law and director of the Institute for Information Law and Policy at New York Law School.

September, 6 x 9, 224 pp.

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E-ISBN: 978-0-8157-0346-4



ANNOUNCED IN SPRING 2010

**LONELY SUPERPOWER**  
Russia's Uneasy Relationship  
with the West

Lilia Shevtsova



Adapted from the Russian edition, this book analyzes the dominant stereotypes and myths that formed during the Putin presidency and that continue to hamper our understanding of Russia's current situation.

Author Lilia Shevtsova explains the origins of such political clichés as

- Russia is not mature enough for democracy;
- Capitalism first, and democracy will follow;
- The humiliation of Russia by the West is the key cause of their soured relationship;
- Arms talks between Russia and the United States will help to reset the relationship.

Shevtsova argues that an anti-mythology campaign is needed to deepen the understanding of Russia both within the Russian Federation and in the West, as well as to help nations build better policies toward Russia.

**Lilia Shevtsova** co-chairs the Russian Domestic Politics and Political Institutions Project at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, dividing her time between the Carnegie office in Washington, D.C., and the Carnegie Moscow Center. She is the author of *Russia—Lost in Transition: The Yeltsin and Putin Legacies* (2007), *Putin's Russia* (2005), and *Yeltsin's Russia: Myths and Reality* (1999) and is the coeditor, with Archie Brown, of *Gorbachev, Yeltsin, and Putin: Political Leadership in Russia's Transition* (2001), all published by Carnegie.

2010, 6 x 9, 300 pp.  
cloth, 978-087003-247-9, \$49.95 / £34.99  
paper, 978-087003-246-2, \$19.95 / £13.99

**POST-IMPERIUM**  
Russia and Its Neighbors

Dmitri Trenin

The war in Georgia. Tensions with Ukraine and other nearby countries. Moscow's bid to consolidate its "zone of privileged interests" among the Commonwealth of Independent States. These volatile situations all raise questions about the nature of and prospects for Russia's relations with its neighbors.

In this book, Carnegie scholar Dmitri Trenin argues that Moscow needs to drop the notion of creating an exclusive power center out of the post-Soviet space. Like other former European empires, Russia will need to reinvent itself as a global player and as part of a wider community.

Trenin's vision of Russia is an open Euro-Pacific country that is savvy in its use of soft power and fully reconciled with its former borderlands and dependents. He acknowledges that this scenario may sound too optimistic but warns that the alternative is not a new version of the historic empire but instead is the ultimate marginalization of Russia.

**Dmitri Trenin** is director of the Carnegie Moscow Center. From 1993 to 1997, Trenin held posts as a senior research fellow at the NATO Defense College in Rome and a senior research fellow at the Institute of Europe in Moscow. He is the author of *Getting Russia Right* (2007), *Russia's Restless Frontier: The Chechnya Factor in Post-Soviet Russia* (2004), and *The End of Eurasia: Russia on the Border Between Geopolitics and Globalization* (2002), all published by Carnegie.



June, 6 x 9, 200 pp.  
cloth, 978-0-87003-249-3, \$49.95 / £34.99  
paper, 978-0-87003-248-6, \$19.95 / £13.99

**OUTER SPACE**  
Weapons, Diplomacy, and Security

Alexei Arbatov and Vladimir Dvorkin, eds.

In this era of globalization, the world is facing a host of challenging security problems—from the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction to international terrorism to accelerating climate change to energy security—that cannot be resolved unilaterally, especially through the unilateral use of military force. One key issue that requires urgent global attention is literally "out of this world": the military use of outer space.

This collection of essays by leading Russian experts analyzes the current military use of outer space. The book describes the space weapons programs of various countries. It details the history of negotiations to prevent, or at least control, the weaponization of space, including analyses of the political, military, technical, and legal problems facing negotiators trying to avoid a catastrophic new space race.

**Alexei Arbatov** is a senior scholar and chair of the Nonproliferation Program at the Carnegie Moscow Center and head of the Center for International Security at the Institute of International Economy and International Relations at the Russian Academy of Sciences. **Vladimir Dvorkin** is principal researcher at the Center for International Security at the Russian Academy of Sciences' Institute of World Economy and International Relations and former director of the Defense Ministry's Central Research Institute in Moscow.



June, 6 x 9, 236 pp.  
cloth, 978-0-87003-251-6, \$49.95 / £34.99  
paper, 978-0-87003-250-9, \$19.95 / £13.99

## BETWEEN RELIGION AND POLITICS

Nathan J. Brown and Amr Hamzawy

In recent decades, Islamist political movements in many Arab countries have strategically invested in a political process that was stacked heavily against them. And, to the surprise of many, they have actually succeeded by gaining more seats in parliaments and demonstrating their position as the only opposition movements with a popular base.

*Between Religion and Politics* is a broad, cross-national study of Islamist parties in Arab parliamentary elections. The book focuses on those movements that have cast themselves, at least in part, as electorally oriented political parties. It probes the environment in which the movements operate, the checkered relationship between Islamists and national rulers, the Islamists' political platforms, and efforts to build alliances with other opposition groups. By examining the debates within the Islamists movements, *Between Religion and Politics* is able to assess the party leaders' evaluations of their political experiences and their prospects for future participation.

### Contents include

- The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood: Islamist Participation in a Closing Political Environment
- Jordan and Its Islamic Movement: The Limits of Inclusion?
- Party for Justice and Development in Morocco: Participation and Its Discontents
- Pushing toward Party Politics? Kuwait's Islamic Constitutional Movement
- Between Government and Opposition: The Case of the Yemeni Congregation for Reform
- Hamas: Battling to Blend Religion, Politics, Resistance, and Governance

**Nathan J. Brown** is a professor of political science and international affairs at George Washington University. He is the author of four well-received books on Arab politics, the most recent being *Palestinian Politics after the Oslo Accords: Resuming Arab Palestine* (University of California Press, 2003). **Amr Hamzawy** is a distinguished Egyptian political scientist who previously taught at Cairo University and the Free University of Berlin. He is coeditor, with Marina Ottaway, of *Getting to Pluralism: Political Actors in the Arab World* (Carnegie, 2009).

August, 6 x 9, 260 pp.  
cloth, 978-0-87003-256-1, \$49.95 / £34.99  
paper, 978-0-87003-255-4, \$19.95 / £13.99

## YEMEN ON THE BRINK

Christopher Boucek and Marina Ottaway, eds.

Yemen is facing a unique confluence of crises. A civil war in the North, a secessionist movement in the South, and a resurgence of al Qaeda are unfolding against the background of economic collapse, insufficient state capacity, and governance and corruption issues.

The security challenges are the most important in the short run, because economic and governance issues cannot be addressed without a minimum of stability. This volume brings together analyses of the critical problems that have dragged Yemen close to state failure. It provides an assessment of Yemen's major security challenges by recognized experts, and it broadens the discussion of the tools available to the international community to pull Yemen back from the brink. Separate chapters examine the resurgence of al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, the complex relationship between al Qaeda and the Yemini tribes, the Southern secessionist movement, and the civil war in Saada.

### Contents include

- Yemen: Avoiding a Downward Spiral
- What Comes Next in Yemen? Al-Qaeda, the Tribes, and State-Building
- The Political Challenge of Yemen's Southern Movement
- War in Saada: From Local Insurrection to National Challenge
- Instrumentalizing Grievances: Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula

Contributors include Sarah Phillips (Centre for International Security Studies, University of Sydney), Stephen Day (Rollins College), and Alistair Harris (RUSI and former diplomat and UN staff member).

**Christopher Boucek** is an associate in the Carnegie Middle East Program, where his research focuses on regional security challenges. He is also an associate fellow of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies, London. Before joining the Carnegie Endowment, he was a postdoctoral researcher at Princeton University and lecturer in politics at Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School.

**Marina Ottaway** is the director of the Middle East Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. She works on issues of political transformation in the Middle East and of Gulf security.

August, 6 x 9, 240 pp.  
cloth, 978-0-87003-254-7, \$49.95 / £34.99  
paper, 978-0-87003-253-0, \$19.95 / £13.99

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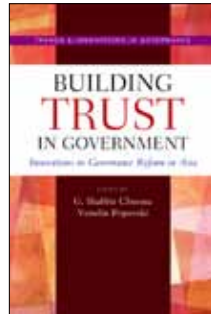
2005 WebAward competition, Carnegie's website gives you instant access to first-hand analysis, timely commentary, and in-depth reports. For fast answers or to subscribe to one of our e-mail newsletters, visit [www.CarnegieEndowment.org](http://www.CarnegieEndowment.org).

TRENDS AND INNOVATIONS  
IN GOVERNANCE SERIES

The Trends and Innovations in Governance series is the result of a collaboration between the East-West Center's Asia-Pacific Governance and Democracy Initiative (AGDI) and the United Nations University Institute for Sustainability and Peace. Contributors include leading scholars from around the world specializing in governance, political science, and the Asia-Pacific region. The publication of these books coincides with the fiftieth anniversary of the East-West Center.

**BUILDING TRUST IN GOVERNMENT**  
Innovations in Governance Reform in Asia  
*Trends and Innovations in Governance*

**G. Shabbir Cheema and Vesselin Popovski, eds.**



The ability of governments and the global community to achieve the Millennium Development Goals, ensure security, and promote adherence to basic standards of human rights depends on people's trust in their government. One of the challenges in promoting that trust is engaging citizens, especially marginalized groups and the poor. Where governance processes are exclusionary and basic services are not accessible, intrastate conflicts and violence within the country can negatively impact national and global security and peace. Weak systems and processes of governance tend to erode trust in government. Within this context, the issue of how to build trust in government and between socioeconomic actors has become an important issue in both developed and developing economies.

This book seeks to answer questions raised about how to strengthen trust in government within the Asia-Pacific region. Through analyses of trends within Northeast Asia, Southeast Asia, South Asia, and the Pacific Islands, and specific innovations and reforms at the country level, the contributors offer various perspectives on the causes of the decline in trust, on countries and institutions that have managed to maintain higher degrees of confidence, and on governance innovations and practices that have played an important role in strengthening trust once it has faltered.

Contributors include Peride K. Blind (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs), Ledivina V. Cariño (former professor and dean, University of the Philippines), Gerard A. Finin (East-West Center's Pacific Islands Development Program), Sukehiro Hasegawa (Hosei University Tokyo and United Nations University), Byong Seob Kim (Presidential Committee on Government Innovation & Decentralization, Republic of Korea, and Seoul National University), Pan Suk Kim (Yonsei University, South Korea), Sajjad Naseer (Lahore School of Economics), Meredith Rowen (East-West Center), Prijono Tjiptoherijanto (University of Indonesia), and Teresa Wright (California State University—Long Beach and East-West Center).

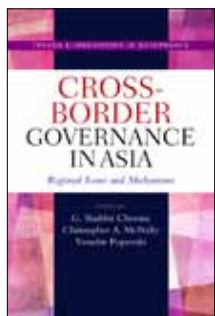
**G. Shabbir Cheema** is director of the Asia-Pacific Governance and Democracy Initiative (AGDI) and a senior fellow at the East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii. **Vesselin Popovski** is senior academic program officer and head of section for peace and security in the Institute for Sustainability and Peace at the United Nations University, Tokyo.

**August, 6 x 9, 296 pp.**

**paper, 978-92-808-1189-6, \$35.00 / £23.99**

## CROSS-BORDER GOVERNANCE IN ASIA Regional Issues and Mechanisms *Trends and Innovations in Governance*

G. Shabbir Cheema, Christopher A. McNally, and  
Vesselin Popovski, eds.



Rapid globalization has led to increased flows of capital, services, ideas, information, and people between countries. As such, problems and challenges that face one nation often have a rippling impact throughout the region and globally. The growing list of cross-border issues cannot be resolved by isolated policy action at the national or subnational levels. It is essential to forge strategic alliances at the regional level

that support the development of consolidated approaches for dialogue and action.

