

B | Brookings Institution Press

SPRING 2017



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In its conferences, publications, and other activities, Brookings serves as a bridge between scholarship and policymaking, bringing new knowledge to the attention of decision-makers and affording scholars greater insight into public policy issues. The Institution's activities are carried out through five core research programs (Economic Studies, Foreign Policy, Governance Studies, Metropolitan Policy, and Global Economy and Development), as well as through the Brookings Institution Press, which publishes about forty books a year.

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Beyond Snowden

Privacy, Mass Surveillance, and the Struggle to Reform the NSA

TIMOTHY H. EDGAR

America's mass surveillance programs, once secret, can no longer be ignored. While Edward Snowden began the process in 2013 with his leaks of top secret documents, the Obama administration's own reforms have also helped bring the National Security Agency and its programs of intelligence collection out of the shadows. The real question is: What should we do about mass surveillance?

Timothy Edgar, a long-time civil liberties activist who worked inside the intelligence community for six years during the Bush and Obama administrations, believes that the NSA's programs are a profound threat to the privacy of everyone in the world. At the same time, he argues that mass surveillance programs can be made consistent with democratic values, if we make the hard choices needed to bring transparency, accountability, privacy, and human rights protections into complex programs of intelligence collection. Although the NSA and other agencies already comply with rules intended to prevent them from spying on Americans, Edgar argues that the rules—most of which date from the 1970s—are inadequate for this century. Reforms adopted during the Obama administration are a good first step but, in his view, do not go nearly far enough.

Edgar notes that our communications today—and the national security threats we face—are both global and digital. *Beyond Snowden* explains why and how we can protect our privacy, without sacrificing the vital intelligence capabilities we need to preserve our safety and that of our allies. If we do, we set a positive example for other nations that must confront challenges such as terrorism while preserving human rights. The United States already leads the world in mass surveillance. It can lead the world in mass surveillance reform.

Timothy H. Edgar was the first director of privacy and civil liberties for the White House National Security staff under President Obama. Currently he is senior fellow at the Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs at Brown University and serves as the academic director for law and policy in Brown's Executive Master of Cybersecurity program.

>Beyond

Snowden

>Privacy, Mass

Surveillance, and

the Struggle to

Reform the NSA

>Timothy

H. Edgar

May 2017, 6 x 9, 166 pp.
cloth, 9780815729637, \$21.99†
ebook, 9780815729709, \$21.99

**Safeguarding our privacy
and our values in an age
of mass surveillance**

PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED

Dream Hoarders

How the American Upper Middle Class Is Leaving Everyone Else in the Dust, Why That Is a Problem, and What to Do About It

RICHARD V. REEVES

It is now conventional wisdom to focus on the wealth of the top 1 percent—especially the top 0.01 percent—and how the ultra-rich are concentrating income and prosperity while incomes for most other Americans are stagnant. But the most important, consequential, and widening gap in American society is between the upper middle class and everyone else.

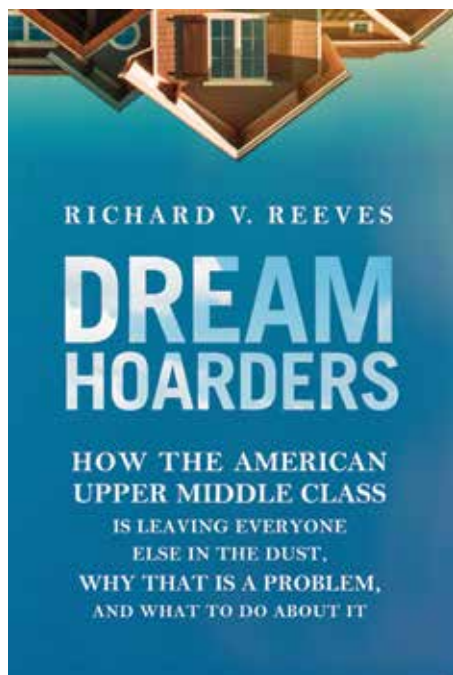
Reeves defines the upper middle class as those whose incomes are in the top 20 percent of American society. Income is not the only way to measure a society, but in a market economy it is crucial because access to money generally determines who gets the best quality education, housing, health care, and other necessary goods and services.

As Reeves shows, the growing separation between the upper middle class and everyone else can be seen in family structure, neighborhoods, attitudes, and lifestyle. Those at the top of the income ladder are becoming more effective at passing on their status to their children, reducing overall social mobility. The result is not just an economic divide but a fracturing of American society along class lines. Upper-middle-class children become upper-middle-class adults.

These trends matter because the separation and perpetuation of the upper middle class corrode prospects for more progressive approaches to policy. Various forms of “opportunity hoarding” among the upper middle class make it harder for others to rise up to the top rung. Examples include zoning laws and schooling, occupational licensing, college application procedures, and the allocation of internships. Upper-middle-class opportunity hoarding, Reeves argues, results in a less competitive economy as well as a less open society.

Inequality is inevitable and can even be good, within limits. But Reeves argues that society can take effective action to reduce opportunity hoarding and thus promote broader opportunity. This fascinating book shows how American society has become the very class-defined society that earlier Americans rebelled against—and what can be done to restore a more equitable society.

Richard V. Reeves is a senior fellow in Economic Studies, co-director of the Center on Children and Families, and editor-in-chief of the Social Mobility Memos blog at the Brookings Institution.



June 2017, 6 x 9, 240 pp.
cloth, 9780815729129, \$24.00†
ebook, 9780815729136, \$23.99

**America is becoming
a class-based society
and the gap between the
upper middle class and
everyone else is widening**

BROOKINGS INSTITUTION PRESS

Unwinding Madness

What Went Wrong with College Sports—and How to Fix It

GERALD GURNEY, DONNA A. LOPIANO, and ANDREW ZIMBALIST

Unwinding Madness is the most comprehensive examination to date of how the NCAA (National Collegiate Athletic Association) has lost its way in the governance of intercollegiate athletics—and why it is incapable of achieving reform and must be replaced. The NCAA has placed commercial success above its responsibilities to protect the academic primacy, health, and well-being of college athletes and has fallen into an educational, ethical, and economic crisis.

As long as intercollegiate athletics reside in the higher education environment, these programs must be academically compatible with their larger institutions, subordinate to their educational mission, and defensible from a not-for-profit organizational standpoint. The issue has never been a matter of whether intercollegiate athletics belongs in higher education as an extracurricular offering. Rather, the perennial challenge has been how these programs have been governed and conducted.

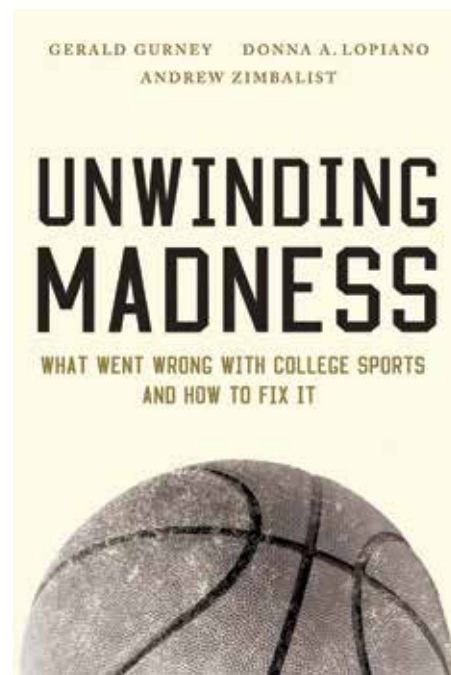
The authors propose detailed solutions, starting with the creation of a new national governance organization to replace the NCAA. At the college level, these proposals will not diminish the revenue production capacity of sports programs but will restore academic integrity to the enterprise, provide fairer treatment of college athletes with better health protections, and restore the rights and freedoms of athletes, which have been taken away by a professionalized athletics mentality that controls the cost of its athlete labor force and overpays coaches and athletic directors.

Unwinding Madness recognizes that there is no easy fix to the problems now facing college athletics. But the book does offer common sense, doable solutions that respect the rights of athletes and can protect their health and well-being while delivering on the promise of a bona fide educational degree program.

Gerald Gurney is an assistant professor of education at the University of Oklahoma and a past president of both the Drake Group and the National Association of Academic Advisers for Athletics.

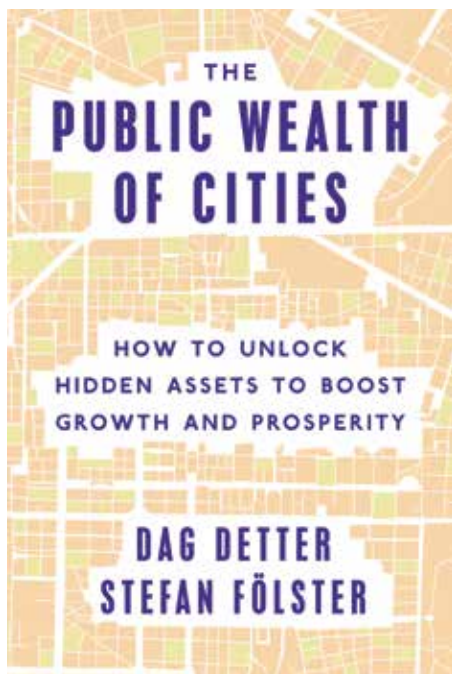
Donna A. Lopiano is the president of Sports Management Resources, a consulting firm, and an adjunct lecturer in sports management at Southern Connecticut State University.

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



January 2017, 6 x 9, 310 pp.
cloth, 978-0-8157-3002-6, \$27.99
ebook, 978-0-8157-3003-3, \$27.99

A critical look at the tension between the larger role of the university and the commercialization of college sports



May 2017, 6 x 9, 233 pp.
cloth, 978-0-8157-2998-3, \$29.99t
ebook, 978-0-8157-2999-0, \$29.99

**How to leverage
existing resources to
meet the current and
future needs of cities**

The Public Wealth of Cities

How to Unlock Hidden Assets to Boost Growth and Prosperity

DAG DETTER *and* STEFAN FÖLSTER

Crumbling streets and bridges. Poorly performing schools and inadequate social services. These are common complaints in cities, which too often struggle just to keep the lights on, much less make the long-term investments necessary for future generations.

It doesn't have to be this way. This book by two internationally recognized experts in public finance describes a new way of restoring economic vitality and financial stability to cities, using steps that already have been proven remarkably successful. The key is unlocking social, human, and economic wealth that cities already own but is out of sight—or “hidden.” A focus on existing public wealth helps to shift attention and resources from short-term spending to longer-term investments that can vastly raise the quality of life for many generations of urban residents.

A crucial first step is to understand a city's balance sheet—too few cities comprehend how valuable a working tool this can be. With this in hand, taxpayers, politicians, and investors can better recognize the long-term consequences of political decisions and make choices that mobilize real returns rather than rely on more taxes, debt, or austerity.

Another hidden asset is real estate. Even poor cities own large swathes of poorly utilized land, or they control underperforming utilities and other commercial assets. Most cities could more than double their investments with smarter use of these commercial assets. Managing the city's assets smartly through the authors' proposed Urban Wealth Funds—at arm's-length from short-term political influence—will enable cities to ramp up much needed infrastructure investments.

Dag Detter is managing director of Detter & Co, specializing in unlocking public wealth.

Stefan Fölster is director of the Reform Institute in Sweden and associate professor of economics at the Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm.