This book discusses regional governance mechanisms and institutional arrangements to respond to emerging cross-border issues and trends in Asia and the Pacific, such as the movement of people including refugees and illegal migrants, regional trade integration for human development, effective and efficient water management, human trafficking, and health issues focusing on infectious disease surveillance and response.

While examining the impact of governance on these issues, the book considers these questions: What are the key cross-border governance issues in Asia? What are the regional governance mechanisms to cope with these issues? How effective are the regional mechanisms and national institutional capacities in responding to these issues? What factors contribute to the success or failure of the mechanisms for regional cooperation?

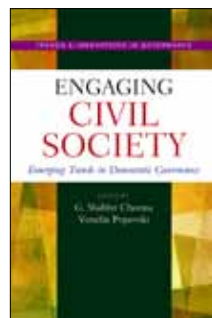
Contributors include Graeme Hugo (University of Adelaide), William J. Long (Sam Nunn School of International Affairs), Mike Douglass (University of Hawaii—Manoa), Taeho Bark (Seoul National University), and Mely Caballero-Anthony (S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies).

**G. Shabbir Cheema** is director of the Asia-Pacific Governance and Democracy Initiative and a senior fellow at the East-West Center, Hawaii. **Christopher A. McNally** is a fellow at the East-West Center. **Vesselin Popovski** is senior academic program officer and head of section for peace and security in the Institute for Sustainability and Peace at the United Nations University.

December, 6 x 9, 300 pp.  
paper, 978-92-808-1193-3, \$35.00 / £23.99

## ENGAGING CIVIL SOCIETY Emerging Trends in Democratic Governance *Trends and Innovations in Governance*

G. Shabbir Cheema and Vesselin Popovski, eds.



The rapid pace of globalization has led to the increasing interdependence of member states of the United Nations to achieve sustainable development objectives, including the eradication of extreme poverty, environmental protection, access to basic services and livelihoods, and the promotion of economic growth and opportunities. Policymakers, scholars, and development practitioners recognize the centrality of

effective governance at the local, national, and global levels to promote sustainable development. Along with governments and the private sector, civil society organizations (CSOs) are playing an expanded role in improving transparency, participation, access to services, and the rule of law.

This book looks at the changing roles of civil society in global and national governance. It identifies factors that influence the effectiveness of civil society in promoting democratic governance. It asks: To what extent and how has the global civil society been influencing global governance and democratic change? What have been the patterns of growth of civil society in Asia and Africa, including the legal frameworks under which CSOs are established? How and with what effect has civil society been engaged in promoting democratic change and inclusive governance?

Contributors include William Ascher (Claremont McKenna College and Soka University of America), Robertson Work (Innovative Leadership Services and New York University), Denny Roy (East-West Center), Kadmiel Harrison Wekwete (United Nations Capital Development Fund), Denison Jayasooria (Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia and Human Rights Commission of Malaysia), Jin Sato (University of Tokyo), Ahmed Bilal Mehboob, (Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency), John Clark (The Policy Practice), Goran Hyden (University of Florida), Naresh Singh (Canadian International Development Agency), L. David Brown (Harvard University), Rehman Sobhan (Centre for Policy Dialogue, Bangladesh), and Massimo Tommasoli (Permanent Observer for International IDEA to the United Nations).

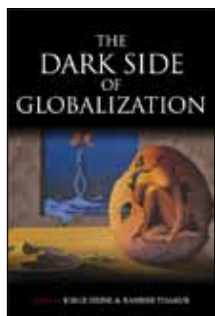
**G. Shabbir Cheema** is director of the Asia-Pacific Governance and Democracy Initiative and senior fellow at the East-West Center, Hawaii. **Vesselin Popovski** is senior academic program officer and head of section for peace and security in the Institute for Sustainability and Peace at the United Nations University.

August, 6 x 9, 308 pp.  
paper, 978-92-808-1188-9, \$36.00 / £24.99



## THE DARK SIDE OF GLOBALIZATION

Jorge Heine and Ramesh Thakur, eds.



Seen by some as a desirable and irreversible engine of prosperity and progress, globalization is resisted by others as the soft underbelly of a corporate imperialism that plunders and profiteers in the global marketplace. Globalization has brought many benefits, including the reduction of poverty in several countries. But it also has a dark side: the unleashing of negative forces as a result of the compression of time and space

made possible by modern technology. Examples include the transnational flows of terrorism, drug and human trafficking, organized crime, money laundering, and global pandemics.

How do these various expressions of “uncivil society” manifest themselves? How do they exploit the opportunities offered by globalization? How can governments, international organizations, and civil society deal with the problem?

From arms trafficking in West Africa through armed insurgencies in South Asia and the upsurge of jihad in the age of globalization, this book examines the challenges that the dark forces of globalization pose to the international system and the responses they have triggered. Written largely by authors from developing countries, the book’s goal is to help maximize the beneficial consequences of globalization while muting its baleful effects.

**Jorge Heine** is a distinguished fellow at the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) and a CIGI Chair in International Governance cross-appointed to Wilfrid Laurier University.

**Ramesh Thakur** is the inaugural director of the Balsillie School of International Affairs, a distinguished fellow at CIGI, and professor of political science at the University of Waterloo, Canada.

December, 6 x 9, 300 pp.

paper, 978-92-808-1194-0, \$35.00 / £23.99

## THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL LAW

David Leary and Balakrishna Pisupati, eds.



This book explores the future of international environmental law in a world of ever worsening environmental crises. It examines the success stories and failures of international environmental law and argues that future responses to global environmental crises will be more about good environmental governance than just more treaties and laws.

Environmental governance will need to accommodate the needs and aspirations of peoples from developed and developing countries alike and will have to be based on decisions and actions by a vast range of actors and stakeholders—not just the nation-state that has traditionally dominated environmental diplomacy. This also suggests a need to be cognizant of the close links to other areas of international law, including human rights.

The book tackles the major environmental challenges of our times including climate change, biodiversity loss, and pollution and overfishing of the oceans. It examines what we can learn from the implementation of existing international environmental laws over the past few decades. It also considers a range of emerging issues such as the management of the environmental challenges faced by the Arctic, nanotechnology, biofuels, and synthetic genomics.

Contributors include Gudmundur Alfredsson (University of Akureyri, Iceland, and University of Strasbourg, France), Dionysia-Theodora Avgerinopoulou (Hellenic Parliament), Donna Craig (University of Western Sydney), Sébastien Duyck (University of Lapland), Robert M. Friedman (J. Craig Venter Institute), Michele S. Garfinkel (J. Craig Venter Institute), Michael B. Gerrard (Columbia Law School), Michael Jeffery (University of Western Sydney), Timo Koivurova (University of Lapland), Richard Ottinger (Pace Law School and IUCN Commission on Environmental Law’s Climate and Energy Working Group), Rosemary Rayfuse (University of New South Wales), Tullio Scovazzi (University of Milano-Bicocca, Italy), Susan Shearing (University of Sydney Law School), Victor M. Tafur (Pace Law School and Bard College).

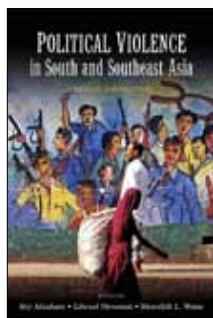
**David Leary** is a senior research fellow in the Faculty of Law, University of New South Wales. **Balakrishna Pisupati** is in the Division for Environmental Law and Conventions at the United Nations Environment Programme.

November, 6 x 9, 340 pp.

paper, 978-92-808-1192-6, \$36.00 / £24.99

## POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA Critical Perspectives

**Itty Abraham, Edward Newman, and Meredith L. Weiss, eds.**



This volume explores the sources and manifestations of political violence in South and Southeast Asia and the myriad roles that it plays in everyday life and as part of historical narrative. It considers and critiques the manner in which political violence is understood and constructed, and the common assumptions that prevail regarding the causes, victims, and perpetrators of this violence. By focusing on the social and political context of these

regions, the book presents a critical understanding of the nature of political violence and provides an alternative narrative to that found in mainstream analysis of terrorism.

*Political Violence in South and Southeast Asia* brings together political scientists and anthropologists with intimate knowledge of the politics and society of these regions, who present unique perspectives on topics including assassinations, riots, state violence, the significance of geographic borders, external influences and intervention, and patterns of recruitment and rebellion.

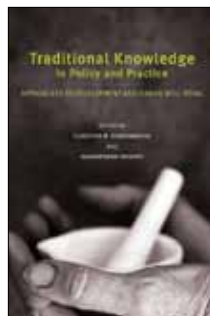
Contributors include Paula Banerjee (Calcutta University and Calcutta Research Group), Vincent Boudreau (City College of New York), Paul R. Brass (University of Washington), Naureen Chowdhury Fink (International Peace Institute, New York), Natasha Hamilton-Hart (National University of Singapore), Sankaran Krishna (University of Hawaii—Manoa), Darini Rajasingham (Social Scientists Association and International Centre for Ethnic Studies, Sri Lanka), Geoffrey Robinson (UCLA), Varun Sahni (Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi), Shamuel Tharu (Jawaharlal Nehru University).

**Itty Abraham** is an associate professor and director of the South Asia Institute, University of Texas—Austin. **Edward Newman** is a senior lecturer in the Department of Political Science and International Studies, University of Birmingham, UK. **Meredith L. Weiss** is an assistant professor in the Department of Political Science, University at Albany, State University of New York.

**October, 6 x 9, 308 pp.**  
paper, 978-92-808-1190-2, \$35.00 / £23.99

## TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE IN POLICY AND PRACTICE Approaches to Development and Human Well-Being

**Suneetha M. Subramanian and Balakrishna Pisupati, eds.**



Traditional knowledge (TK), the long-standing traditions and practices of certain communities, has contributed immensely to shaping development and human well-being. Its influence spans a variety of sectors, including agriculture, health, education, and governance. However, TK is increasingly underrepresented or underutilized. And, while the applicability of TK to human and environmental welfare is well

recognized, collated information on how TK contributes to different sectors is not easily accessible.

This book focuses on the relevance of TK to key environment- and development-related sectors. It discusses the current debates within each of these sectors and presents suggestions as to how TK can be effectively integrated with conventional science and policy. A valuable resource to researchers, academics, and policymakers, *Traditional Knowledge in Policy and Practice* provides a comprehensive overview of TK and its links and contributions to social, economic, environmental, ethical, and political issues.

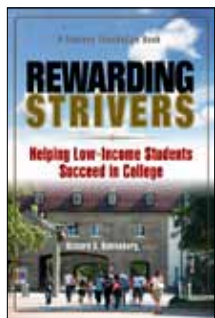
*"This collection, which comprises chapters by experts from a wide range of backgrounds, including traditional knowledge-holding communities, should leave policymakers in no doubt that protecting TK is not only vital for indigenous peoples but for the common future of all of humanity."*—Graham Dutfield, professor of international governance, School of Law, University of Leeds

**Suneetha M. Subramanian** is research fellow in the Biodiplomacy Program of the United Nations University's Institute of Advanced Studies, Yokohama. **Balakrishna Pisupati** is the coordinator of biodiversity-related Multilateral Environmental Agreements at the Division for Environmental Law and Conventions, United Nations Environment Programme, Nairobi.

**November, 6 x 9, 384 pp.**  
paper, 978-92-808-1191-9, \$38.00 / £26.99

## REWARDING STRIVERS Helping Low-Income Students Succeed in College

Richard D. Kahlenberg, ed.



“Rewarding Strivers presents provocative research and analysis that provides a blueprint for the way forward.”—William R. Fitzsimmons, Dean of Admissions, Harvard University

“The terrible ‘secret’ of higher education in America is that too few students from poorer families have access to it. . . . Kahlenberg again gathers the best thinkers on how to challenge this status quo.”—Anthony Marx,

President, Amherst College

Today, higher education is a major force in promoting social mobility, yet colleges and universities seem more concerned with prestige than finding ways to make higher learning more accessible. *Rewarding Strivers* outlines two high-profile models that colleges and universities can follow in making the American Dream a realistic one for all students.

Former *New York Times* education writer Edward B. Fiske (author of *The Fiske Guide to Colleges*) explores an exciting new effort to provide extra financial aid and academic support to low-income students at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He finds that the “Carolina Covenant” has much to teach public and private universities across the country.

In order to benefit from financial aid and support, low-income students first must be admitted to college. In a chapter that is likely to prove highly controversial, Georgetown University’s Anthony Carnevale and Jeff Strohl articulate a coherent and concrete way for colleges and universities to provide a leg up to economically disadvantaged students in selective college admissions. The authors make an important contribution to the nation’s raging debate over affirmative action by calling on universities to expand preferences beyond race to also include socioeconomic status, and outlining how such a program could work in practice.

**Richard D. Kahlenberg** is a senior fellow at The Century Foundation and the author of *Tough Liberal: Albert Shanker and the Battles Over Schools, Unions, Race, and Democracy* (Columbia University Press, 2007) and the editor of *America’s Untapped Resource: Low-Income Students in Higher Education* (The Century Foundation Press, 2004).

June, 6 x 9, 231 pp.  
paper, 978-0-87078-516-0, \$19.95 / £13.99

## AFFIRMATIVE ACTION FOR THE RICH Legacy Preferences in College Admissions

Richard D. Kahlenberg, ed.

The use of race-based affirmative action in higher education has given rise to hundreds of books and law review articles, numerous court decisions, and several state initiatives to ban the practice. However, surprisingly little has been said or written or done to challenge a larger, longstanding “affirmative action” program that tends to benefit wealthy whites: legacy preferences for the children of alumni.

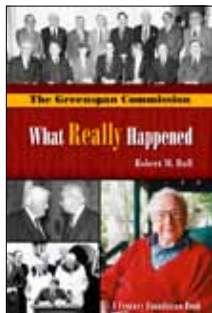
*Affirmative Action for the Rich* sketches the origins of legacy preferences, examines the philosophical issues they raise, outlines the extent of their use today, studies their impact on university fundraising, and reviews their implications for civil rights. In addition, the book outlines two new theories challenging the legality of legacy preferences, examines how a judge might review those claims, and assesses public policy options for curtailing alumni preferences.

The book includes chapters by Michael Lind of the New America Foundation; Peter Schmidt of the *Chronicle of Higher Education*; former *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Golden; Chad Coffman of Winnemac Consulting, attorney Tara O’Neil, and student Brian Starr; John Brittain of the University of the District of Columbia Law School and attorney Eric Bloom; Carlton Larson of the University of California—Davis School of Law; attorneys Steve Shadowen and Sozi Tulante; Sixth Circuit Court Judge Boyce F. Martin Jr. and attorney Donya Khalili; and education writer Peter Sacks.

September, 6 x 9, 400 pp.  
paper, 978-0-87078-518-4, \$19.95 / £13.99

## THE GREENSPAN COMMISSION What Really Happened

Robert M. Ball



The National Commission on Social Security Reform—better known as the Greenspan Commission—is widely credited with having addressed the financing crisis the program faced in the 1980s. Today, the Greenspan Commission is cited routinely as a model for resolving divisive political challenges, most recently inspiring the appointment of a bipartisan commission to address the federal deficit. But did the Greenspan Commission really succeed—

or did one key member find a way to work around its failure?

Robert M. Ball (1914–2008), who led the Social Security Administration for decades and became Social Security’s chief advocate and defender, served as House Speaker Tip O’Neill’s representative on the Greenspan Commission. In this previously unpublished account, excerpted from Bob Ball’s memoirs by his longtime editor Thomas N. Bethel, Ball describes the inner workings of the commission and what really happened. He reveals how the commission deadlocked and how, at the last minute, Ball and White House Chief of Staff James Baker painstakingly negotiated compromises that their principals—Speaker O’Neill and President Reagan—could accept.

Ball wrote this account as a cautionary tale, warning: “To suggest that the Greenspan Commission provides a model for resolving questions . . . would be laughable if it were not so dangerous. . . . A commission is no substitute for principled commitment. Above all, we should not allow ourselves to fall into the trap of expecting miracles from another Greenspan Commission.”

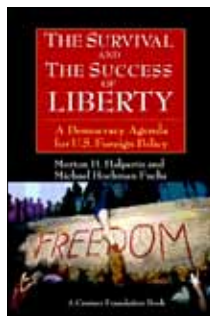
**Robert M. Ball** joined the Social Security Board as a field assistant in 1939. He was staff director of the Social Security Advisory Council (1947–48) and served as commissioner of Social Security under Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon. He is the founder of the National Academy of Social Insurance and the author of *Insuring the Essentials: Bob Ball on Social Security* (The Century Foundation Press, 2000) and *Straight Talk about Social Security*, with Thomas N. Bethel (The Century Foundation Press, 1998).

May, 6 x 9, 74 pp.  
paper, 978-0-87078-517-7, \$14.95 / £10.99

ANNOUNCED IN SPRING 2010

## THE SURVIVAL AND THE SUCCESS OF LIBERTY A Democracy Agenda for U.S. Foreign Policy

Morton H. Halperin and Michael Hochman Fuchs



Over the course of the twentieth century, Americans came to embrace the defense and promotion of rights and democracy as a vital mission of U.S. foreign policy. But this popular view shifted during the George W. Bush administration. Bush’s controversial crusade for democracy—one that came to be associated with unilateralism, invasion, alliance, expansion, and double standards—so tainted the notion of democracy

promotion that many in the foreign policy establishment exhorted President Obama to abandon the practice.

In this passionate and persuasive book, Morton Halperin and Michael Fuchs argue that abandoning the promotion of democracy would be a great mistake. Halperin and Fuchs present new and proactive ideas for how the United States can and should help countries that are on the path to democracy and how it may help peoples struggling to establish a democratic regime.

### Advance praise for *The Survival and the Success of Liberty*

“Morton Halperin has been one of Washington’s smartest strategic thinkers and once again, in *The Survival and the Success of Liberty*, he shows us why. He illustrates a critical point: America benefits when more countries are democratic, and democracies should help each other not just to vote, but also to deliver what their people need.”—Madeleine K. Albright, 64th U.S. Secretary of State

“Fresh in its insights and yet deeply informed by history, this book provides a viable and progressive alternative to the hubris and hypocrisy that has undermined previous American approaches to democracy promotion.”—Larry Diamond, senior fellow, Hoover Institution and Freeman Spogli Institute, and director, Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, Stanford University

**Morton H. Halperin** was a senior fellow at the Center for American Progress when this book was completed and is now senior adviser to the Open Society Institute. He directed policy planning staffs at the Department of State, the National Security Council, and the Department of Defense for Presidents Johnson, Nixon, and Clinton. **Michael Hochman Fuchs** is on the Policy Planning Staff at the U.S. Department of State. Previously, he was co-director of The Century Foundation’s Project on Democracy and U.S. Foreign Policy.

2010, 6 x 9, 308 pp.  
paper, 978-0-87078-514-6 \$19.95 / £13.99



## MULTI-TIER NATO The Atlantic Alliance in the 21st Century

Timo Noetzel and Tobias Bunde



Throughout the past sixty years NATO, the world's most powerful military alliance, has been a remarkable success story. Today, however, there appears to be a widening rift among the member countries as NATO struggles to redefine its purpose and strategic identity. Is NATO still primarily a transatlantic alliance for collective defense or has it become an organization of democratic states that acts wherever it deems necessary to assert its values and ideas of a liberal world order? As NATO increasingly struggles to reach consensus on a whole range of strategic issues, it appears to be on a path to disintegration and, ultimately, failure.

This book argues that NATO has developed into a fluid “multi-tier” alliance that is divided on many issues. Members generally fall into one of three tiers:

- The **reformist** tier wants NATO to play a global role and to act as a guardian of a liberal world order.
- The **neo-traditionalist** tier favors an alliance still focused on territorial defense in a traditional sense.
- The **status quo** tier is also skeptical about a globalized alliance but does not see the need to refocus on the European continent.

Based on an examination of national security strategies and policy statements of NATO state representatives, this book sheds light on the specific characteristics, security cultures, and strategic worldviews in each tier.

While the evolution of such a multi-tier alliance will not inevitably result in NATO's demise, this manifestation of camps—if unmanaged—will continuously disrupt the organization's strategic agility and weaken the prospects for collective action. *Multi-Tier NATO* finds that if NATO is to maintain strategic vitality, it needs to develop institutional mechanisms of “variable geometry”—that is, not every country needs to take part in every policy, but some can cooperate more closely within a common institutional framework.

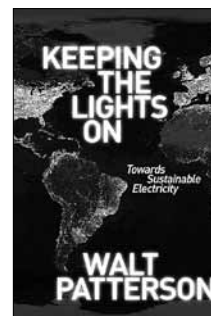
**Timo Noetzel** is a research group leader at the Centre of Excellence at the University of Konstanz, Germany. He is also a fellow of the *stiftung neue verantwortung*, Berlin, and senior policy adviser to the chairman of the Munich Security Conference. **Tobias Bunde** is a doctoral candidate at the Centre of Excellence at the University of Konstanz and assistant to the senior policy adviser to the chairman of the Munich Security Conference.

January, 6 x 9, 200 pp.  
cloth, 978-1-86203-217-0, \$44.95 / £30.00  
paper, 978-1-86203-231-6, \$25.95 / £17.99

### NEW IN PAPERBACK

## KEEPING THE LIGHTS ON Towards Sustainable Electricity

Walt Patterson



Starting from the premise that we are making a mess of energy and this is endangering the planet, Walt Patterson describes how we could do much better. In *Keeping the Lights On* Patterson

outlines a different way to think about energy. He explains how we could go about improving energy security and services while reducing costs and vulnerability, globally and rapidly. The book discusses debates surrounding energy and power. It emphasizes that electricity is about infrastructure and that we have to stop treating it as a commodity.

*“Combining extraordinary historical insight with the sharpest analysis of where we are now, Walt Patterson carves out the most applied and practical of ‘road maps’ as to where we need to go if we are to deliver a genuinely sustainable electricity system for the future.”*—Jonathon Porritt CBE, chair, UK Sustainable Development Commission

*“Clearly thought out, simply written, and straight to the heart of the major issues in energy today.”*—Ronan Palmer, chief economist, UK Environment Agency

Copublished with Earthscan

2009, 6 x 9, 170 pp.  
paper, 978-1-84407-798-4, \$25.95  
Not available through Brookings in Europe and the UK.

### OF RELATED INTEREST

#### THE KURDISH POLICY IMPERATIVE

Gareth Stansfield and Robert Lowe, eds.

“This well-researched and carefully constructed volume illuminates an important new factor in Middle East politics, the impact of the modern Kurdish nation on the four main countries they inhabit as momentous changes take place in Iraq, Turkey, Syria and Iran. Even without an early hope of independence, the Kurds, one of the world's largest populations without their own state, have a potential which needs to be recalculated. This book serves the purpose admirably and is a must for those who wish to understand the region in depth.”—Sir Jeremy Greenstock

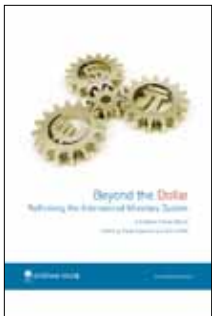
cloth, 978-1-86203-198-2, \$49.95 / £30.00 paper, 978-0-86203-199-9, \$24.95 / £16.99

## CHATHAM HOUSE REPORTS

Chatham House Reports are topical, policy-relevant publications on today's key global challenges. They draw on the institute's unique cross-cutting research expertise to offer new insights, fresh approaches, and specific recommendations. For further information on these and additional reports in the series, go to [www.chathamhouse.org.uk/CHR](http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/CHR).