What We Owe

Truths, Myths, and Lies about Public Debt

CARLO COTTARELLI

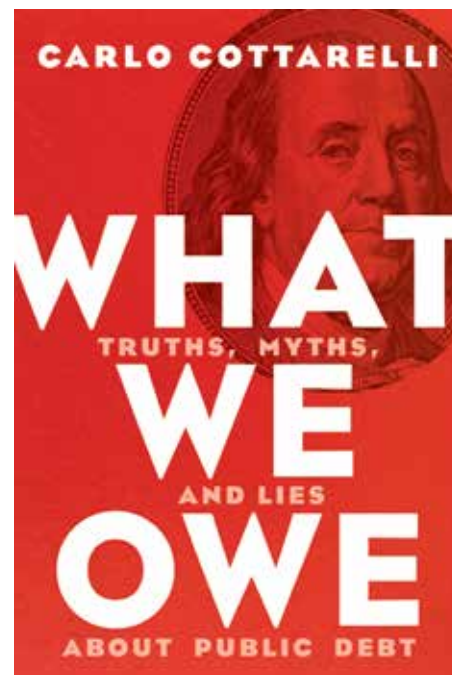
The euro crisis, Japan's sluggish economy, and partisan disagreements in the United States about the role of government all have at least one thing in common: worries about high levels of public debt. Nearly everyone agrees that public debt in many advanced economies is too high to be sustainable and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

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

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

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

Carlo Cottarelli has devoted almost all of his career to studying and working on public finance. After receiving degrees in economics from the University of Siena and the London School of Economics, he joined the Research Department of the Bank of Italy, where he worked from 1981 to 1987 in the Monetary and Financial Sector Division. He joined the IMF in 1988, working for the European Department, the Monetary and Capital Markets Department, the Policy Development and Review Department, and the Fiscal Affairs Department, which he headed from November 2008 to October 2013. Cottarelli served in 2013–14 as commissioner of public spending reform in his native Italy.



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

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

The Short History series is a collection of books on the most important social, cultural, economic, and political concerns we face. Written by leading scholars and thinkers, these concise volumes provide an understanding of today's important topics and how they are transforming our world.



April 2017, 4 x 7, 100 pp.
paper, 9780815727910, \$14.95t
ebook, 9780815727927, \$14.99

Corruption

A Short History

CARLO ALBERTO BRIOSCHI

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

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

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

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

Marijuana

A Short History

JOHN HUDAK

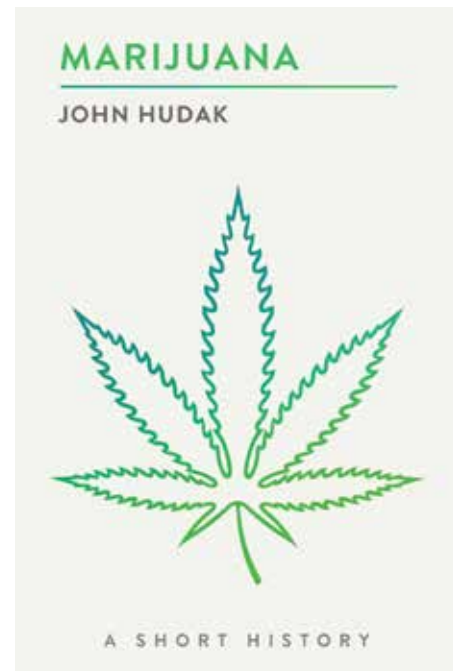
October 2016, 4.38 x 7, 240 pp.
paper, 9780815729068, \$14.95†
ebook, 9780815729075, \$14.99



Global Cities

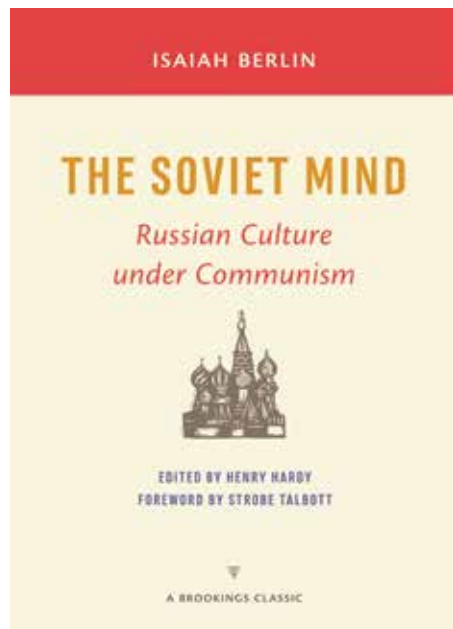
A Short History

GREG CLARK



November 2016, 4.38 x 7, 224 pp.
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August 2016, 5.5 x 8.5, 336 pp.
paper, 9780815728870, \$25.00
ebook, 9780815728887, \$24.99

“Berlin’s great powers of observation combine with his great knowledge and literary gifts to provide us with a fascinating series of insights.”

—Geoffrey Riklin

The Soviet Mind

Russian Culture under Communism

ISAIAH BERLIN

Edited by HENRY HARDY

Foreword by STROBE TALBOTT

George Kennan, the architect of U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union, called Isaiah Berlin “a patron saint among the commentators on the Russian scene.” In *The Soviet Mind*, Berlin proves himself worthy of that accolade. Although the essays in this book were originally written to explore tensions between Soviet Communism and Russian culture, the thinking about the Russian mind that emerges is as relevant today under Putin in post-Communist Russia as it was when this book first appeared more than a decade ago.

Berlin’s editor, Henry Hardy, prepared the essays for original publication as a compilation in 2004, explaining their original contexts in detail. For this new Brookings Classic edition, he has added a previously unpublished talk—“Marxist versus Non-Marxist Ideas in Soviet Policy”—and a summary of a speech on Communism, once again providing historical background. The essays in *The Soviet Mind* show Berlin at his most brilliant and are invaluable for policymakers, students, and anyone interested in Russian politics and thought—past, present, and future.

Isaiah Berlin (1909–97) was a Russian-born British philosopher, university teacher, and historian famed for his intellectual brilliance but also for his ability to explain complex ideas in a remarkably accessible style. He taught philosophy and social and political theory for most of his life at Oxford University, where he was the founding president of Wolfson College.

Camp David

Peacemaking and Politics

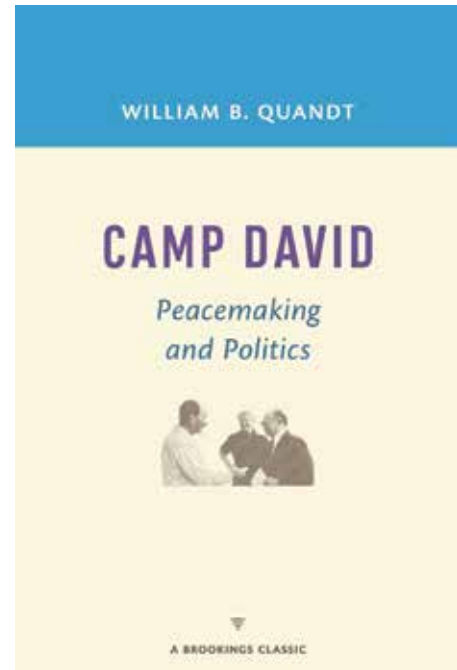
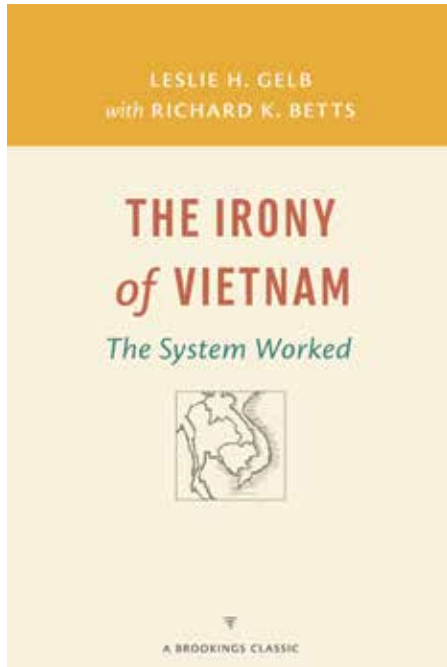
WILLIAM B. QUANDT

FOREWORD *by* MARTIN S. INDYK

September 2016, 5.5 × 8.5, 486 pp.

paper, 9780815726784, \$25.00†

ebook, 9780815726791, \$24.99



December 2015, 5.5 x 8.5, 538 pp.

paper, 9780815726753, \$25.00†

ebook, 9780815726760, \$24.99

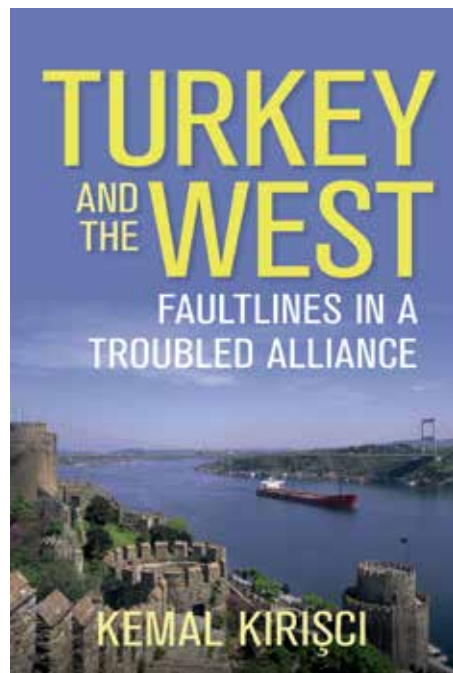
The Irony of Vietnam

The System Worked

LESLIE H. GELB *with* RICHARD K. BETTS

FOREWORD *by* FAREED ZAKARIA

This series of influential books from the Order from Chaos project at Brookings examine the major dynamics at play internationally and offer ideas and strategies to guide critical countries and key leaders on how they should act to preserve and reinvigorate the established international order to secure peace and prosperity for another generation.



July 2017, 6 x 9, 200 pp.
cloth, 9780815730002, \$29.99
ebook, 9780815730019, \$29.99

Turkey: A necessary ally in a troubled region

Turkey and the West

Faultlines in a Troubled Alliance

KEMAL KIRIŞCI

The new U.S. president taking office in January 2017 will face daunting challenges to the international liberal order, ranging from a fragile European Union rocked by Great Britain's exit, to a Cold War-like rivalry with Russia and instability in the Middle East. A long-time member of NATO, Turkey stands at the front lines of many of these challenges, most dramatically in caring for nearly 3 million refugees from neighboring war-torn countries. Yet, it is failing to play a more constructive role in supporting this order, and its leadership is in frequent conflict with its Western allies. As a result, many in the West now question whether Turkey functions as a dependable ally for the United States and other NATO members.

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

Western policymakers must keep in mind three on-the-ground realities that might work to their advantage. First, Turkey remains deeply integrated within the transatlantic community, a fact that has imbued it with prestige in the region. But this prestige has been squandered by the recent trajectory of Turkey's foreign policy. To regain it, Turkey must renew close cooperation with the West.

The second reality is that chaos in the neighborhood has resulted in the loss of lucrative markets for Turkish exports—which means Turkey must turn increasingly to Western markets.

Third, Turkish national security is threatened by developments in Syria and the state of affairs with Russia, enhancing the value of Turkey's "troubled alliance" with the West. However, the big question is whether rising authoritarianism in Turkey can be halted and its democracy restored so that the faultlines can be closed and a constructive re-engagement between the Turkey and the West can take place.

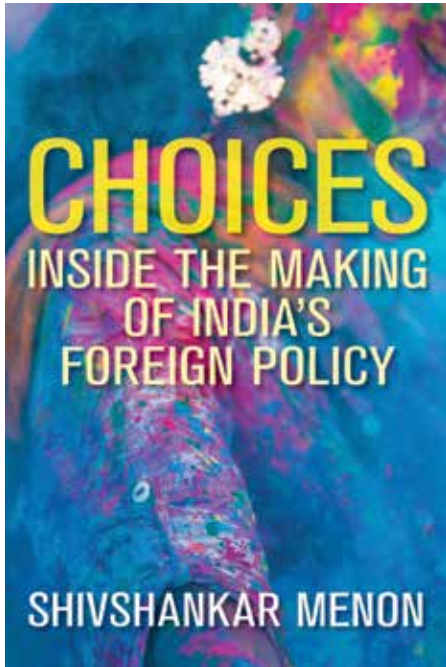
Kemal Kirişçi is the TÜSIAD senior fellow and director of the Center on the United States and Europe's Turkey Project at Brookings, with an expertise in Turkish foreign policy and migration studies.