## BEYOND THE DOLLAR Rethinking the International Monetary System

Paola Subacchi and John Drifill, eds.



This report explores the international monetary system and provides policy-oriented recommendations for reforms. It highlights key issues for action before markets and policymakers resume “business as usual.”

2010, 8¼ x 11¼, 64 pp.  
paper, 978-1-86203-227-9, \$15.00 / £10.00

Previously announced as *The International Monetary System*

## DECISIONS AND DEADLINES A Critical Year for Sudan

Edward Thomas



This report analyzes the perceptions of the coming referendum as held by the country's major actors and the public and considers issues such as preparations for possible separation or continued unity and what self-determination means.

2010, 8¼ x 11¼, 64 pp.  
paper, 978-1-86203-229-3, \$15.00 / £10.00

Previously announced as *Deadlines and Decisions: A Critical Time for Sudan*

## THE OBAMA MOMENT European and American Perspectives

Álvaro de Vasconcelos and Marcin Zaborowski, eds



The election of Barack Obama has raised major expectations in Europe and opened up new opportunities for dealing with global challenges. Authored by leading experts from both sides of the Atlantic, this book provides an authoritative analysis of the most topical issues facing the agendas of the European Union and the United States.

The volume addresses the global questions of multilateralism, the economy, disarmament, and climate change, as well as key regional issues including Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Russia, Africa, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The book concludes that it is imperative that Europeans and Americans seize “the Obama moment” in order to capitalize on the urgency of acting now. They will also need to move to a new paradigm of the EU-U.S. relationship and NATO's role within it—one that takes account of the fact that the West needs “the Rest” to deal with the most pressing issues of our time.

*“An important contribution to the debate on how we can renew our transatlantic partnership for a new age. . . . This book lays out the challenges and choices we face. It deserves to be widely read.”*—Javier Solana, high representative for the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy

*“A timely contribution to the much-needed dialogue regarding transatlantic relations. Both sides need to understand each other better and this volume helps its readers understand the causes of discord and the key issues to be addressed.”*  
—Zbigniew Brzezinski, national security adviser to President Carter

Contributors include Alexandra Bell (Ploughshares Fund), John Bruton (Ambassador, EU Commission to the United States 2004–09), Tom Cargill (Chatham House), Joseph Cirincione (Ploughshares Fund), James F. Dobbins (RAND), Nikolas Foster (SAIS Johns Hopkins University), Daniel S. Hamilton (Center for Transatlantic Relations), Bruce Jones (Center on International Cooperation, NYU), Erik Jones (SAIS Bologna Center, Johns Hopkins University), Ibrahim Kalin (Prince Alwaleed bin Talal Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding), Andrew Kuchins (CSIS), Michael O'Hanlon (Brookings Institution), Rouzbeh Parsi (European Union Institute for Security Studies), Glen Ranwala (University of Cambridge), Pawel Świeboda (demosEUROPA), and Alex Vines (Chatham House).

Álvaro de Vasconcelos is director of the EU Institute for Security Studies.

Marcin Zaborowski is senior research fellow at the EUISS, where he directs the transatlantic program, including the EU Washington Forum.

May, 6¾ x 9½, 248 pp.  
paper, 978-92-9198-160-1, \$18.95 / £12.99

The European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS) is a Paris-based agency of the European Union, operating under the EU's second pillar, the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Its goals are to find a common security culture for the EU, to help develop and project the CFSP, and to enrich Europe's strategic debate.

## EMERGING AFRICA How 17 Countries Are Leading the Way

**Steve Radelet**

*Emerging Africa* describes the too-often-overlooked positive changes that have taken place in much of Africa since the mid-1990s. In 17 countries, five fundamental and sustained breakthroughs are making old assumptions increasingly untenable:

- The rise of democracy brought on by the end of the Cold War and apartheid
- Stronger economic management
- The end of the debt crisis and a more constructive relationship with the international community
- The introduction of new technologies, especially mobile phones and the Internet
- The emergence of a new generation of leaders.

With these significant changes, the countries of emerging Africa seem poised to lead the continent out of the conflict, stagnation, and dictatorships of the past.

The countries discussed in the book are Botswana, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Ethiopia, Ghana, Lesotho, Mali, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Rwanda, São Tomé and Príncipe, Seychelles, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia.

**Steve Radelet** is a former senior fellow at the Center for Global Development. He is currently senior adviser on development in the office of U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton.

**September, 6 x 9, 125 pp.**  
**paper, 978-1-933286-51-8, \$18.95 / £12.99**

## DUE DILIGENCE What Social Investors Should Know about Microfinance

**David Roodman**

The idea that small loans can help poor families build businesses and exit poverty has blossomed into a global movement. The concept has captured the public imagination, drawn in billions of dollars, reached millions of customers, and garnered a Nobel Prize. Radical in its suggestion that the poor are creditworthy and conservative in its insistence on individual accountability, the idea has expanded beyond credit into savings, insurance, and money transfers, earning the name microfinance. But is it the boon so many think it is?

Readers of David Roodman's open-book blog will immediately recognize his thorough, straightforward, and trenchant analysis. *Due Diligence*, written entirely in public with input from readers, probes the truth about microfinance to guide governments, foundations, investors, and private citizens who support financial services for poor people. In particular, it explains the need to deemphasize micro-credit in favor of other financial services for the poor.

**David Roodman** is a research fellow at the Center for Global Development. He has been architect and manager of the Commitment to Development Index since the project's inception in 2002.

**November, 6 x 9, 250 pp.**  
**paper, 978-1-933286-48-8, \$24.95 / £16.99**

## SHOW ME THE MONEY Leveraging Anti-Money Laundering Tools to Fight Corruption in Nigeria

**Nuhu Ribadu**

In this riveting account, Nuhu Ribadu tells the story of his time as the creator and then executive chairman of Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, Nigeria's financial crimes law enforcement agency. From 2003 to 2007, he oversaw the conviction of over 250 financial criminals and the recovery of more than \$5 billion worth of stolen assets—and made powerful enemies in the process. Twice he survived attempts on his life, and he was eventually forced to exit the commission. Now he recounts how the commission used stepped-up global anti-money laundering efforts—spurred by the Financial Action Task Force blacklisting of Nigeria in 2001—to open the door to a courageous and unprecedented crusade against corruption.

**Nuhu Ribadu** is a visiting fellow at the Center for Global Development. A lawyer and career policeman, he was the head of Nigeria's Economic and Financial Crimes Commission from 2003–07.

**November, 6 x 9, 60 pp.**  
**paper, 978-1-933286-47-1, \$14.95 / £10.99**

## THE TRANSATLANTIC ECONOMY 2011

Annual Survey of Jobs, Trade, and  
Investment between the United  
States and Europe

**Daniel S. Hamilton and Joseph P. Quinlan**



*The Transatlantic Economy* surveys have become a standard reference for business, policy-makers, and the media interested in the changing role of the U.S. and Europe in the global economy. This

edition will further advance that trend.

*The Transatlantic Economy 2011* offers the most up-to-date survey of European-sourced jobs, trade, and investment for each of the fifty U.S. states as well as U.S.-sourced jobs, trade, and investment for all European economies. Special chapters examine how the United States and Europe have emerged from the financial crisis, evaluate future prospects for onshored and offshored jobs, and present a new look at how key city-regions are driving prospects for transatlantic prosperity.

**Daniel S. Hamilton** is the Richard von Weizsäcker Professor and director of the SAIS Center for Transatlantic Relations, Johns Hopkins University. He also serves as the executive director of the American Consortium for EU Studies in Washington, D.C. **Joseph P. Quinlan** is a nonresident senior fellow at the Center for Transatlantic Relations and an experienced Wall Street analyst. They have collaborated on several previous CTR books.

**January, 7½ x 10, 180 pp.**  
paper, 978-0-9841341-7-5, \$22.50 / £15.99

## EUROPE 20/20 Competitive or Complacent?

**Daniel S. Hamilton and Joseph P. Quinlan**

Where does Europe fit in the emerging world of rapidly developing countries and deep interconnections between different poles of power? This study provides a global framework for understanding Europe's competitive position in this very different environment.

Authors Daniel S. Hamilton and Joseph P. Quinlan map the flows of people, money, goods, services, and ideas that connect Europe to other key global powers. They compare Europe's relative strengths and weaknesses with other key competitors and partners. Finally, they recommend key actions that could be taken at EU and member-state level to improve the European Union's competitiveness compared to other G20 powers and make the EU a more attractive place to invest and do business.

**October, 7½ x 10, 150 pp.**  
paper, 978-0-9841341-6-8, \$22.50 / £15.99

## TRANSATLANTIC 20/20 The U.S. and Europe in an Interpolar World

**Daniel S. Hamilton**

This volume examines fundamental societal, economic, political, and security trends affecting the EU and the U.S. over the next decade. It posits what such trends could mean for the transatlantic partnership by 2020, and, using policy scenarios, recommends the choices likely to influence those patterns.

What will the rise of Asia and the BRICs (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) mean for Europe and the United States? How might the consequences differ for the transatlantic partners, and what would that mean for the transatlantic partnership itself? What demographic trends will influence Europe and North America, how will the impact differ, and what effect could this have on the transatlantic partnership? How will trends in demographic change, trends in human mobility, and changes in energy sustainability affect each side of the Atlantic, how will these effects differ for each partner, and what might be the consequences for the partnership? These are the issues explored in this important study.

**December, 6 x 9, 150 pp.**  
paper, 978-0-9841341-5-1, \$20.00 / £13.99



## QUEBEC AND THE HERITAGE OF FRANCO-AMERICA

Iwan Morgan and Philip Davies, eds.

This book marks the 400th anniversary of the founding of Quebec. It consists of six essays by a team of contributors drawn from Quebec, the United States, France, and the United Kingdom. The book explores the concept of Franco-American heritage not as a modern remnant of a lost French North American empire but a thriving entity that grew in both vitality and geographical spread in the centuries after the British Conquest of 1759.

Two points are fundamental to the essays in the book:

- Franco-America's heritage was neither French nor American but something different and unique from both.
- Its geographical extent spread far beyond its birthplace in Quebec province and penetrated into large parts of so-called Anglo-America—in other words, it was continental rather than provincial in nature.

**Iwan Morgan** is professor of United States studies and head of U.S. programs at the Institute for the Study of the Americas, School of Advanced Study, University of London. **Philip Davies** is professor of American studies at De Montfort University, Leicester, and director of the British Library's Eccles Centre for American Studies.

2010, 6 x 9, 123 pp.  
paper, 978-1-900039-98-7, \$28.95 / £20.00

ANNOUNCED IN SPRING 2010

## WORLD CRISIS EFFECTS ON SOCIAL SECURITY IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

Lessons and Policies

Carmelo Mesa-Lago



Written by a top scholar on social security in Latin America and the Caribbean, this book assesses the effects of the world economic crisis on social security and welfare in the region. Drawing

on the impact of and lessons from previous crises, Carmelo Mesa-Lago identifies the strengths and weakness of Latin American social security before the current global crisis. He evaluates the event's actual and potential effects on pensions, health care, and social assistance programs, based on a taxonomy of three groups of countries.

The book ends with a summary of policies adopted by some countries and the author's own recommendations on social policies to lessen the adverse outcomes of the financial crisis. Latin America's pioneering social-welfare reforms make this book important for other regions of the world, both developed and developing.

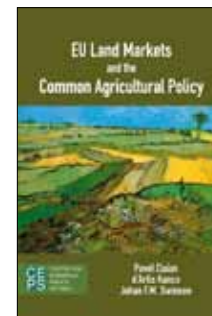
**Carmelo Mesa-Lago** is Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus of Economics and Latin American Studies at the University of Pittsburgh and has been a visiting professor or researcher in seven countries and a lecturer in 39 nations. He is the author of 78 books and 270 articles/chapters published in seven languages in 33 countries.

2010, 6 x 9, 200 pp.  
paper, 978-1-900039-97-0, \$28.95 / £20.00

Previously announced as *The Impact of the Great Recession on Social Security and Welfare in Latin America and the Caribbean*

## EU LAND MARKETS AND THE COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY

Pavel Ciaian, d'Artis Kancs, and Johan F.M. Swinnen



Since 2005, the European Union has provided farmers with subsidies that are not linked directly to production of specific crops, through the single payment scheme (SPS), as part of

reforms to its common agricultural policy. This book investigates to what extent the SPS has led to the capitalization of support into land values in the EU.

Economic theory and empirical findings suggest that the way in which agricultural support is provided to farmers has an influence on land markets. Subsidies tend to become capitalized into land values to some degree, affecting both the sales and rental prices of land. These effects in turn have a bearing on the transfer efficiency of the support and structural change in agriculture.

Drawing from a combination of data sources, 11 country and 18 regional studies, this extensive empirical analysis offers preliminary findings of the reaction of EU land markets and asset values to the changes in EU policy.

**Pavel Ciaian** and **d'Artis Kancs** are research fellows with the Institute for Prospective Technological Studies, Seville, one of the seven scientific institutes of the European Commission's Joint Research Centre. **Johan F.M. Swinnen** is senior research fellow at CEPS and professor of economics and director of the Centre for Institutions and Economic Performance at Katholieke Universiteit Leuven.

2010, 6¾ x 9½, 343 pp.  
paper, 978-92-9079-963-4, \$30.00 / £17.00

**THE EVER-CHANGING UNION**  
An Introduction to the History,  
Institutions and Decision-Making  
Processes of the European Union  
*Second edition*

**Christian Egenhofer,**  
**Piotr Maciej Kaczyński,**  
**Sebastian Kurpas, and Louise Van Schaik**

**T**he *Ever-Changing Union* provides a concise overview of the EU's history, its institutional structures, and European decisionmaking processes. The book provides all the information needed to acquire an understanding of the complex institutional system that the EU has evolved into and that has been changing ever since its creation. This second edition focuses on the key innovations introduced by the Treaty of Lisbon, especially on how it affects the EU's external operations.

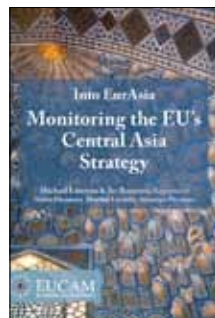
The book is designed for those with an initial or an occasional interest in European policies and politics. It is written in a style geared for senior policy-makers from outside the EU as well as for civil servants, diplomats, business executives, NGO representatives, and students and scholars who deal with the European Union regularly in their work.

**Christian Egenhofer** is a senior research fellow at CEPS and at the University of Dundee, Scotland. **Piotr Maciej Kaczyński** is a research fellow at CEPS and a specialist on EU politics and institutions. **Sebastian Kurpas** works in the Secretariat General of the European Commission on institutional affairs. **Louise Van Schaik** is a research fellow in the Clingendael European Studies Program of the Clingendael Netherlands Institute of International Relations.

**October, 6¾ x 9½, 96 pp.**  
**paper, 978-92-9079-980-1, \$16.00 / £9.40**

**INTO EURASIA**  
Monitoring the EU's Central  
Asia Strategy

**Michael Emerson and Jos Boonstra,**  
**with Nafisa Hasanova, Marlène Laruelle,**  
**and Sébastien Peyrouse**



The EU introduced its Strategy for Central Asia in 2007 to upgrade its cooperation with the five states of the region: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan,

and Uzbekistan. Concerns over energy security and the war in Afghanistan dominated the political context at that time, but the strategy sought to take a broad and comprehensive approach, with priority actions addressing political dialogue, education, economic development, energy and transport links, human rights and the rule of law, drug trafficking, environmental sustainability, and water, among other concerns.

This book offers the first assessment of this ambitious plan, undertaken by independent analysts from the EU and Central Asia. The roles of Russia, China, the United States, Turkey, Iran, and other major players, as well as the current state of politics and economics in the region, are all analyzed through the prism of the EU strategy.

**Michael Emerson** is senior research fellow and program director for European foreign, security, and neighborhood policies at CEPS.

**Jos Boonstra** is a senior researcher at the Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior (FRIDE), Madrid.

**Nafisa Hasanova** is coordinator of the EU-Central Asia Monitoring project based at CEPS. **Marlène Laruelle** and **Sébastien Peyrouse** are senior research fellows with the Central Asia-Caucasus Institute & Silk Road Studies Program, a Joint Center affiliated with Johns Hopkins University's SAIS and the Institute for Security and Development Policy, Stockholm.

**2010, 6¾ x 9½, 143 pp**  
**paper, 978-92-9079-966-5, \$30.00 / £17.00**

**OVERCOMING  
TOO-BIG-TO-FAIL**  
A Regulatory Framework to Limit  
Moral Hazard and Free Riding in  
the Financial Sector

**Jacopo Carmassi, Elisabetta Luchetti,**  
**and Stefano Micossi, with Daniel Gros**  
**and Karel Lannoo**



Following the demise of Lehman Brothers, the debate on regulatory reform has centered around whether large financial institutions must be broken up and their risk-taking

activities limited by law, as called for by the "Volcker rule." This report argues that such actions are by no means necessary, may be hard to implement in practice, and could entail large costs in terms of the availability of credit to the economy (e.g., if they reduced the ability of banks to hedge their credit positions).

Alternative solutions exist that can achieve a more stable and resilient financial system without renouncing the benefits of multi-purpose financial institutions and innovative finance. These are predicated on effectively curtailing moral hazard and strengthening market discipline on banks' shareholders and managers by raising the cost of the banking charter to reflect fully its benefits for the banks, and on restoring the possibility that all or at least most financial institutions could go bust without triggering unmanageable systemic repercussions.

This report was prepared by a joint CEPS-Assonime Task Force. The three main authors are from Assonime, the Association of Joint Stock Companies incorporated in Italy: **Stefano Micossi**, director general; **Elisabetta Luchetti**, legal expert; and **Jacopo Carmassi**, economist. CEPS director **Daniel Gros** and chief executive **Karel Lannoo** provided additional substantial contributions.

**2010, 6¾ x 9½, 98 pp.**  
**paper, 978-92-9079-974-0, \$30.00 / £17.00**

PAKISTAN AND  
AFGHANISTAN  
Independent Task Force Report

**Richard L. Armitage** and  
**Samuel R. Berger**, chairs  
**Daniel Markey**, project director

Pakistan and Afghanistan are both of great strategic importance to the United States and will continue to be significant national security priorities for the foreseeable future. From a U.S. perspective, they present several major security, diplomatic, and economic challenges. Both countries are critical to regional and international security and stability.

This report reviews and assesses current U.S. policy in the region, treating the challenges in Pakistan and Afghanistan as connected but also distinct. The task force offers recommendations on how to adapt U.S. policy to most effectively address both the short- and long-term challenges the United States faces in South Asia.

**Richard L. Armitage** is president of Armitage International. He served as deputy secretary of state to President George W. Bush. **Samuel R. Berger** is chairman of the Albright Stonebridge Group. He served as national security adviser to President Bill Clinton. **Daniel Markey** is senior fellow for India, Pakistan, and South Asia at the Council on Foreign Relations.

September, 6 x 9, 80 pp.  
paper, 978-0-87609-479-2, \$15.00 / £10.99

U.S. POLICY ON KOREA  
Independent Task Force Report

**Charles L. Pritchard** and  
**John H. Tilelli Jr.**, chairs  
**Scott A. Snyder**, project director



From its early days, the Obama administration has had to grapple with North Korea's provocative missile and nuclear tests. During the past two decades, U.S. policy efforts to roll back North Korea's

nuclear developments have met with frustration and failure. At the same time, South Korea's economic development and political transition to democracy have changed the U.S. alliance with South Korea.

This report assesses U.S. policy toward both North and South Korea and crafts an integrated approach to the peninsula as a whole. It analyzes prospects for bilateral and multilateral diplomacy with North Korea, the stability of the North Korean regime, U.S. military and economic ties to South Korea, and the implications of internal changes in both Koreas for regional security in Asia. The report offers specific recommendations designed to reduce the threat posed by North Korea and offers a coherent and comprehensive approach to the peninsula as part of an overall strategy toward Asia.

**Charles L. Pritchard** is the president of the Korea Economic Institute. He is the author of *Failed Diplomacy: The Tragic Story of How North Korea Got the Bomb* (Brookings, 2007). **John H. Tilelli Jr.** is chairman and CEO of Cypress International, Inc. **Scott A. Snyder** is adjunct senior fellow for Korea studies at the Council on Foreign Relations and director of the Center for U.S.-Korea Policy and senior associate of Washington programs in the international relations program of the Asia Foundation.

September, 6 x 9, 88 pp.  
paper, 978-0-87609-475-4, \$15.00 / £10.99

SOMALIA  
A New Approach

**Bronwyn E. Bruton**



Even among failed states, Somalia stands apart. A country of some nine million, it has lacked a central government since the fall of Mohamed Siad Barre's regime in 1991. Poverty

and insecurity are endemic. Less than 40 percent of Somalis are literate and more than one in ten children die before turning five. The specter of Somalia as a sanctuary for al Qaeda has become an important concern, and piracy in the vital international shipping lanes off Somalia's coast remains a menace.

In this report, Bronwyn E. Bruton proposes a strategy of "constructive disengagement" to combat terrorism and promote development and stability in Somalia. Instead of supporting Somalia's unpopular Transitional Federal Government, Bruton argues that the United States should accept an Islamist authority as long as it does not impede international humanitarian activities or support international jihad. Bruton also advocates for a decentralized approach to U.S. foreign aid distribution by working with existing local authorities. And she counsels against an aggressive military response to piracy, making the case instead for initiatives to mobilize Somalis themselves against pirates.

**Bronwyn E. Bruton** is a democracy and governance specialist with extensive experience in Africa and was the 2008–09 international affairs fellow in residence at the Council on Foreign Relations.

September, 6 x 9, 60 pp.  
paper, 978-0-87609-473-0, \$10.00 / £6.99

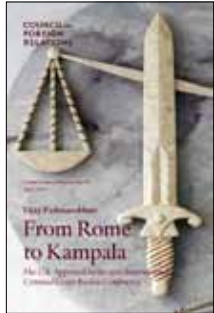


COUNCIL SPECIAL REPORTS

**FROM ROME TO KAMPALA**  
The U.S. Approach to the 2010  
International Criminal Court  
Review Conference

**Vijay Padmanabhan**

**John B. Bellinger III and  
Matthew C. Waxman, project directors**



The controversial relationship between the United States and the International Criminal Court (ICC) is at a crossroads. The ICC is the world's first permanent court to prosecute

individuals who commit crimes of concern to the international community. After an initial period of hostility toward the ICC, the United States has in recent years pursued a policy of cautious engagement. This approach faced serious challenges at the 2010 ICC Seven-Year Review Conference, as ICC parties considered amending the Rome Statute, the ICC's governing document, in ways that could run counter to U.S. interests.

In this report, Vijay Padmanabhan argues that the United States should dissuade ICC member states from making institutional changes that further complicate U.S. cooperation. He also recommends ways for the United States to strengthen its leadership role on international criminal justice issues.

**Vijay Padmanabhan** is a visiting assistant professor of law at Yeshiva University's Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law.