Aspirational Power

Brazil on the Long Road to Global Influence

DAVID R. MARES *and* HAROLD A. TRINKUNAS

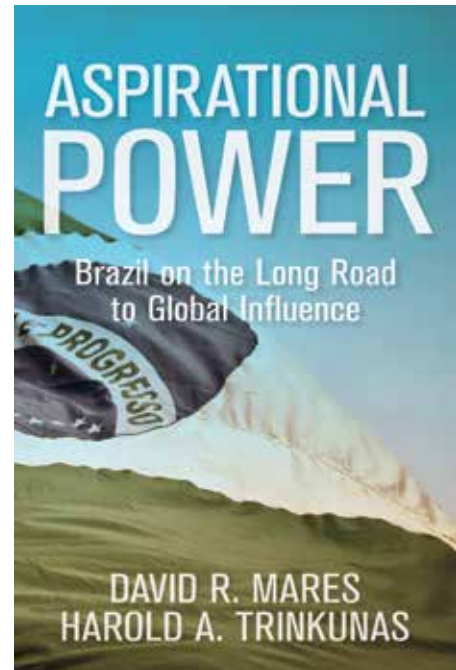
November 2016, 6 x 9, 213 pp.
cloth, 9780815729105, \$26.00
ebook, 9780815729112, \$25.99



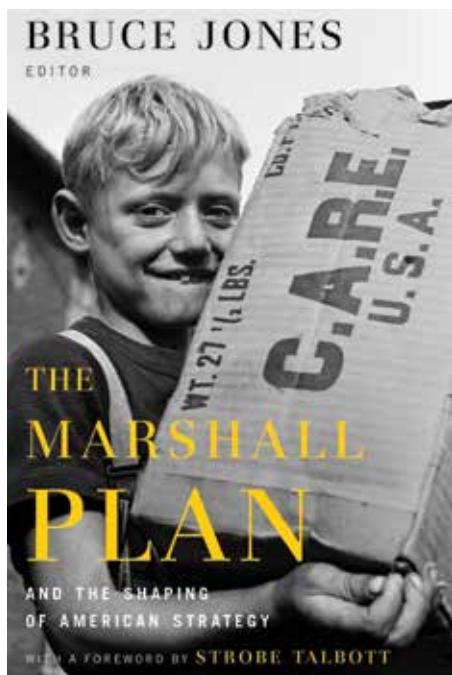
Choices

Inside the Making of India's Foreign Policy

SHIVSHANKAR MENON



June 2016, 6 x 9, 240 pp.
cloth, 9780815727958, \$32.00
ebook, 9780815727965, \$25.99



February 2017, 4.9 x 7.2, 120 pp.
cloth, 9780815729532, \$19.99
ebook, 9780815729549, \$19.99

**How the United States
helped restore a Europe
battered by World War II
and created the
foundation for the postwar
international order**

The Marshall Plan and the Shaping of American Strategy

EDITED *by* BRUCE JONES

FOREWORD *by* STROBE TALBOTT

Seventy years ago, in the wake of World War II, the United States did something almost unprecedented in world history: It launched and paid for an economic aid plan to restore a continent reeling from war. The European Recovery Plan—better known as the Marshall Plan, after chief advocate Secretary of State George C. Marshall—was in part an act of charity but primarily an act of self-interest, intended to prevent postwar Western Europe from succumbing to communism. By speeding the recovery of Europe and establishing the basis for NATO and diplomatic alliances that endure to this day, it became one of the most successful U.S. government programs ever.

The Brookings Institution played an important role in the adoption of the Marshall Plan. At the request of Arthur Vandenberg, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Brookings scholars analyzed the plan, including the specifics of how it could be implemented. Their report gave Vandenberg the information he needed to shepherd the plan through a Republican-dominated Congress in a presidential election year.

In his foreword to this book, Brookings president Strobe Talbott reviews the global context in which the Truman administration pushed the Marshall Plan through Congress, as well as Brookings' role in that process. The book includes Marshall's landmark speech at Harvard University in June 1947 laying out the rationale for the European aid program, the full text of the report from Brookings analyzing the plan, and the lecture Marshall gave upon receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in 1953. The book concludes with an essay by Bruce Jones and Will Moreland that demonstrates how the Marshall Plan helped shape the entire postwar era and how today's leaders can learn from the plan's challenges and successes.

Bruce Jones is a vice president and director of the Foreign Policy program at Brookings and a senior fellow in the Project on International Order and Strategy at Brookings.

The Eagle and the Trident

U.S.-Ukraine Relations in Turbulent Times

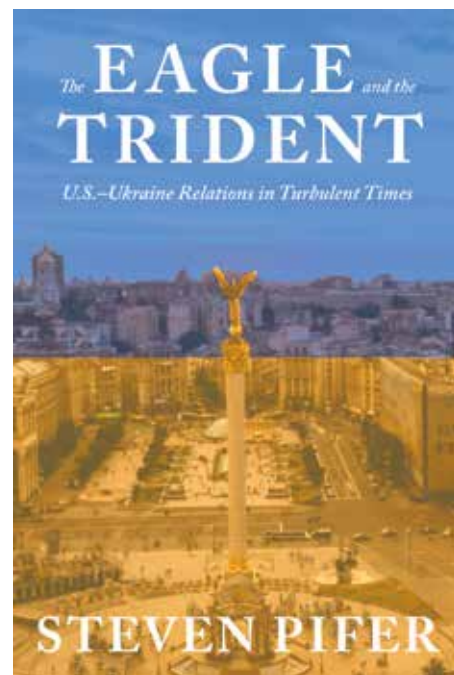
STEVEN PIFER

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

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

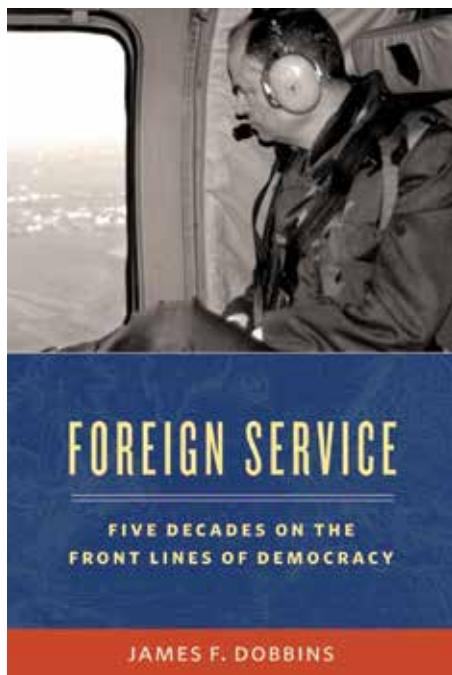
The author reflects on what worked and what did not work in the various U.S. approaches toward Ukraine. He also offers a practitioner's recommendations for current U.S. policies in the context of ongoing uncertainty about the political stability of Ukraine and Russia's long-term intentions toward its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

Steven Pifer is a senior fellow in the Foreign Policy program at the Brookings Institution whose career spanned twenty-six years in the Department of State as a Foreign Service officer. From 1998 to 2000 he served as U.S. ambassador to Ukraine.



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cloth, 9780815730408, \$29.99
ebook, 9780815730620, \$29.99

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



June 2017, 6 x 9, 346 pp.
cloth, 9780815730040, \$29.99†
ebook, 9780815730200, \$29.99

Foreign Service

Five Decades on the Frontlines of American Diplomacy

JAMES F. DOBBINS

A Co-publication with RAND Corporation

From Vietnam in the 1960s to Afghanistan in this decade, James Dobbins was on the frontlines of American diplomacy and worked to advance U.S. national interests in some of the world's most difficult and troubled arenas.

In *Foreign Service*, Dobbins takes the reader behind the scenes at the Vietnam peace talks, the darkest days of the Cold War, the reunification of Germany, the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the U.S. military interventions in Afghanistan, Bosnia, Haiti, Kosovo, and Somalia. He provides a thoughtful insider's account of all these ventures, analyzes the sources of both success and failure, and provides incisive portraits of many of the chief actors.

Presidents Clinton, Bush, and Obama turned repeatedly to Dobbins as a diplomatic trouble-shooter with the right instincts and experience to help find solutions for seemingly irresolvable problems. *Foreign Service* vividly captures why they did.

James F. Dobbins served as assistant secretary of state for Europe, special assistant to the president for the Western Hemisphere, special adviser to the president and secretary of state for the Balkans, ambassador to the European Community, and special envoy for Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, and Kosovo, and Afghanistan.

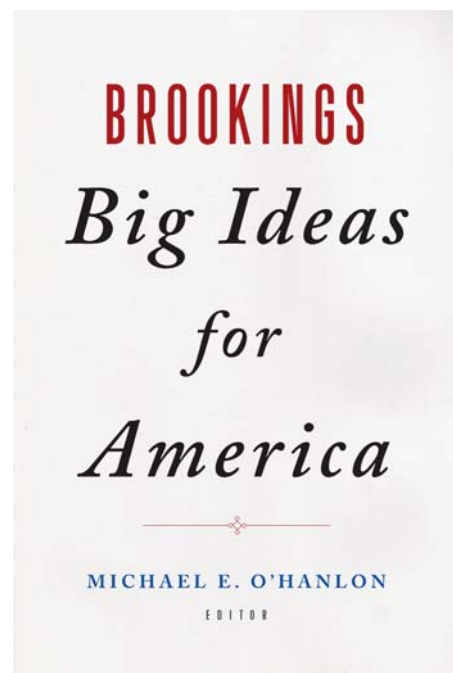
**A behind-the-scenes
look at 50 years
of U.S. diplomacy**

Brookings Big Ideas for America

MICHAEL E. O'HANLON, EDITOR

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

Michael O'Hanlon is a senior fellow in Foreign Policy at the Brookings Institution, where he specializes in U.S. defense strategy, the use of military force, and American national security policy. He co-directs the Center on 21st Century Security and Intelligence there with retired General John Allen. O'Hanlon is also director of research for the Foreign Policy program at Brookings. He is an adjunct professor at Columbia, Princeton, and Syracuse universities and University of Denver.



January 2017, 6 x 9, 280 pp.
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**The biggest issues
facing the United States
and the best ideas for
how to address them.**

PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED

The Water Problem

Climate Change and Water Policy in the United States

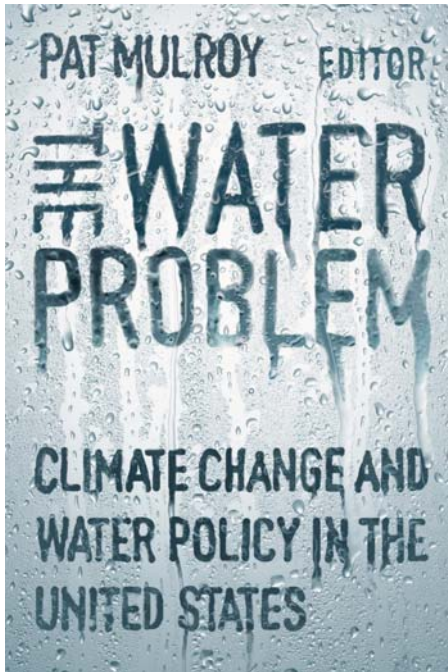
PAT MULROY, EDITOR

The United States faces a water crisis as critical as the energy crisis that once dominated headlines. Like the energy crisis, a solution can be found. Pat Mulroy, for many years general manager of the Southern Nevada Water Authority, the lead negotiator on the Colorado River for the State of Nevada, and a Brookings fellow, has gathered a number of practitioners and scholars to show us why we face a crisis caused by climate change and what we can do to alleviate it.

While the focus recently has been on California, with its water restrictions and drought, many other parts of the United States are also suffering from current and potential water shortages that will only be exacerbated by climate change. *The Water Problem* takes us to Miami and the problem of rising oceans fouling freshwater reservoirs; Kansas and Nebraska, where intensive farming is draining age-old aquifers; and to the Southwest United States, where growing populations are creating enormous stresses on the already strained Colorado River.

Mulroy and her contributors explore not just the problems, but also what we can do now to put in place measures to deal with a very real crisis.

Pat Mulroy is a Brookings nonresident senior fellow for climate adaptation and environmental policy at the Metropolitan Policy Program located at the University of Nevada Las Vegas, Boyd School of Law. She also serves as the senior faculty advisor for water resources and technology at the Desert Research Institute.



March 2017, 6 x 9, 240 pp.
paper, 9780815727842, \$35.00
ebook, 9780815727866, \$34.99

**Building water resilience
is the single biggest
challenge in a changing
global climate.**

BROOKINGS INSTITUTION PRESS

PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED

Loan Sharks

The Birth of Predatory Lending

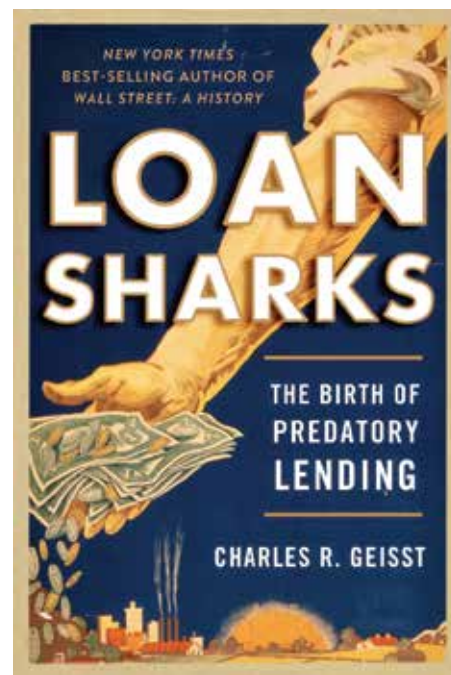
CHARLES R. GEISST

Looking for an investment return that could exceed 500 percent annually; maybe even twice that much?

Private, unregulated lending to high-risk borrowers is the answer, or at least it was in the United States for much of the period from the Civil War to the onset of the early decades of the twentieth century. Newspapers called the practice “loan sharking” because lenders employed the same ruthlessness as the great predators in the ocean. Slowly state and federal governments adopted laws and regulations curtailing the practice, but organized crime continued to operate much of the business. In the end, lending to high-margin investors contributed directly to the Wall Street crash of 1929.

Loan Sharks is the first history of predatory lending in the United States. It traces the origins of modern consumer lending to such older practices as salary buying and hidden interest charges. Yet, as Geisst shows, no-holds-barred loan sharking is not a thing of the past. Many current lending practices employed today by credit card companies, payday lenders, and providers of consumer loans would have been easily recognizable at the end of the nineteenth century. Geisst demonstrates the still prevalent custom of lenders charging high interest rates, especially to risky borrowers, despite attempts to control the practice by individual states. Usury and loan sharking have not disappeared a century and a half after the predatory practices first raised public concern.

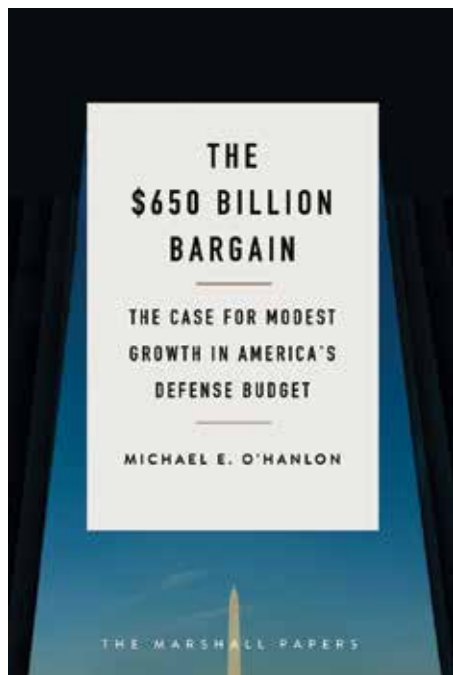
Charles R. Geisst is a former investment banker who currently is the Ambassador Charles A. Gargano Professor of Finance at Manhattan College in Riverdale, New York.



April 2017, 6 x 9, 401 pp.
cloth, 9780815729006, \$26.00†
ebook, 9780815729013, \$25.99

**Predatory lending: A
problem rooted in the
past that continues today**

As part of the Order from Chaos project, the Brookings Foreign Policy program has launched the Marshall Papers, a series of short monographs that provide accessible accounts of some of the critical international challenges of our time. Forthcoming Marshall Papers will include volumes on Challenging and Constructing Order from Below; Modi, India, and the World; The Architecture of Peace; and U.S.-Chinese Strategic Relations.



August 2016, 5 x 8, 168 pp.
paper, 9780815729570, \$20.00
ebook, 9780815729587, \$19.99

**U.S. defense spending
is not excessive and, in
fact, should continue to
grow because it is both
affordable and necessary in
today's challenging world**

The \$650 Billion Bargain

The Case for Modest Growth in America's Defense Budget

MICHAEL E. O'HANLON

The United States spends a lot of money on defense—\$607 billion in the current fiscal year. But Brookings national security scholar Michael O'Hanlon argues that is roughly the right amount given the overall size of the national economy and continuing U.S. responsibilities around the world. If anything, he says spending should increase modestly under the next president, remaining near 3 percent of gross domestic product.

Recommendations in this book differ from the president's budget plan in two key ways. First, the author sees a mismatch in the Pentagon's current plans between ends and means. The country needs to spend enough money to carry out its military missions and commitments. Second, O'Hanlon recommends dropping a plan to cut the size of the Army from the current 475,000 active-duty soldiers to 450,000.

The U.S. national defense budget is entirely affordable—relative to the size of the U.S. economy, relative to past levels of effort by this country in the national security domain, and relative, especially, to the costs of failing to uphold a stable international order. Even at a modestly higher price, it will be the best \$650 billion bargain going, and a worthy investment in U.S. security and its long-term national power.

Michael E. O'Hanlon is research director for the Foreign Policy program at Brookings, where he specializes in defense policy.

The Consequences of Chaos

Syria's Humanitarian Crisis and the Failure to Protect

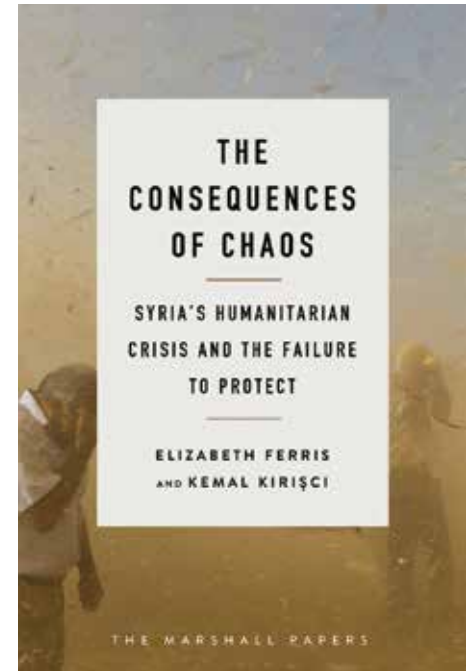
ELIZABETH FERRIS *and* KEMAL KIRIŞCI

The Consequences of Chaos looks beyond the ever-increasing numbers of Syria's uprooted to consider the long-term economic, political, and social implications of this massive movement of people. Among the scenarios of the past few years that continue to play out are neighboring countries forced to host thousands or even millions of refugees, Western governments called on to provide financial aid and new homes for the refugees, regional and international organizations struggling to cope with the demand for food and shelter. All have made the Syria crisis overwhelming in its challenges.

This latest failure by the international community to prevent and resolve conflicts raises fundamental questions about how the world responds to large-scale humanitarian disasters. The continuing divisions between development and humanitarian approaches, and questions of political will, have become even more obvious in Syria.

Elizabeth Ferris is a senior research associate in Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service and a nonresident senior fellow in Foreign Policy at the Brookings Institution.

Kemal Kirişci is the Turkish Industry and Business Association (TUSIAD) Senior Fellow in the Foreign Policy program at Brookings.



April 2016, 5 x 8, 203 pp.
 paper, 9780815729518, \$20.00
 ebook, 9780815729525, \$19.99

**The massive dimensions of
 Syria's refugee crisis and
 the search for solutions**

PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED

Trade in the 21st Century

Back to the Past?

BERNARD M. HOEKMAN and ERNESTO ZEDILLO, EDITORS

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

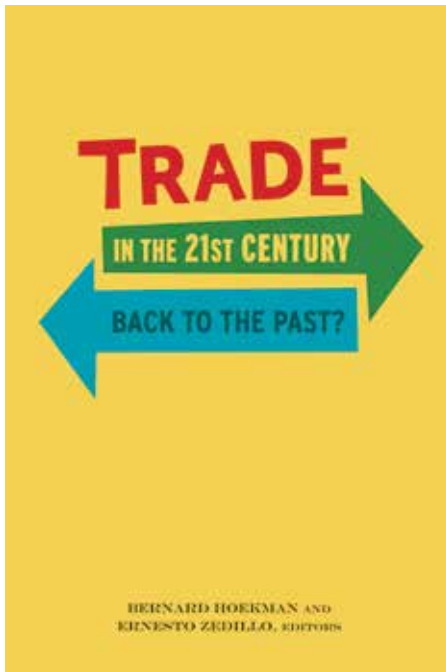
Trade in the 21st Century asks a central question: Was the creation of the World Trade Organization in 1995 the high point of multilateral cooperation on trade and investment? Is it possible that in the two decades since its founding, fundamental changes in technology and the structure of international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

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

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

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

Despite troubled trade negotiations, global trade—and trade policy—will thrive in the twenty-first century, but with a bow to the past



May 2017, 6 x 9, 240 pp.
paper, 9780815729044, \$35.00
ebook, 9780815729051, \$34.99

PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED

Countering Terrorism

No Simple Solutions

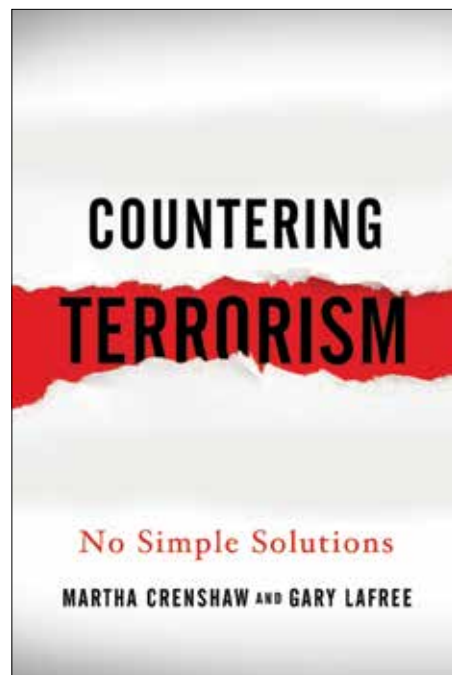
MARTHA CRENSHAW AND GARY LAFREE

Fifteen years after September 11, the United States still faces terror threats—both domestic and foreign. After years of wars, ever more intensive and pervasive surveillance, enhanced security measures at major transportation centers, and many attempts to explain whom we are fighting and why and how to push back, the threats continue to multiply. So, too, do our attempts to understand just what terrorism is and ways to counter it.

Two leaders in the field of terrorism studies, Martha Crenshaw and Gary LaFree, provide a critical look at how we have dealt with the terror threat over the years. They make clear why it is so difficult to create policy to counter terrorism. The foes are multiple and often amorphous, the study of the field dogged by disagreement on basic definitional and methodological issues, and the creation of policy hobbled by an exacting standard: the counterterrorist must succeed all the time; the terrorist only once. As *Countering Terrorism* shows, there are no simple solutions to this threat.

Martha Crenshaw is a senior fellow at the Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC) and the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, as well as professor of political science, by courtesy, at Stanford University.

Gary LaFree is professor of criminology and criminal justice and director of the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) at the University of Maryland.



January 2017, 6 x 9, 260 pp.
paper, 9780815727644, \$32.00
ebook, 9780815727668, \$31.99

**Can we construct
a grand strategy to
counter terrorism?**

Each short book in the series will explain a specific aspect of the politics, policies, and processes of Washington—the ins and outs of, for example, introducing a bill in Congress, how committees work, and how policies are both formulated and implemented.

PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED

Inside Congress

A Guide for Navigating the Politics of the House and Senate Floors

TREVOR CORNING, REEMA DODIN, and KYLE NEVINS

The House and Senate have unique rules and procedures to determine how legislation moves from a policy idea to law. Evolved over the last 200 years, the rules of both chambers are designed to act as the engine for that process. Each legislative body has its own leadership positions to oversee this legislative process.