**October, 6 x 9, 52 pp.**  
paper, 978-0-87609-480-8, \$10.00 / £6.99

**U.S. INTERESTS AND UN  
SECURITY COUNCIL REFORM**

**Stewart M. Patrick and Kara C. McDonald**

Advancing U.S. national interests depends increasingly on effective multilateral action. President Barack Obama has stressed the need to update international institutions to permit the collective management of emerging transnational problems and the peaceful accommodation of rising powers. The United Nations Security Council, the world's preeminent peace and security organ, should not be excluded from this vision to create a new global architecture of cooperation.

The United States must lay out a long-term roadmap for the modest expansion of the Security Council, based on criteria commensurate with the obligations of Council membership. Stewart M. Patrick and Kara C. McDonald believe that by adopting a conditions-based, evolutionary approach, the U.S. government can shift the terms of a stymied debate and position itself as a leader on Council reform. In addition, aspirant countries would have the opportunity to prove their readiness to accept the burdens and responsibilities of defending world order. This would avoid the considerable risks of immediate Council enlargement, while giving these states an incentive to increase their contributions to global security.

**Stewart M. Patrick** is senior fellow and director of the International Institutions and Global Governance program at the Council on Foreign Relations. **Kara C. McDonald** is a U.S. diplomat and international affairs fellow in residence at the Council on Foreign Relations. She is the former director for UN and international organization affairs at the National Security Council.

**September, 6 x 9, 48 pp.**  
paper, 978-0-87609-477-8, \$10.00 / £6.99

**ENHANCING INTERNATIONAL  
PREVENTIVE ACTION**

**Paul B. Stares and Micah Zenko**

The United States can ill afford additional overseas military commitments to manage the consequences of regional instability. Yet it must make a concerted effort to harness and enhance the efforts of international actors to reduce the risk of violent conflict and prevent new crises from arising.

*Enhancing International Preventive Action* acknowledges the UN efforts, international financial institutions, regional organizations, and informal multilateral groupings that are making important contributions to the prevention of violent conflict in areas crucial to U.S. interests. Much more should be done, however, to shape and support the work of these actors. Through their assessment of the advantages and shortcomings of the principal international actors, Paul B. Stares and Micah Zenko recommend ways that the United States can help develop a more effective "global architecture for preventive action." This report builds on an earlier study, *Enhancing U.S. Preventive Action*, that proposed concrete ways to improve the existing U.S. preventive framework. It precedes a third report that will examine the role of private sector actors.

**Paul B. Stares** is the General John W. Vessey senior fellow for conflict prevention and director of the Center for Preventive Action at the Council on Foreign Relations. **Micah Zenko** is fellow for conflict prevention in the Center for Preventive Action at the Council on Foreign Relations.

**September, 6 x 9, 56 pp.**  
paper, 978-0-87609-478-5, \$10.00 / £6.99

**Council Special Reports (CSRs)** are concise policy briefs, produced to provide a rapid response to a developing crisis or contribute to the public's understanding of current policy dilemmas.

For a complete list of recent publications from the Council on Foreign Relations, visit [www.cfr.org](http://www.cfr.org).



## THE RUSSIAN ECONOMIC CRISIS

Jeffrey Mankoff



Since mid-2008, Russia has endured an economic crisis so serious that it has emboldened many Russians, including President Dmitry Medvedev, to call for a fundamental overhaul of the

country's resource-dependent, state-dominated economy. The proposed new model would favor innovation and integration into global institutions. Medvedev's push for modernization has encountered stiff resistance from the bureaucratic-oligarchic elite that profits from the status quo. These domestic challenges mean that Russia has pursued a more restrained foreign policy, especially with its post-Soviet neighbors.

Russia's economic crisis creates an opportunity for the United States and its allies to draw the nation further into the global economy. In *The Russian Economic Crisis*, Jeffrey Mankoff argues that the West should use the promise of foreign investment and access to international economic institutions like the World Trade Organization to nudge Russia into the role of responsible stakeholder. A similar policy should be adopted toward its neighbors to bolster them against the possibility of Russian intervention, which could derail economic reform and integration across the region.

**Jeffrey Mankoff** is associate director of international security studies at Yale University and adjunct fellow for Russia studies at the Council on Foreign Relations.

October, 6 x 9, 44 pp.  
paper, 978-0-87609-476-1, \$10.00 / £6.99

## ASSESSING DEEP REDUCTIONS IN U.S. AND RUSSIAN NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Micah Zenko

In 2009, presidents Barack Obama and Dmitry Medvedev pledged to sign a bilateral treaty to limit the nuclear arsenals of the United States and Russia to approximately 1,500 deployed nuclear weapons and 750 delivery systems. While this represents a significant reduction from cold war-era levels, the two countries still retain more than 90 percent of the world's nuclear weapons. As good-faith progress toward President Obama's stated commitment "to seek the peace and security of a world without nuclear weapons," both countries need to begin negotiating a follow-up bilateral treaty to reduce their respective arsenals.

Micah Zenko offers specific recommendations for U.S. policy on four strategic and technical issues that such a treaty would raise:

- Beginning high-level discussions with U.S. allies on the tradeoffs between extended deterrence and deeper nuclear cuts
- Promoting the joint U.S.-Russia development of missile defense radars and interceptors
- Proposing transparency and confidence-building measures for deployed U.S. and Russian tactical nuclear weapons
- Developing a framework to account for deploying advanced conventional weapons on nuclear-capable delivery systems.

At a time of global nuclear uncertainty, this report defines a path to greater security and commitment to a nonnuclear world.

**Micah Zenko** is a fellow for conflict prevention at the Council on Foreign Relations.

October, 6 x 9, 56 pp.  
paper, 978-0-87609-482-2, \$10.00 / £6.99

## PROMOTING CYBERSECURITY THROUGH INTERNET GOVERNANCE

Robert K. Knake

U.S. interests lie in the continuation of a single, open, globally interconnected network for the free exchange of ideas and the conduct of economic activity. Criminals and rogue nations are threatening that paradigm, exploiting fundamental weaknesses in the architecture of the Internet.

Cybersecurity and homeland security expert Robert K. Knake urges the United States to promote its vision for a secure Internet through existing international forums. His report provides a clear statement of U.S. national interest in cyberspace and develops an agenda for promoting it within Internet governance organizations.

Knake maintains that the U.S. Department of State must be staffed and funded to coordinate the promotion of this agenda across the federal government with important private sector players. He further recommends the development of a treaty to ban the targeting of civilian infrastructure in cyberspace and the application of diplomatic and economic pressure to expand the number of countries that are party to the existing Convention on Cybercrime. By taking these steps, the United States can help develop both the technical and legal mechanisms to address security concerns in cyberspace while maintaining the vision of a unified, global Internet.

**Robert K. Knake** is an international affairs fellow in residence at the Council on Foreign Relations.

September, 6 x 9, 56 pp.  
paper, 978-0-87609-481-5, \$10.00 / £6.99

**GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT  
 OUTLOOK 2010**  
 Shifting Wealth: Implications  
 for Development

Beyond the immediate consequences of the financial crisis, a major change in the world economy is underway. Over the last twenty years, economic and political power have been shifting toward the developing world and emerging economies. Presenting evidence that documents the power shift, this report clarifies the new global reality and what it means for development.

A number of developing countries have become centers of strong growth and major players in regional or global affairs. Flows of trade, aid, and investment between developing countries have all intensified. Old ways of viewing the world as divided between developed and developing countries are increasingly outdated. This demands a rethink of how to promote progress and reduce poverty and inequality.

The *Global Development Outlook* will help policymakers make informed decisions based on insightful analysis and accurate data and statistics that better reflect the dynamics of the new global economy. The book suggests ways in which developing countries can best take advantage of the new economic landscape while avoiding potential pitfalls.

**August, 7 x 10, 200 pp.**  
 paper, 978-92-64-08465-0, \$84.00 / £54.00

**OECD INSIGHTS:  
 AGRICULTURE AND FOOD**  
 Feeding Nine Billion People

Global food production will have to double by 2050 in order to feed the projected world population of nine billion people. Experience suggests it can be done, but the agriculture and food sector is facing a number of challenges. Economic growth is being accompanied by a shift to resource-intensive, Western-style diets worldwide. Farming has to cope with environmental pressures and competition for land from other uses, and climate change introduces new uncertainties.

This book argues that farming is resourceful and inventive enough to continue providing the food the world needs. Science and technology are exploring new solutions to the physical challenges. Changes in policies and practices can encourage a shift toward sustainable means to produce and distribute enough food to satisfy demand without destroying the planet's resources.

*OECD Insights: Agriculture and Food* examines the state of world agriculture today and discusses the major forces shaping its future, including trade, the environment, government policy, and farming practices. It looks at how social change and economic conditions influence how our food is produced, what we eat, and where we buy it. It also considers the question of food security and the links between poverty and hunger.

**October, 6 x 9, 150 pp.**  
 paper, 978-92-64-08083-6, \$19.00 / £10.00

**OECD FACTBOOK 2010**  
 Economic, Environmental and  
 Social Statistics



*OECD Factbook 2010* is a comprehensive and dynamic statistical annual with more than 100 indicators covering:

- Economy
- Agriculture
- Education
- Energy
- Environment
- Foreign Aid
- Health and Quality of Life
- Industry
- Information and Communications
- Population / Labor Force
- Trade and Investment
- Taxation, Public Expenditure, and R&D

The *Factbook* provides data for all OECD member countries as well as selected nonmember economies and area totals. For each indicator, there is a short introduction followed by a detailed definition of the indicator, comments on comparability of the data, an assessment of long-term trends related to the indicator, and a list of references for further information. The book also includes a focus chapter on the economic crisis and beyond.

A table and a graph illustrate the key message and a dynamic link (StatLink) for each table directs the user to a web page where the corresponding data are available in Excel® format.

**August, 7 x 10, 300 pp.**  
 paper, 978-92-64-08356-1, \$70.00 / £45.00

**OECD COUNTRIES**

Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Korea, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovak Republic, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States

## THE SPACE ECONOMY AT A GLANCE 2010



Space applications have become an important part of everyday life. Weather forecasting, air traffic control, global communications and broadcasting, disaster management, and many other key activities would be almost unthinkable today without satellite technology. The space industry itself is relatively small compared to other manufacturing sectors, but its technological dynamism and strategic significance mean that it plays an

ever more critical role in modern society.

*The Space Economy at a Glance 2010* paints a richly detailed picture of the international space industry, its downstream services activities, and its wider economic and social impacts. The book answers key questions such as: Who are the main space-faring nations? How large are revenues and how much employment is there in the sector? How much R&D goes on, and where? What is the value of spin-offs from space spending?

A dynamic link (StatLink) is provided for graphs, which directs the user to a web page where the corresponding data are available in Excel® format.

**November, 7 x 10, 100 pp.**  
**paper, 978-92-64-08464-3, \$40.00 / £26.00**

## OECD INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY OUTLOOK 2010

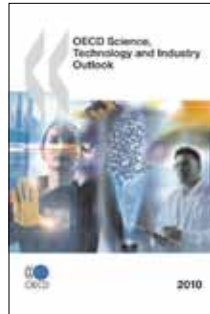


Information technology (IT) and the Internet are major drivers of research, innovation, growth, and social change. The 2010 edition of the *OECD Information Technology Outlook* analyzes the economic crisis and recovery and suggests that the outlook for IT goods and services industries is quite good. After weathering a very turbulent economic period it is, in fact, better than it was during the crisis at the beginning of the decade.

This book analyzes recent trends in OECD country information and communication technology policies (ICTs) to see if they are rising to the new challenges posed by the recovery. Priorities are now getting the economy moving, focusing on skills and employment, broadband diffusion, and R&D and venture finance. There is also a major new emphasis on using ICTs to tackle environmental problems and climate change.