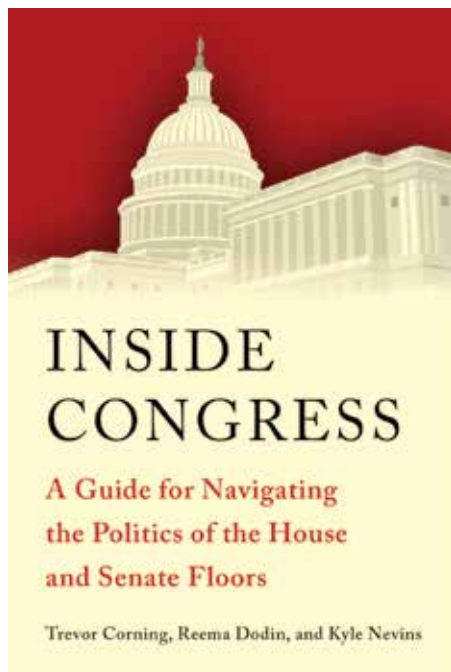
To the novice, whether a newly elected representative, a lawmaker's staff on her first day at work, or a constituent visiting Washington, the entire process can seem incomprehensible. What is an open rule for a House Appropriations bill and how does it affect consideration? Why are unanimous consent agreements needed in the Senate?

The authors of *Inside Congress*, all congressional veterans, have written the definitive guide to how Congress really works. It is the accessible and necessary resource to understanding and interpreting procedural tools, arcane precedents, and the role of party politics in the making of legislation in Congress.

Trevor Corning spent more than four years at Brookings educating all levels of government and the private sector on how to engage with the U.S. government while also managing the Brookings Legislative Fellows program.

Reema Dodin serves as floor director to the assistant Democratic leader, Senator Richard Durbin, and runs the whip operation for the Senate Democratic caucus.

Kyle Nevins is cofounder and partner at Harbinger Strategies, a government relations firm based in Washington, D.C.



January 2017, 4.9 x 7.2, 60 pp.
paper, 9780815727323, \$12.00
ebook, 9780815727347, \$11.99

**Required reading for
anyone who wants to
understand how to work
within Congress**

PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED

Policy Entrepreneurship

A Guide to Shaping and Understanding Policy

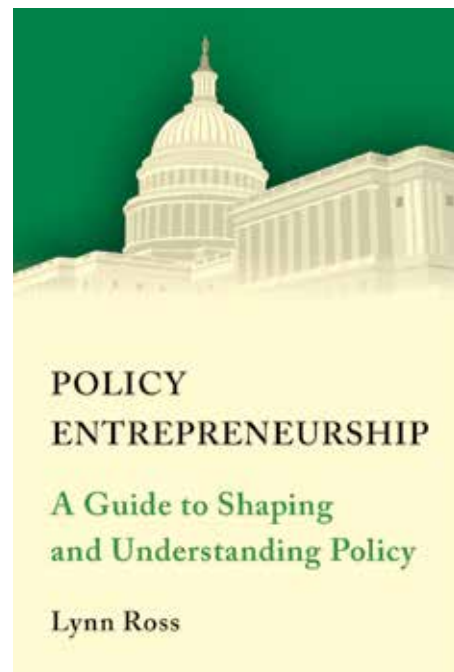
LYNN ROSS

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

Building from John W. Kingdon's classic streams model (*Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*), Ross assesses the impact of policy entrepreneurs on policy change and shares their strategies.

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

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



Forthcoming, 4.9 x 7.2, 60 pp.
paper, 9780815727361, \$12.00
ebook, 9780815727378, \$11.99

**Examining the impact of
policy entrepreneurs at all
stages of policymaking**



May 2017, 6 x 9, 266 pp.
paper, 9780815730361, \$34.99
ebook, 9780815730378, \$34.99

Is Congress Broken?

The Virtues and Defects of Partisanship and Gridlock

WILLIAM F. CONNELLY JR., JOHN J. PITNEY JR., and
GARY J. SCHMITT, EDITORS

Congress for many years has ranked low in public esteem—joining journalists, bankers, and union leaders at the bottom of polls. In recent years there has been good reason for this public disregard with the rise of hyper-partisanship and the increasing inability of Congress to carry out its required duties, such as passing spending bills on time and conducting responsible oversight of the executive branch.

Congress seems so dysfunctional that many observers have all but thrown up their hands in despair, suggesting that an apparently broken U.S. political system might need to be replaced.

Now, some of the country's foremost experts on Congress are reminding us that tough hyper-partisan conflict always has been a hallmark of the constitutional system. Going back to the nation's early decades, Congress has experienced periods of division and turmoil. But even during those periods Congress has been able to engage in serious deliberation, prevent ill-considered proposals from becoming law, and, over time, help develop a deeper, more lasting national consensus.

The ten chapters in this volume focus on how Congress in the twenty-first century can once again fulfill its proper functions of representation, deliberation, legislation, and oversight. The authors offer a series of practical reforms that would maintain, rather than replace, the constitutional separation of powers that has served the United States well for more than 200 years.

William F. Connelly Jr. is the John K. Boardman Professor of Politics at Washington and Lee University.

John J. Pitney Jr. is Roy P. Crocker Professor of American Politics at Claremont McKenna College.

Gary J. Schmitt is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, where he directs the Program on American Citizenship.

Can Congress work
again within the
constitutional system?

Exceptions to the Rule

The Politics of Filibuster Limitations in the U.S. Senate

MOLLY E. REYNOLDS

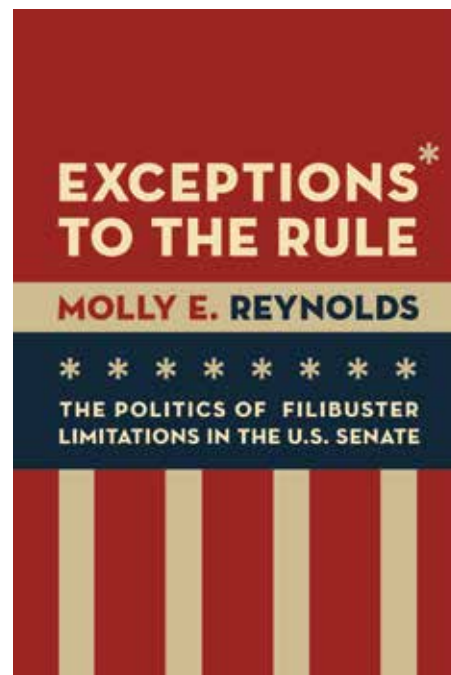
Most people believe that, in today's partisan environment, the filibuster prevents the Senate from acting on all but the least controversial matters. But this is not exactly correct. In fact, the Senate since the 1970s has created a series of special rules—described by Molly Reynolds as “majoritarian exceptions”—that limit debate on a wide range of measures on the Senate floor.

The details of these exemptions might sound arcane and technical, but in practice they have enabled the Senate to act even when it otherwise seemed paralyzed. Important examples include procedures used to pass the annual congressional budget resolution, enact budget reconciliation bills, review proposals to close military bases, attempt to prevent arms sales, ratify trade agreements, and reconsider regulations promulgated by the executive branch.

Reynolds argues that these procedures represent a key instrument of majority party power in the Senate. They allow the majority—even if it does not have the sixty votes needed to block a filibuster—to establish policies that will improve its future electoral prospects and thus increase the chances that it remains the majority party.

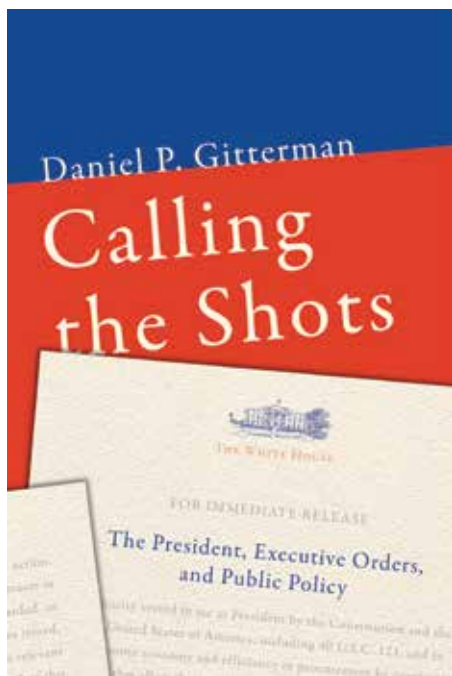
As a case study, *Exceptions to the Rule* examines the Senate's role in the budget reconciliation process, in which particular congressional committees are charged with developing procedurally protected proposals to alter certain federal programs in their jurisdictions. Created as a way of helping Congress work through tricky budget issues, the reconciliation process has become a powerful tool for the majority party to bypass the minority and adopt policy changes in hopes that it will benefit in the next election cycle.

Molly E. Reynolds is a fellow in Governance Studies at the Brookings Institution, where she studies Congress, with an emphasis on the policy consequences of congressional rules and procedures.



June 2017, 6 x 9, 233 pp.
paper 9780815729969, \$29.99
ebook 9780815729976, \$29.99

**Special rules enable
the Senate to act despite
the filibuster—sometimes**



February 2017, 6 x 9, 200 pp.
paper, 9780815729020, \$30.00
ebook, 9780815729037, \$29.99

**Modern presidents
are CEOs with broad
powers over the
federal government**

Calling the Shots

The President, Executive Orders, and Public Policy

DANIEL P. GITTERMAN

The United States Constitution lays out three hypothetically equal branches of government—the executive, the legislative, and the judicial—but over the years, the president, as head of the executive branch, has emerged as the usually dominant political and administrative force at the federal level. In fact, Daniel Gitterman tells us, the president is, effectively, the CEO of an enormous federal bureaucracy.

Using the unique legal authority delegated by thousands of laws, the ability to issue executive orders, and the capacity to shape how federal agencies write and enforce rules, the president calls the shots as to how the government is run on a daily basis. Modern presidents have, for example, used the power of the purchaser to require federal contractors to pay a minimum wage and to prohibit contracting with companies and contractors that knowingly employ unauthorized alien workers.

Presidents and their staffs use specific tools, including executive orders and memoranda to agency heads, as instruments of control and influence over the government and the private sector. For more than a century, they have used these tools without violating the separation of powers. *Calling the Shots* demonstrates how each of these executive powers is a powerful weapon of coercion and redistribution in the president's political and policymaking arsenal.

Daniel P. Gitterman holds the Thomas Willis Lambeth Distinguished Chair in Public Policy at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Reaching for the Sky

Empowering Girls through Education

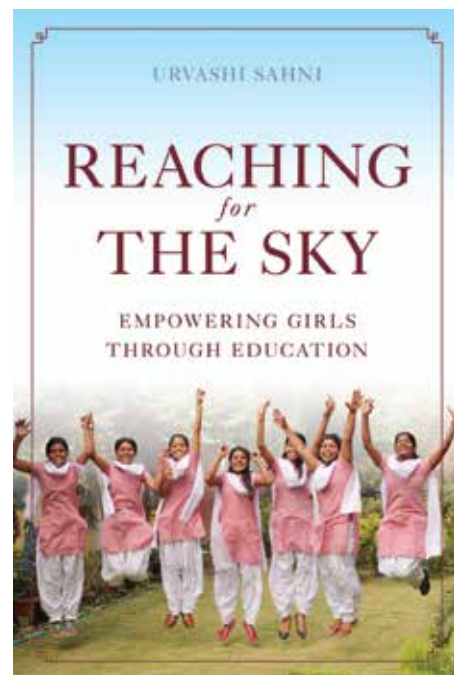
URVASHI SAHNI

Since 2003 a privately funded high school in India has provided desperately needed education for girls from impoverished families in Lucknow, the capital and largest city in Uttar Pradesh. Urvashi Sahni, the founder of Prerna Girls School, has written a compelling narrative of how this modest school in northeast India has changed the lives of more than 5,000 girls and their families. Most important, it is through the perspectives of the girls themselves, rather than through a remote academic viewpoint, that Prerna's success unfolds.

The book focuses on the importance of education in bringing about gender equality in a patriarchal society. It shows how girls learn to be equal and autonomous persons in school as part of their official curriculum and how they use this learning to transform their lives and those of their families. The book's central argument is that education can be truly transformative if it addresses the everyday reality of girls' lives and responds to their special needs and challenges with respect and care.

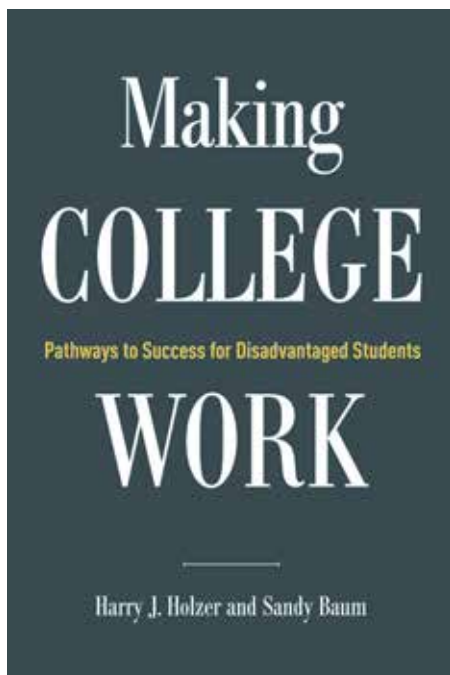
The example of just one relatively small school in one corner of India, the message and the stories it tells will inspire anyone concerned about the necessity of girls' education, especially in developing countries. The lives of the girls at Prerna Girls School are largely representative of those of millions living in poor regions in countries where patriarchal structures and norms prevail.

Urvashi Sahni is a nonresident fellow at the Center for Universal Education at Brookings, an Ashoka fellow, and an adviser to the government of Rajasthan.



July 2017, 6 x 9, 200 pp.
cloth, 9780815730385, \$27.99
ebook, 9780815730392, \$27.99

**Transforming the lives
of impoverished girls in
patriarchal societies**



May 2017, 6 x 9, 273 pp.
paper, 9780815730217, \$28.99
ebook, 9780815730224, \$28.99

**Practical solutions
for improving higher
education opportunities
for disadvantaged students**

Making College Work

Pathways to Success for Disadvantaged Students

HARRY J. HOLZER *and* SANDY BAUM

Too many disadvantaged college students in America do not complete their coursework or receive any college credential, while others earn degrees or certificates with little labor market value. Large numbers of these students also struggle to pay for college, and some incur debts that they have difficulty repaying. The authors provide a new review of the causes of these problems and offer promising policy solutions.

The circumstances affecting disadvantaged students stem both from issues on the individual side, such as weak academic preparation and financial pressures, and from institutional failures. Low-income students disproportionately attend schools that are underfunded and have weak performance incentives, contributing to unsatisfactory outcomes for many students.

Some solutions, including better financial aid or academic supports, target individual students. Other solutions, such as stronger linkages between coursework and the labor market and more structured paths through the curriculum, are aimed at institutional reforms. All students, and particularly those from disadvantaged backgrounds, also need better and varied pathways both to college and directly to the job market, beginning in high school. We can improve college outcomes, but must also acknowledge that we must make hard choices and face difficult tradeoffs in the process.

While no single policy is guaranteed to greatly improve college and career outcomes, implementing a number of evidence-based policies and programs together has the potential to improve these outcomes substantially.

Harry J. Holzer is a professor of public policy at Georgetown University, a fellow at the American Institutes for Research, and a nonresident senior fellow in Economic Studies at Brookings.

Sandy Baum is a higher education economist and a senior fellow at the Urban Institute.

Ambivalent Engagement

The United States and Regional Security in Southeast Asia after the Cold War

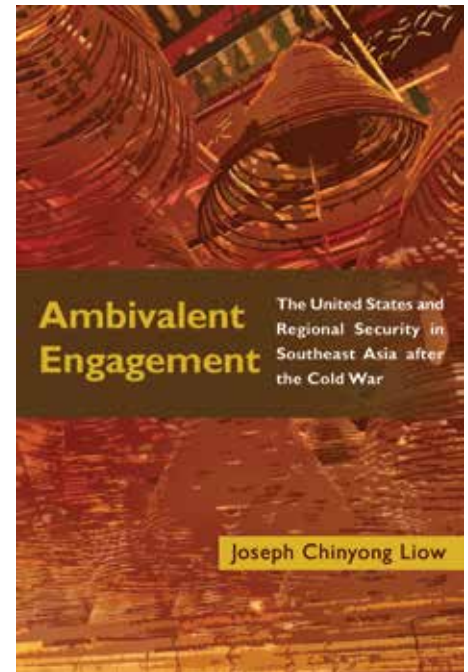
JOSEPH CHINYONG LIOU

The Obama administration's pivot-to-Asia policy establishes an important place for Southeast Asia in U.S. foreign policy. But Washington's attention to the region has fluctuated dramatically, from the intense intervention of the cold war era to near neglect in more recent years. As a consequence, countries in Southeast Asia worry that the United States once again will become distracted by other problems and disengage from the region.

This book written by an astute observer of the region and U.S. policy casts light on the sources of these anxieties. A main consideration is that it still is not clear how Southeast Asia fits into U.S. strategy for Asia and the broader world. Is the region central to U.S. policymaking, or an afterthought?

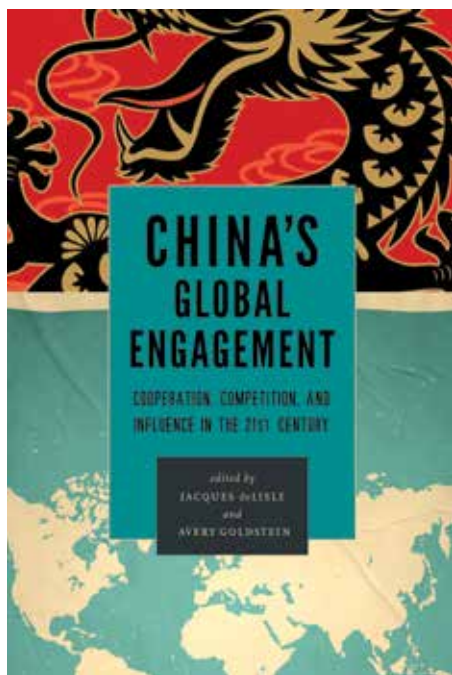
Ambivalent Engagement highlights a dilemma that is becoming increasingly conspicuous and problematic. Southeast Asia continues to rely on the United States to play an active role in the region even though it is an external power. But the countries of Southeast Asia have very different views about precisely what role the United States should play. The consequences of this ambivalence will grow in importance with the expanding role of yet another outside power, China.

Joseph Chinyong Liow is Lee Kuan Yew Chair in Southeast Asia Studies and senior fellow at the Brookings Institution.



June 2017, 6 x 9, 200 pp.
hardcover 9780815729679, \$32.00
ebook, 9780815729686, \$29.99

**The paradox of
U.S. involvement in
Southeast Asia**



May 2017, 6 x 9, 365 pp.
paper, 9780815729693, \$33.99
ebook, 9780815729709, \$33.99

**An assessment of China's
rapidly changing role on
the international stage**

China's Global Engagement

Cooperation, Competition, and Influence in the 21st Century

JACQUES DELISLE and AVERY GOLDSTEIN, EDITORS

China is again undergoing a period of significant transition. Internally, China's leaders are addressing challenges to the economy and other domestic issues after three decades of dramatic growth and reforms. President Xi Jinping and other leaders also are refashioning foreign policy to better fit what they see as China's place in the world. This has included a more proactive approach to trade, a more vigorous approach to security matters, and a more focused engagement on international culture and education.

In this volume, China specialists from around the world explore key issues raised by the interaction between a changing China and a changing world. They chronicle China's emergence as a more capable actor whose engagement is reshaping international affairs in many dimensions. These include: global currency and trading systems; patterns of cooperation and competition in technological innovation; economic and political trends in the developing world; the American-led security order in the Asia-Pacific region; the practice of international military and humanitarian intervention; the use of naval power; the role of international law in persistent territorial and maritime disputes in the East and South China Seas; the international human rights regime; the circulation of Chinese talent trained abroad; a more globalized film industry; and programs to reshape global cultural awareness about China through educational initiatives.

Across these diverse areas, China's capacity—and desire—to influence events and outcomes has risen markedly. The results so far are mixed, and the future trajectory remains uncertain. But across the wide range of issues addressed in this book, China has become a major and a likely enduring participant.

Jacques delisle is the Stephen A. Cozen Professor of Law, professor of political science, and deputy director of the Center for the Study of Contemporary China at the University of Pennsylvania and director of the Asia Program at the Foreign Policy Research Institute.

Avery Goldstein is the David M. Knott Professor of Global Politics and International Relations, professor of political science, and director of the Center for the Study of Contemporary China at the University of Pennsylvania.

NOW AVAILABLE IN PAPERBACK

The Professor and the President

Daniel Patrick Moynihan in the Nixon White House

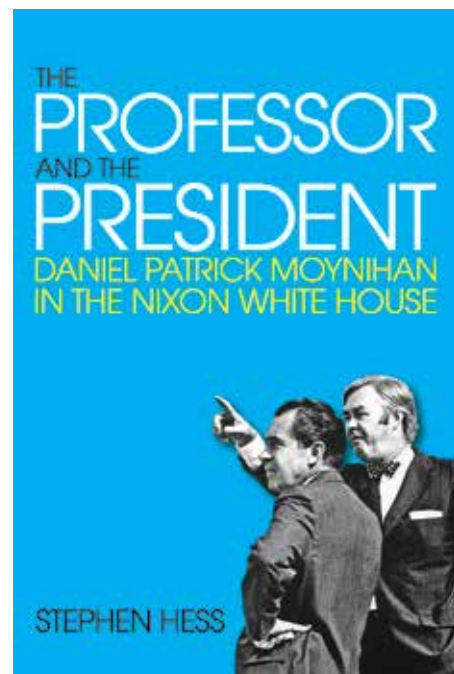
STEPHEN HESS

What happens when a conservative president makes a liberal professor from the Ivy League his top urban affairs adviser?

The president is Richard Nixon; the professor is Harvard's Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Of all the odd couples in American public life, they are probably the oddest. Add another Ivy League professor to the White House staff when Nixon appoints Columbia's Arthur Burns, a conservative economist, as domestic policy adviser. The year is 1969, and what follows behind closed doors is a passionate debate of conflicting ideologies and personalities.

Who won? How? Why? Now nearly a half-century later, Stephen Hess, who was Nixon's biographer and Moynihan's deputy, recounts this intriguing story as if from his office in the West Wing.

Stephen Hess is a senior fellow emeritus in Governance Studies at the Brookings Institution.



May 2017, 5.5 x 8.5, 172 pp.
paper, 9780815730996, \$16.99†
ebook, 9780815726166, \$14.99

**“Mr. Hess has left a
diamond-cut vignette of
the last intellectual in
American politics.”**

—*The Economist*

PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED

Megachange

Economic Disruption, Political Upheaval, and Social Strife in the 21st Century

DARRELL M. WEST

Slow, incremental change has become a relic of the past. Today's shifts come fast and big, what Darrell West calls megachanges, in which dramatic disruptions in trends and policies occur on a regular basis.

Domestically, we see megachange at work in the new attitudes and policies toward same-sex marriage, health care, smoking, and the widespread legalization of marijuana use. Globally, we have seen the extraordinary rise and then collapse of the Arab Spring, the emergence of religious zealotry, the growing influence of nonstate actors, the spread of ISIS-fomented terrorism, the rise of new economic and political powers in Asia, and the fracturing of once-stable international alliances.

Long-held assumptions have been shattered, and the proliferation of unexpected events is confounding experts in the United States and around the globe. Many of the social and political institutions that used to anchor domestic and international politics have grown weak or are in need of dramatic reform.

What to do? West says that we should alter our expectations about the speed and magnitude of political and social change. We also need to recognize that many of our current governing processes are geared to slow deliberation and promote incremental change, not large-scale transformation. With megachange becoming the new normal, our domestic and global institutions must develop the ability to tackle the massive economic, political, and social shifts that we face.