**November, 7 x 10, 325 pp.**  
**paper, 978-92-64-08466-7, \$137.00 / £88.00**

## OECD SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INDUSTRY OUTLOOK 2010



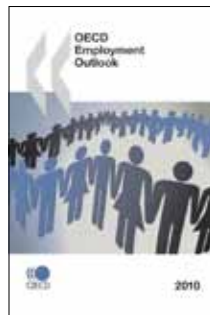
Global patterns of science, technology, and innovation are quickly changing. What are the implications for science and innovation policy? What steps are countries taking to boost their capabilities in science, technology and innovation? What is the contribution of science and innovation to growth and social goals?

The *OECD Science, Technology and Industry Outlook* reviews key trends in science, technology, and innovation in

OECD countries and a number of major nonmember economies. It provides an individual profile of the science and innovation performance of countries in relation to national context and current policy challenges. Using the latest available data and indicators, the book examines topics high on the agenda of science and innovation policymakers.

**December, 7 x 10, 150 pp.**  
**paper, 978-92-64-08467-4, \$70.00 / £45.00**

## OECD EMPLOYMENT OUTLOOK 2010



The 2010 edition of the *OECD Employment Outlook* reviews the most recent developments in the labor market. It also provides the OECD's first complete assessment of the scope and effects of the policy measures put forward during the current economic crisis. The book focuses on policies and institutions to promote a quick return to work and prevent long-term unemployment and on policies to foster skills development. The

analysis and policy recommendations are accompanied by a rich statistical annex including standardized unemployment rates and incidence and composition of part-time employment.

The *OECD Employment Outlook* covers OECD countries as well as the key emerging economies of Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, and South Africa.

### Contents

1. Moving Beyond the Jobs Crisis
2. The Global Crisis in Emerging Economies: The Jobs Impact and Policy Responses
3. Institutional and Policy Determinants of Labor Market Flows
4. How Good Is Part-Time Work?
5. Statistical Annex

**August, 7 x 10, 275 pp.**  
**paper, 978-92-64-08468-1, \$112.00 / £72.00**

## FIT NOT FAT Obesity and the Economics of Prevention

Obesity has risen to the top of the public health policy agenda in OECD countries. There is a popular perception that explanations for the obesity epidemic are simple and solutions are within easy reach. When looking at the data in more detail, however, a more complicated picture emerges. Simply finding objective evidence on the phenomenon is a difficult task for policymakers, health professionals, and academics who are trying to understand the epidemic and devise strategies to counter it.

*Fit not Fat* aims to contribute to evidence-based policymaking by examining multiple dimensions of the obesity problem. Answers to even the most basic questions economists would ask, such as the link between obesity and well-being or whether combating obesity is cost-effective, require inputs from a range of disciplines. The book analyzes the respective roles and influence of market forces and governments. It outlines an economic approach to the prevention of chronic diseases that provides additional insights relative to a more traditional public health approach.

September, 6 x 9, 200 pp.  
 paper, 978-92-64-06367-9, \$84.00 / £54.00

## LOBBYISTS, GOVERNMENTS AND PUBLIC TRUST, VOLUME 2 Promoting Integrity through Self-Regulation



This report looks at how the lobbying profession, using government- and self-regulation, is attempting to reform its reputation for undue influence peddling. The report documents self-regulation steps taken by lobbying associations in Europe. It also draws on the most comprehensive survey to date of lobbyists' attitudes toward self-regulation and regulation of their profession in Europe. It reviews the options for improving transparency

and accountability in lobbying and suggests ways in which government regulations and self-regulatory tools (codes of conduct, ethics training, enforcement mechanisms, registration) can be strengthened.

August, 6 x 9, 168 pp.  
 paper, 978-92-64-08493-3, \$39.00 / £25.00

## HIGHLIGHTS FROM EDUCATION AT A GLANCE 2010



This book is based on the OECD's annual compendium of education statistics, *Education at a Glance*. It provides concise and easily accessible data on key topics in education today, including:

- Education levels and student numbers: How far have adults studied, and what access do young people have to education?

- Economic and social benefits of education: How does education affect people's job prospects, and what is its impact on incomes?
- Paying for education: What share of public spending goes on education, and what is the role of private spending?
- The school environment: How many hours do teachers work, and how does class size vary?

Each indicator is presented on a two-page spread that explains its significance, discusses the main findings and key trends, and provides a roadmap for finding out more in the OECD education databases and in other OECD education publications. *Highlights from Education at a Glance 2010* is an ideal introduction to the OECD's unrivaled collection of internationally comparative data on education and learning.

October, 7 x 10, 94 pp.  
 paper, 978-92-64-08469-8, \$39.00 / £25.00

## OECD ECONOMIC SURVEYS United States 2010

*OECD Economic Surveys* are the OECD's periodic reviews of member and selected nonmember economies. These reports provide a solid analysis of developments in the subject country, special reports on topics of current interest, and extensive statistical information. They place an emphasis on comparing the situation in the subject country with those in the full OECD community.

This review of the United States includes an analysis of current economic conditions in the aftermath of the financial crisis and recession, along with special chapters on fiscal sustainability and climate change policy.

September, 7 x 10, 150 pp.  
 paper, 978-92-64-08328-8, \$75.00 / £45.00



## BEYOND NORTH KOREA Future Challenges to South Korea's Security

Byung Kwan Kim, Gi-Wook Shin, and David Straub, eds.

Why should Americans worry about South Korean security? The answer is clear: North Korea, and beyond. Most international attention to the North Korea problem has focused on U.S. policy, but South Korea's long-term role may in fact be more important. South Korea's security is vital to peace and stability, not only in Northeast Asia but also the wider world.

Written by eminent scholars, practitioners, and policymakers with extensive on-the-ground experience, *Beyond North Korea* assesses the varied contexts—regional and global, traditional and nontraditional—that underpin South Korea's varied security challenges. What are South Korea's military requirements? How do relations with its neighbors enhance or undermine its position? What economic, environmental, and demographic factors come into play? This book reveals that South Korea's national security rests as much on sound domestic policy choices as on successful interstate relations.

**General (ret.) Byung Kwan Kim** is the former deputy commander of ROK-US Combined Forces Command and the Commander of Ground Component Command. Most recently, he served as the inaugural Koret Fellow at Shorenstein APARC, Stanford University. **Gi-Wook Shin** is the director of Shorenstein APARC; the founding director of the Korean Studies Program; senior fellow at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies; and associate professor of sociology, all at Stanford University. **David Straub** is associate director of the Korean Studies Program at Shorenstein APARC. Straub retired from the U.S. Department of State in 2006 as a senior foreign service officer after a thirty-year career focused on Northeast Asian affairs.

December, 6 x 9, 360 pp.  
paper, 978-1-931368-19-3, \$28.95 / £19.99

## GOING PRIVATE IN CHINA The Politics of Corporate Restructuring and System Reform in the PRC

Jean C. Oi, ed.

As the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) set about reforming its centrally planned economy, it faced the thorny policy question of how to reform its state-owned enterprises (SOEs). Should it support a shift from public to private ownership of the means of production? Such a shift would challenge not only the CCP's socialist ideology but also its very legitimacy. Mixing the business of corporate restructuring with the politics of socialism presented nothing short of a policy nightmare.

With policy-relevant acuity, the contributors to this wide-ranging volume address the questions about reform programs that have plagued China—and East Asia more broadly—since the 1990s. While China, Japan, and South Korea have all been criticized for implementing reform too slowly or too selectively, this volume delves into the broader contexts underlying certain institutional decisions. The book seeks to show that seemingly different political economies actually share surprising similarities, and problems. While *Going Private in China* sheds new light on China's corporate restructuring, it also offers new perspectives on how we think about the process of institutional change.

**Jean C. Oi** is the William Haas Professor in Chinese Politics, a professor of political science, and a senior fellow at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies (FSI) all at Stanford University. She also directs the Stanford China Program.

December, 6 x 9, 360 pp.  
paper, 978-1-931368-22-3, \$28.95 / £19.99

## ADAPT, FRAGMENT, TRANSFORM Corporate Restructuring and System Reform in South Korea

Byung-Kook Kim, Eun Mee Kim, and Jean C. Oi, eds.



South Korea remains a puzzle for political economists. The country has experienced phenomenal economic growth since the 1960s, but its upward trajectory has

been repeatedly diverted by serious systemic crises, followed by spectacular recoveries. The recoveries are often the result of vigorous structural reforms that nonetheless retain many of South Korea's traditional economic institutions. How, then, can South Korea suffer from persistent systemic instability and yet prove so resilient? What remains the same and what changes?

The contributors to this volume consider the South Korean economy in its larger political context. Moving beyond the easy dichotomies—equilibrium vs. disequilibrium and stability vs. instability—they describe a complex and surprisingly robust economic and political system. Further, they argue that neither systemic challenges nor political pressures alone determine South Korea's stability and capacity for change. Instead, it is distinct patterns of interaction that shape this system's characteristics, development, and evolution.

**Byung-Kook Kim** directed the East Asia Institute (2002–08), before serving as the senior secretary for Foreign Affairs and National Security in the Lee Myung-bak presidency. **Eun Mee Kim** is professor at the Graduate School of International Studies and director of the Institute for Development and Human Security, Ewha Womans University in Seoul.

December, 6 x 9, 360 pp.  
paper, 978-1-931368-21-6, \$28.95 / £19.99

## AGING ASIA

### The Economic and Social Implications of Rapid Demographic Change in China, Japan, and South Korea

**Karen Eggleston and Shripad Tuljapurkar, eds.**



In the past fifty years, two factors have led to global population aging: a decline in fertility to levels close to—or even below—replacement and a decline in mortality that has increased world average life expectancy by nearly 67 percent.

As the population skews toward fewer young people and more elderly who live longer postretirement lives, demographic changes—labor force participation, savings, economic growth, living arrange-

ments, marriage markets, and social policy—are transforming society in fundamental, irreversible ways.

Nowhere are these effects of aging and demographic change more acute—nor their long-term effects more potentially significant—than in the Asia-Pacific region. How will these developments impact the economies and social protection systems of Japan, South Korea, China, and, by extension, the United States?

To assess this question, *Aging Asia* showcases cutting-edge, policy-relevant research. The first section focuses on demographic trends and their economic implications; the second section approaches select topics from a global comparative perspective, including social insurance financing, medical costs, and long-term care.

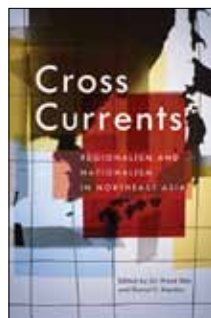
**Karen Eggleston** is the director of the Asia Health Policy Program (AHPP) at Shorenstein APARC, Stanford University. **Shripad Tuljapurkar** is professor of biology and the Dean & Virginia Morrison Professor of Population Studies at Stanford University. He also directs demographic programs at Stanford's Center for the Demography, Economics and Health of Aging, and the Stanford Center for Population Research in the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences.

**October, 6 x 9, 360 pp.**

**paper, 978-1-931368-20-9, \$28.95 / £19.99**

#### OF RELATED INTEREST

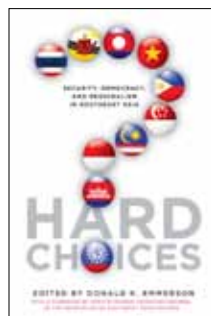
The titles in Shorenstein APARC's three-part series on regionalism—in Northeast, Southeast, and South Asia—offer provocative, detailed perspectives by some of the finest scholars working in Asian studies today. In publishing these books, Shorenstein APARC hopes to bring this important material to a wider audience and thereby advance understanding of Asian regionalism and its impact on nations both within Asia and beyond it.