Darrell M. West is vice president of governance studies and director of the Center for Technology Innovation at the Brookings Institution. He is the author of twenty-one books on contemporary politics, including, most recently, *Billionaires: Reflections on the Upper Crust* (Brookings, 2014).



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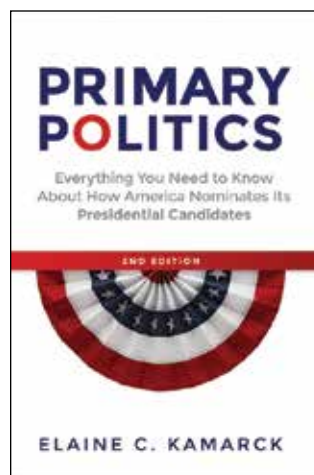
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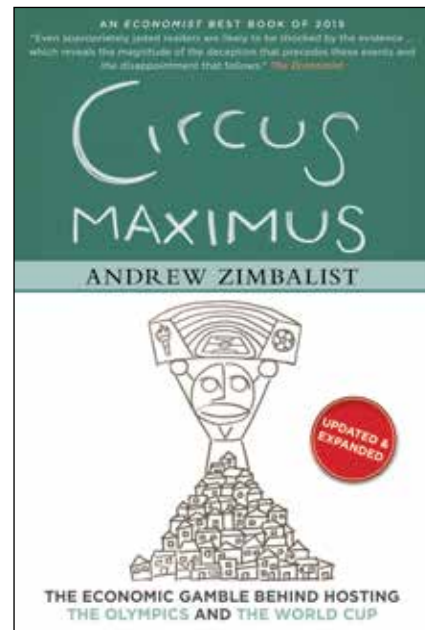
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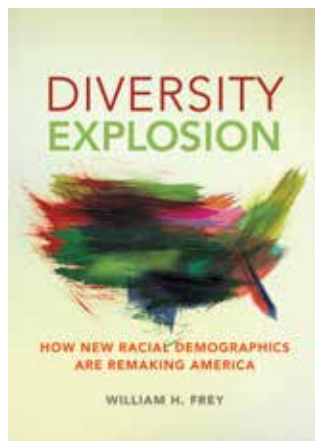
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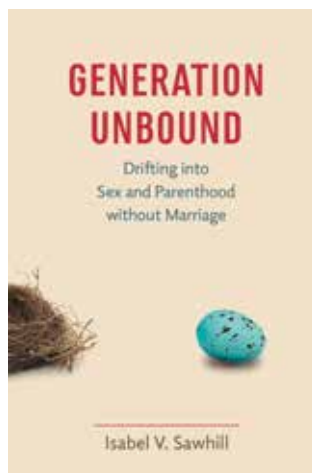
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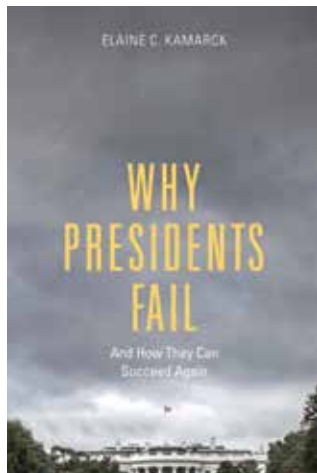
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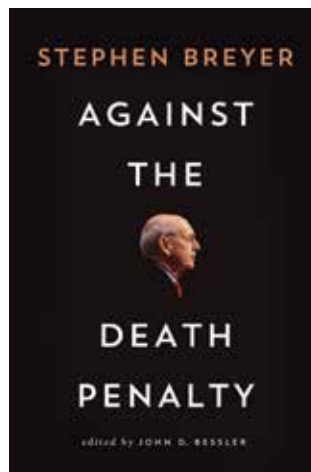
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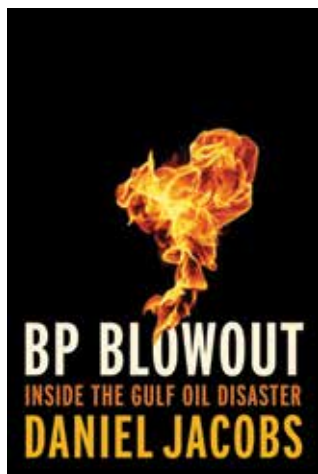
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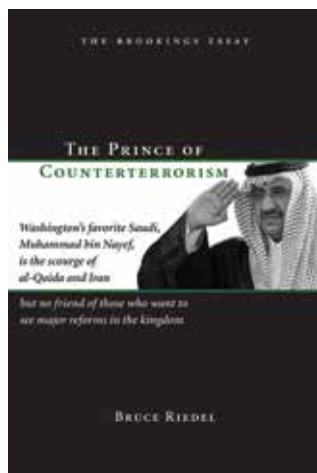


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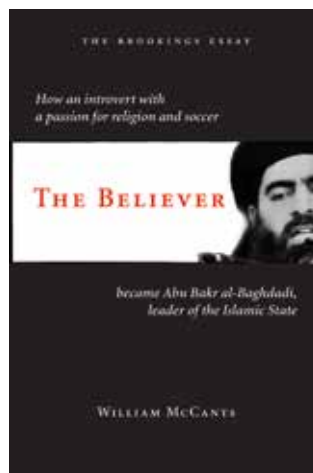


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Financing Infrastructure in Asia and the Pacific

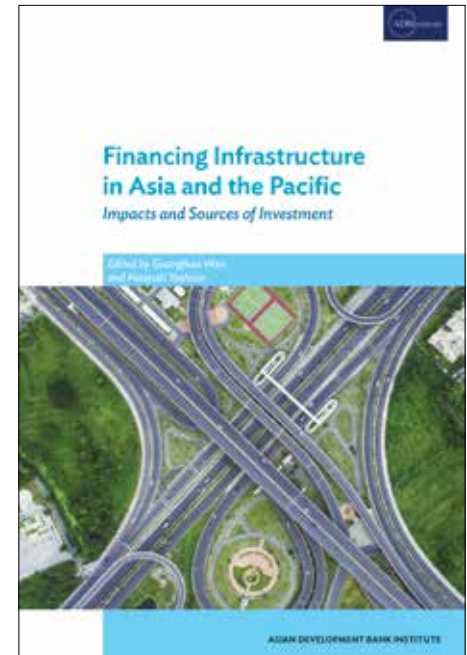
GUANGHUA WAN *and* NAOYUKI YOSHINO, EDITORS

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

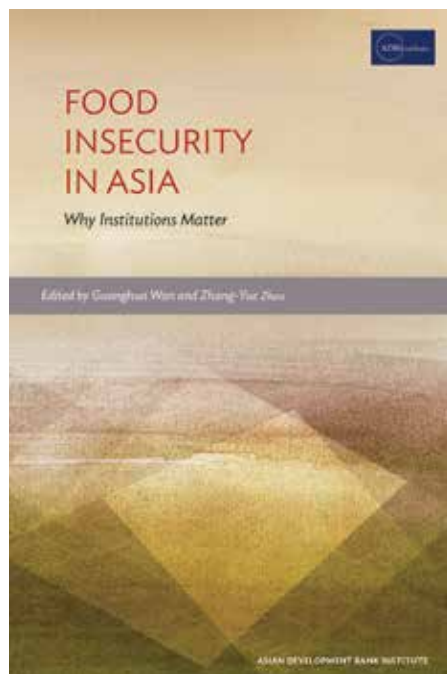
This book examines the modalities for financing infrastructure projects in Asia and the Pacific, including (i) mapping out the benefits and needs of infrastructure investment, (ii) evaluating public and private sources of finance, (iii) evaluating potential new sources of finance, and (iv) recommending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

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

Naoyuki Yoshino is dean of the Asian Development Bank Institute.



August 2017, 6 x 9, 340 pp.
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Food Insecurity in Asia

Why Institutions Matter

GUANGHUA WAN *and* ZHANG-YUE ZHOU, EDITORS

Achieving food security is vital for any nation. But despite progress in food availability in the postwar period, food insecurity still prevails in many developing countries, with more than half the world's undernourished in Asia. This unacceptable number calls for urgent action. Differences in levels of food security across countries cannot be explained solely by conventional economic arguments, such as resource endowments, country or population size, the level of economic development, and cultural or social differences.

This book approaches the issue of food security in a number of Asian and other countries by highlighting the crucial role played by government and economic institutions and by examining how they influence food availability. It lays out valuable policy initiatives for national governments and international bodies, acting through improved institutions, to reduce poverty and inequality and to achieve higher levels of food security nationally and globally.

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

Zhang-Yue Zhou is professor of business studies, College of Business, Law & Governance, James Cook University.

Global Shocks and the New Global and Regional Financial Architecture

Asian Perspectives

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

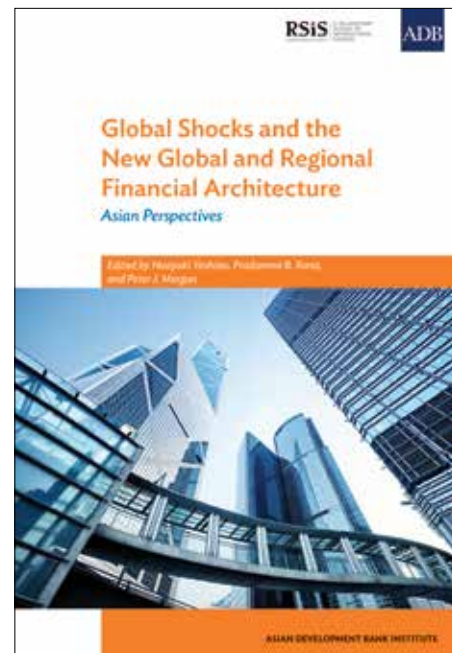
Asian economies continue to be subject to new shocks: U.S. monetary policy tightening, the adoption of negative-interest-rate policies by central banks all over the world, the slowdown of the People's Republic of China, and the sharp drop in oil and other commodity prices. All these highlight the vulnerability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

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

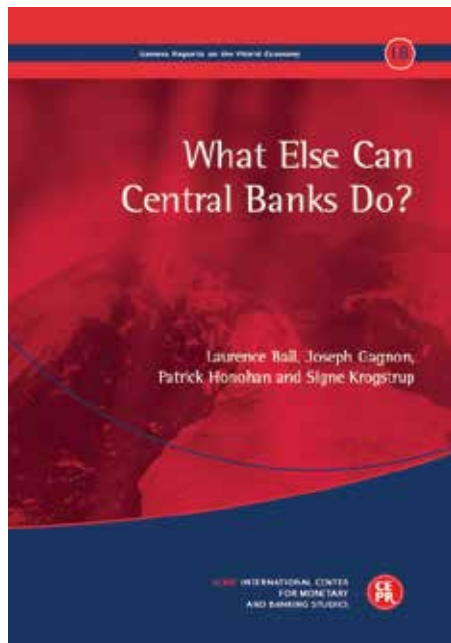
Naoyuki Yoshino is dean of the Asian Development Bank Institute.

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

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



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What Else Can Central Banks Do?

LAURENCE BALL, JOSEPH GAGNON, PATRICK HONOHAN,
and SIGNE KROGSTRUP

Central banks can do more to stimulate economies and restore full employment, even when nominal interest rates are near zero. Quantitative easing has had beneficial effects already and can be expanded; policymakers can push interest rates substantially below zero. Central banks can also increase their scope for countercyclical policy by raising their inflation targets modestly. Eventually, the trend toward cashless economies may eliminate completely the problems arising from the lower bound on interest rates.

The 18th Geneva Report on the World Economy seeks to provide policymakers with a developed selection of stimulus methods in order to tackle secular stagnation in advanced economies. With most options having already been explored, this report contributes to current stimulus policies and how they can be expanded and implemented to greater effect.

Laurence Ball is a professor of economics at Johns Hopkins University, a research associate at the National Bureau of Economic Research, and a visiting scholar at the International Monetary Fund.

Joseph E. Gagnon is a senior fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics.

Patrick Honohan was governor of the Central Bank of Ireland from 2009 to 2015 and has returned to Trinity College Dublin, where he was appointed professor in 2007; he is also a nonresident senior fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics.

Signe Krogstrup is a visiting fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics.

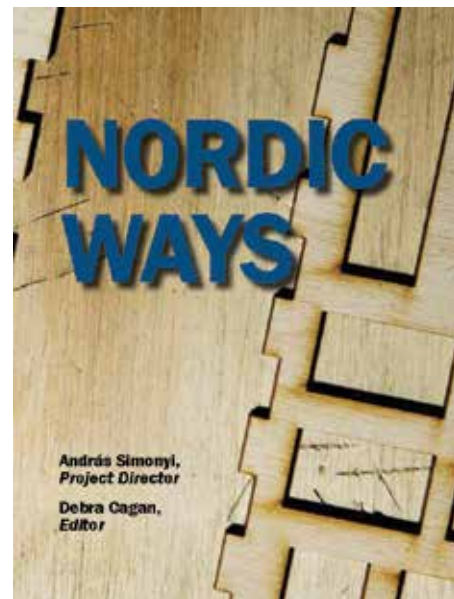
Nordic Ways

ANDRAS SIMONYI, PROJECT DIRECTOR, AND DEBRA CAGAN, EDITOR

Nordic Ways includes short insightful essays written by distinguished authors from countries representing a broad spectrum of Nordic life: Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark, and Iceland. The project features an impressive and august array of nearly fifty authors representing these five Nordic countries. The ultimate goal is to provide a long-term platform for what it means to be Nordic in business, as environmental stewards, in the arts, culture, innovation, education, and in commitment to democratic values. There is growing interest in the United States in Nordic societies and attention being paid to Nordic solutions: cutting edge innovation in technology and design, arts, culture, liberal democratic values, including gender equality and a free press, environmental responsibility, and economic success achieved on a global level in partnership with employees. Today, with a U.S. presidential campaign marked by widespread dissatisfaction among the electorate, it is abundantly clear that *Nordic Ways* can guide this new and increasingly important dialogue.

Andras Simonyi is the managing director of the Center for Transatlantic Relations at Johns Hopkins University SAIS and a former ambassador of the Republic of Hungary to the United States and NATO.

Debra Cagan is the senior State Department fellow at the Center for Transatlantic Relations at Johns Hopkins University SAIS.



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A Return to the Village

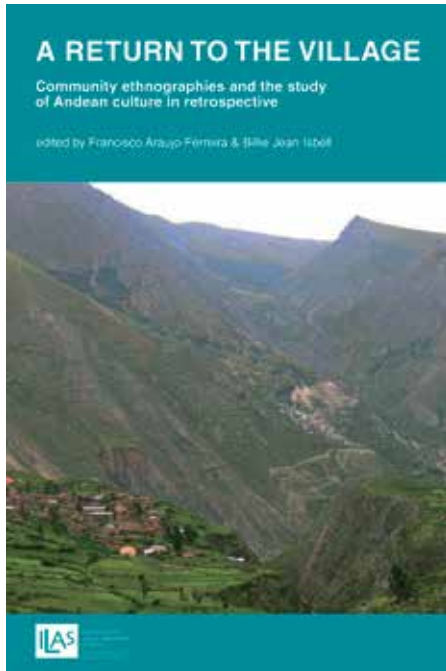
Community Ethnographies and the Study of Andean Culture in Retrospective

FRANCISCO FERREIRA, EDITOR

This edited volume brings together several authors, all of whom generated in the 1970s and 1980s outstanding ethnographies of Andean communities in the Peruvian highlands. These writers focused on historical continuities, particularly local ritual practices, and took the “long-termist” approach to Andean cultures, as described by anthropologist Olivia Harris (in contrast to “short-termist” studies, which focus predominantly on social change and development). These books transcended the boundaries normally established by case studies of highland communities and rural areas and became important reference works on aspects of Andean culture: for example, ritual uses of coca by Catherine J. Allen; agricultural rituals and internal social divisions by Peter Gose; social organization and kinship by Billie Jean Isbell; the use of khipus and concepts of literacy by Frank Salomon; and the symbolic and ritual dimensions of water and irrigation by Ricardo Valderrama and Carmen Escalante.

In the 1980s–90s, with the emergence of postmodern and revisionist trends, these earlier works came to be considered limited and subjective and were largely discredited and perceived as dated. In *A Return to the Village*, these authors revisit their original works in the light of contemporary anthropology. They explain how they chose the communities they worked in; the personal relations they established during fieldwork; the links they have maintained; and how these communities they studied have changed over time. They also review their original methodological and theoretical approaches and findings, reassessing their validity and explaining how their views have adjusted since their original fieldwork.

Francisco Ferreira is a researcher specializing in the ethnographic study of Andean culture.



December 2016, 6 x 9, 200 pp.
paper, 9781908857248, \$40.00

Chile and the Inter-American Human Rights System

KARINNA FERNANDEZ, CRISTIAN PEÑA, *and* SEBASTIAN SMART

March 2017, 6 x 9, 200 pp.
paper, 97819088572793, \$40.00

This work is the result of the conference Chile and The Inter-American System of Human Rights, held at the Institute of Advanced Legal Studies of the University of London in May 2015. The main objective pursued by the conference was to reflect the relationship between Chile and the Inter-American Human Rights System focusing on an interdisciplinary and detailed examination of the consequences or incidences of the most recent cases decided by the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (hereinafter 'IAcHR' or 'the Court') against the Chilean state, namely; (a) Case of Atala Riffo and daughters v. Chile, (b) Case of García Lucero et al. v. Chile, and (c) Case of Norín Catrimán et al. (Leaders, members and activist of the Mapuche Indigenous People) v. Chile.

The Chilean cases decided by the IAHRs illustrate central challenges in the areas of LGBT rights, torture and indigenous rights in Chile, but also in the Americas as a whole. The three selected cases reflect on the importance of the IAHRs, and the opportunities incentives and networks that have allowed the rise of judicial activism at the local and transnational level. These cases are also representative of the increasing judicial developments of the IAHRs and the repercussions they have had at the national level, influencing for example the decisions of the judicial branch and generating vis-à-vis influences and opportunities to mobilize judicial resources.

Karina Fernandez holds a law degree from the Valparaíso University, a master's in International Public Law from the University of Chile, and a LLM in International Human Rights at the University of Essex.

Cristian Peña is a chartered clinical psychologist and an associate fellow of the British Psychological Society.

Sebastian Smart holds a law degree from Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile and a master's in human rights from University College London (UCL) and is currently pursuing a PhD at the Institute of the Americas, UCL.



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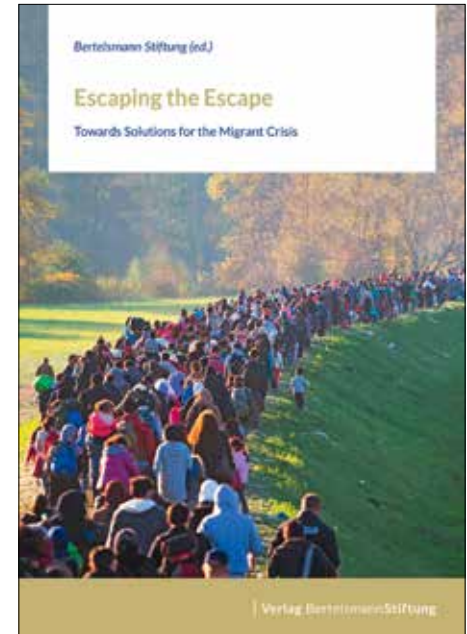
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Escaping the Escape

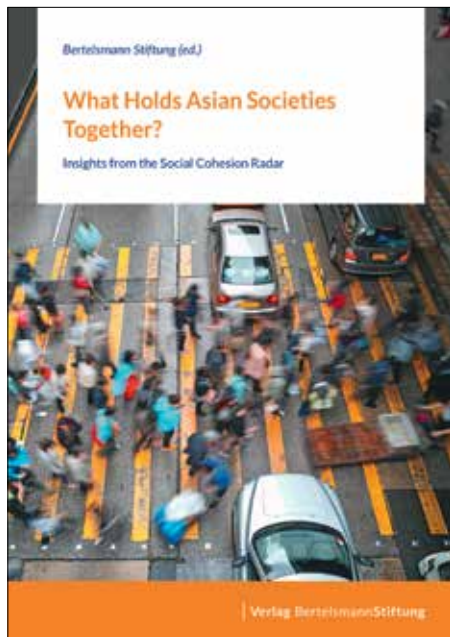
Towards Solutions for the Migrant Crisis

Conflict and war, but most of all overwhelming despair are driving massive numbers of mostly young people from the Middle East and North Africa, Central Africa, Ukraine and Central Asia to leave their homes for Europe in search of safety. What do they need most in order to lead their lives in peace and security? How can opportunities for a meaningful and secure future in their countries of origin be improved? How can the EU—acting in concert with its principles support these people in their search for freedom, self-determination, and well-being?

The book will contain a collection of essays, ideally from authors from different countries, and in particular, from the countries of origin of refugees. In these essays, authors are supposed to analyze the individual crisis regions at Europe's front door and make concrete and practice-oriented proposals to improve and/or change the situation there.



February 2017, 6 x 8, 300 pp.
paper, 9783867937498, \$32.00



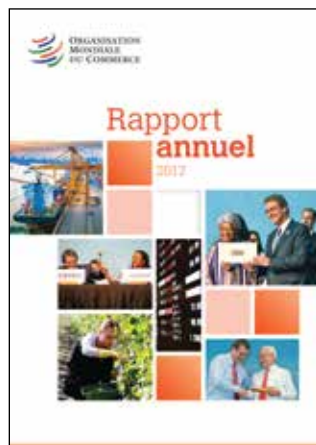
What Holds Asian Societies Together?

Insights from the Social Cohesion Radar

The study provides an analysis and review of social cohesion in twenty-two Asian countries in a comparative perspective. It presents a valid and reliable measurement of current and past levels of social cohesion and explores its most important determinants and outcomes. As an extension of the Social Cohesion Radar series the study will be of interest and value to policymakers, academics, think tanks and civil society organizations.

February 2017, 6 x 8, 150 pp.
paper, 9783867937702, \$28.00

Annual Report 2017



The *Annual Report 2017* provides an overview of WTO activities in 2016 and early 2017. The Report begins with a message from WTO Director-General Roberto Azevêdo, followed by a brief overview of 2015 and more in-depth accounts of WTO activities over the past year.

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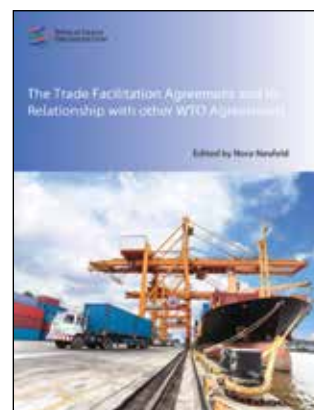
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The WTO Trade Facilitation Agreement and its Relationship with other WTO Agreements

NORA NEUFELD, EDITOR



July 2017, 8.25 x 11.75, 200 pp.
paper, 9789287041296, \$50.00

The Trade Facilitation Agreement is the first multilateral treaty adopted in the WTO since the organization was created. This book looks at how the Agreement is structured and how it relates to existing WTO agreements, such as the Customs Valuation Agreement, the Agreement on Rules of Origin, the Agreement on Import Licensing, the Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade, the Agreement on Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures, and the Agreement on Pre-Shipment Inspection. The publication includes the full text of the Trade Facilitation Agreement.

Trade Policy Reviews 2016

Each *Trade Policy Review* consists of three parts: a report by the government under review, a report written independently by the WTO Secretariat, and the concluding remarks by the chair of the Trade Policy Review Body. A highlights section provides an overview of key trade facts. Some 15 to 20 new review titles are published each year. The reviews consist of detailed chapters examining the trade policies and practices of the member and describing trade policymaking institutions and the macroeconomic situation; these chapters are preceded by the Secretariat's Summary Observations, which summarize the report and presents the Secretariat's perspective on the member's trade policies. The Secretariat report and the member's policy statement are published after the review meeting, along with the minutes of the meeting and the text of the chairperson's Concluding Remarks.



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