### CROSS CURRENTS Regionalism and Nationalism in Northeast Asia

**Gi-Wook Shin and Daniel C. Sneider, eds.**

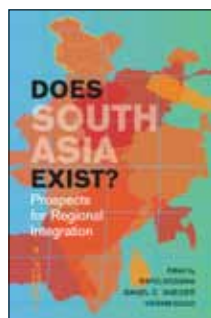
**paper, 978-1-931368-10-0, \$24.95 / £14.99**



### HARD CHOICES Security, Democracy, and Regionalism in Southeast Asia

**Donald K. Emmerson, ed.**

**paper, 978-1-931368-13-1, \$28.95 / £16.99**



### DOES SOUTH ASIA EXIST? Prospects for Regional Integration

**Rafiq Dossani, Daniel C. Sneider, and Vikram Sood, eds.**

**paper, 978-1-931368-17-9, \$28.95 / £20.99**

## MANAGING THE CRISIS A Comparative Analysis of Economic Governance in 14 Countries



The global economic crisis has affected all major economies, even those with a sound financial sector and macroeconomic stability. While many analyses have been focused on stabilization and stimulus programs, the underlying quality of political decisionmaking and economic governance has yet to receive thorough attention.

This study offers 14 detailed country reports, analyzing the crisis response in advanced economies such as Germany, Sweden, the UK, and the United States, as well as in emerging markets in Brazil, Chile, China, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Russia, South Africa, South Korea, and Turkey.

The major world economies pursued different paths in terms of political priorities, strategic planning, speed and effectiveness in implementation, communication, and consultation. Accordingly, the effects of their crisis management differ greatly. By offering a critical comparative assessment of the various strategies employed and the different governance qualities exhibited, using a standardized set of criteria, this survey contributes to improving political learning and fostering the exchange of good practice.

Contributors include **Sabine Donner**, senior project manager; **Hauke Hartmann**, senior project manager; and **Andrea Kuhn**, project manager, all with Bertelsmann Stiftung.

**2010, 6 x 9, 48 pp.**  
**paper, 978-3-86793-077-2, \$20.00 / £14.00**  
**Includes CD-ROM**

## PRIORITIZING INTEGRATION The Transatlantic Council on Migration



The global recession is having a major impact on immigrant integration. With cuts in public budgets and a rise in anti-immigrant sentiment on both sides of the Atlantic, many governments have made short-term decisions responding to the economic crisis that will have long-term implications for immigrants and the broader society.

*Prioritizing Integration* assesses where immigrants have lost ground—using evidence such as levels of funding for educational programs, employment rates, trends toward protectionism, public opinion, and levels of discrimination. It also considers how immigrants may have benefited from the crisis.

This systematic look at where and how immigrants have been affected by the recession concludes with a set of priorities for the integration-related investments national and local governments should be making in the coming decade. These investments are designed to boost economic competitiveness and improve social cohesion.

*Copublished with the Migration Policy Institute*

**November, 6 x 9, 220 pp.**  
**paper, 978-3-86793-071-0, \$25.00 / £16.00**

## EXTENDING SOCIAL SECURITY TO ALL A Guide through Challenges and Options

Social security represents an investment in a nation's human infrastructure. This book outlines basic concepts such as the social protection floor and the social security staircase, analyzes the affordability of various approaches, and examines the results of practices around the world, especially in low- and middle-income countries.

The second part of *Extending Social Security to All* weighs the pros and cons of conditional cash transfers. Based on a wealth of statistics, it argues that effective social transfer programs not only alleviate poverty but also improve labor market participation, productivity, nutrition, health care, education, consumption, and social inclusion. The book demonstrates that such investment can benefit poorer countries as well as richer ones. Even in times of tightened budgets and global economic crisis, the dividends are well worth the expenditure.

**September, 8¼ x 11¼, 190 pp.  
paper, 978-92-2-123064-9, \$50.00**

## THE FUNDAMENTALS OF LABOUR ADMINISTRATION

**Giuseppe Casale and  
Alagandram Sivananthiran**



Well-coordinated, professional, and efficient labor administration machinery is essential to the effective governance of the labor market. This unique volume clearly sets out the role, functions, and organization of labor administration. It highlights the relationship between social policy and economic policy and identifies the vast array of services that most people have access to during their working lives. It gives a comprehensive overview of the main principles of labor administration—covering labor legislation, industrial relations, working conditions, and employment—and describes ways in which current challenges can be met through policy, organization, coordination, and management.

This book will be valuable resource for labor administrators, labor inspectors, conciliators, employment service officials, governments, workers, employers, researchers, and professionals.

**Giuseppe Casale** is the director of the Labor Administration and Inspection Program at the International Labor Office. **Alagandram Sivananthiran** is a former senior labor administrator from Malaysia and served as senior labor administration specialist with the ILO from 1995 to 2007.

**2010, 6½ x 9¼, 92 pp.  
paper, 978-92-2-122999-5, \$28.00**

## INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MIGRATION A Rights-Based Approach



This book provides a comprehensive and accessible overview of international labor migration and the ILO's efforts to protect migrant workers through a rights-based approach. It offers new insights on the factors that motivate people to seek work outside their country of origin and on the significant development effects on both origin and destination countries.

Exposing the often-limited access of migrant workers to their fundamental rights at work, the book describes in detail the international norms that have evolved to protect migrant workers and ensure decent work for all. It reflects on existing and potential international governance structures, addressing the linkages between migration and development, and reviews the role of the ILO's Multilateral Framework on Labor Migration in improving policymaking and international cooperation in the area of labor migration.

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## OFFSHORING AND WORKING CONDITIONS IN REMOTE WORK

Jon Messenger and Naj Ghosheh, eds.

Advances in information and communication technologies, combined with organizations seeking to reduce costs, have led to a dramatic growth in service sector offshoring and outsourcing, most notably to developing countries such as India. Despite burgeoning literature on this phenomenon, however, little attention has been paid to the working and employment conditions that exist in the growing number of workplaces providing business-process outsourcing and IT-enabled services in developing countries.

This book examines and provides a historical context for the development of the business-process outsourcing industry, based on case study analysis of working conditions in four countries where this industry is large or growing—Argentina, Brazil, India, and the Philippines. The contributors offer policy advice on how the growth of “good quality” jobs can be promoted as these industries grow and mature around the world.

**Jon Messenger** is a senior research officer in the Conditions of Work and Employment Program at the International Labor Organization (ILO). **Naj Ghosheh** a research officer in the Conditions of Work and Employment Program at ILO.

*Copublished with Palgrave Macmillan*

August, 6½ x 9¼, 304 pp.  
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## WORLD SOCIAL SECURITY REPORT 2010 Providing Coverage in Times of Crisis and Beyond

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## THE EMPLOYMENT RELATIONSHIP A Comparative Overview

Giuseppe Casale

Changes in the world of work have modified traditional notions of the employment relationship. These changes shape the scope of protection and application of labor legislation and automatically affect the way labor law is implemented. *The Employment Relationship* provides cross-national analysis of this important phenomenon.

It has become increasingly difficult to determine who is or is not in a legally defined employment relationship—and therefore subject to certain regulations. At the same time, globalization has increased the need for employee protection against the circumvention of national labor legislation by contractual and other legal arrangements. This book examines how labor legislation applies to the realm of the employment relationship. It discusses terms, notions, definitions, laws, and practices in the various regions of the world.

**Giuseppe Casale** is the director of the Labor Administration and Inspection Program at the International Labor Office.

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## TRADE AND EMPLOYMENT IN THE GLOBAL CRISIS

Marion Jansen and Erik von Uexkull

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Key topics covered include how changes in trade flows affect the labor market, the role of price volatility and demand shocks in the recent crisis, and how export concentration makes countries more vulnerable. The book also takes an in-depth look at the strategies households have developed to cope with the crisis and on the effects of the crisis on inequality and bargaining power. Finally, the study reviews how policy instruments designed to protect workers have fared and makes recommendations for responses to future crises.

**Marion Jansen** is a senior economist in the Employment Sector at the International Labor Office. **Erik von Uexkull** is an economic officer in the Employment Sector at ILO.

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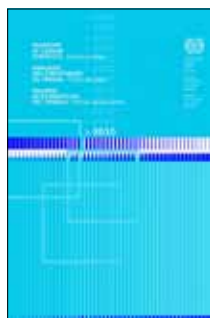
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**Pascal Blanqué** is chief investment officer and head of institutional business for Credit Agricole, a major international asset management company. He formerly served as chief economist and head of research of a large international banking group.

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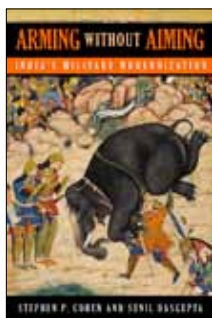




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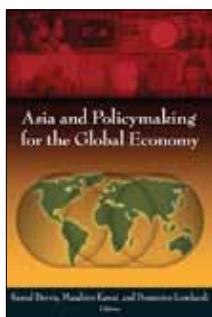
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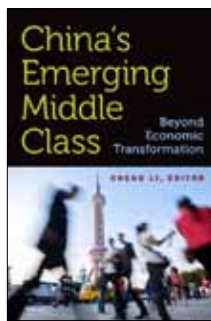
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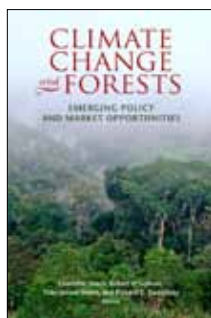
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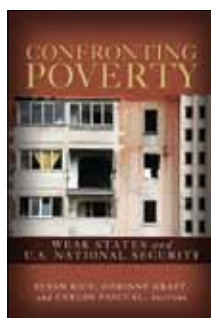
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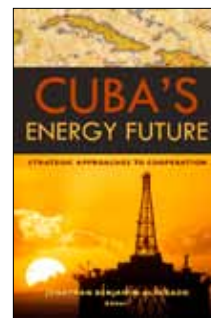
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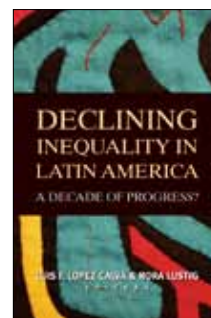
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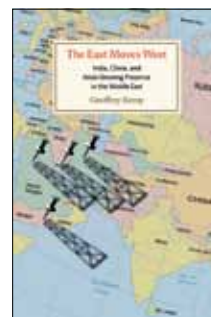
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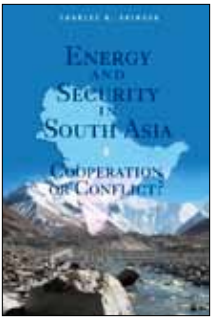
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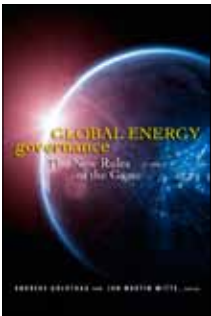


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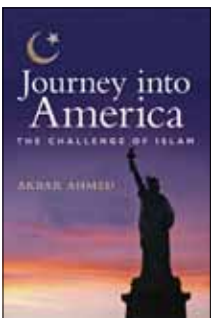


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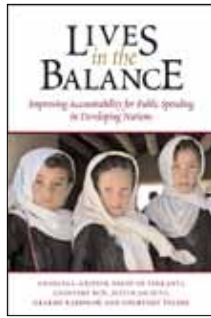


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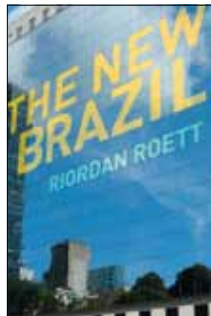


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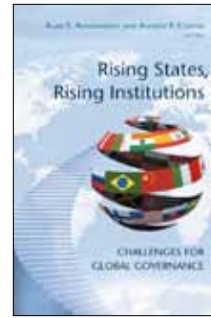
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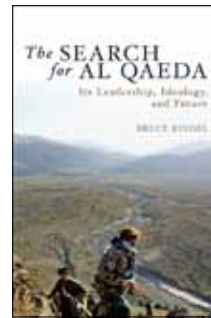


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