

B | Brookings Institution Press

SPRING 2018



# Contents

## Brookings Institution Press

Journals	16
Brookings Essays	17
Brookings Bestsellers	18

## Partner Presses

Asian Development Bank Institute	22
The Century Foundation	26
Institute of Latin American Studies	27
Verlag Bertelsmann Stiftung	30
World Trade Organization	31

Index	39
Sales Information	41

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NOW IN PAPERBACK!

# 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

*Revised and Updated*

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.

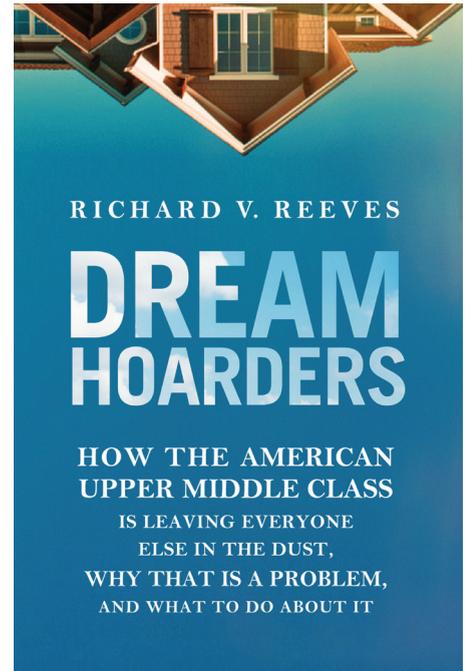
Reeves defines the upper middle class as those whose incomes are in the top 20 percent of American society. Income is not the only way to measure a society, but in a market economy it is crucial because access to money generally determines who gets the best quality education, housing, health care, and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



May 2018, 6 x 9, 240 pp.  
paper, 9780815734482, \$17.99†  
ebook, 9780815729136, \$17.99

**Stop pretending  
you're not rich**

# Man Out

## Men on the Sidelines of American Life

ANDREW L. YARROW

July 2018, 6 x 9, 200 pp.  
cloth, 9780815732747, \$24.99†  
ebook, 9780815732754, \$24.99

*Man Out* describes the millions of men relegated to the periphery of life in the United States. Many of them have been pushed out of the mainstream because of an economy and society where the odds are stacked against them; others have chosen to be on the outskirts of twenty-first-century America. These men are disconnected from work, personal relationships, family and children, and civic and community life. They may be angry at government, employers, women, and “the system” in general—and millions of them have done time in prison and have cast aside many social norms.

Sadly, too many of these men are unsure what it means to be a man in contemporary society. Wives or partners reject them; children are estranged from them; and family, friends, and neighbors are embarrassed by them. Many have disappeared into a netherworld of drugs, alcohol, poor health, loneliness, misogyny, economic insecurity, online gaming, pornography, other off-the-grid corners of the internet, and a fantasy world of starting their own business or even writing the Great American novel.

Most of the men described in this book are poorly educated, with low incomes and often with very few prospects for rewarding employment. They are also disproportionately found among millennials, those over 50, and African American men. Increasingly, however, these lost men reside even in tony suburbs. It is a myth that men on the outer corners of society are only lower-middle-class white men dislocated by technology and globalization.

Unlike those who primarily blame an unjust economy, government policies, or a culture sanctioning “laziness,” *Man Out* explores the complex interplay between economics and culture. It rejects the politically charged dichotomy of seeing such men as either victims or culprits. These men are hurting, and in turn they are hurting families and hurting America. It is essential to address their problems.

*Man Out* draws on a wide range of data and existing research as well as interviews with several hundred men, women, and a wide variety of economists and social scientists, social-service providers and physicians, and employers, a national online survey, and in-depth fieldwork in several communities.

**The story of men who are  
hurting—and hurting  
America by their absence**

---

**Andrew L. Yarrow**, a senior fellow at the Progressive Policy Institute, has been a *New York Times* reporter, a Labor Department speechwriter, and a U.S. history professor at American University, and has been affiliated with the Brookings Institution and the Aspen Institute. He writes frequently for national media and also has worked or consulted for Public Agenda, Oxfam America, the Export-Import Bank, the World Bank, UNICEF, the U.S. Department of Education, and the Kettering Foundation.

NEW EDITION AVAILABLE IN PAPERBACK

# Diversity Explosion

How New Racial Demographics Are Remaking America

*Revised and Updated*

WILLIAM H. FREY

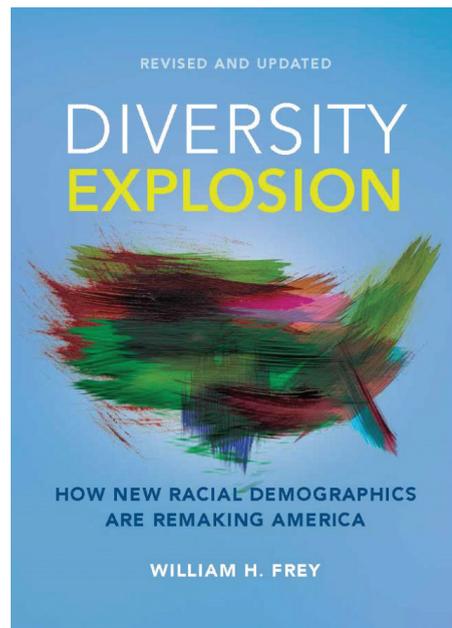
Race is once again a contentious topic in America, as shown by the divisive rise of Donald Trump and the activism of groups like Black Lives Matter. Yet *Diversity Explosion* argues that the current period of profound racial change will lead to a less-divided nation than today's older whites or younger minorities fear. Prominent demographer William Frey sees America's emerging diversity boom as good news for a country that would otherwise face declining growth and rapid aging for many years to come.

In the revised and updated edition of this popular Brookings Press offering, Frey draws from the lessons of the 2016 presidential election and new statistics to paint an illuminating picture of where America's racial demography is headed—and what that means for the nation's future.

Drawing from the U.S. Census, national surveys, and related sources, Frey tells how the rapidly growing "new minorities"—Hispanics, Asians, and multiracial Americans—along with African Americans and other groups, are transforming and reinvigorating the nation's demographic landscape. He discusses their impact on generational change, regional shifts of major racial groups, neighborhood segregation, interracial marriage, and presidential politics.

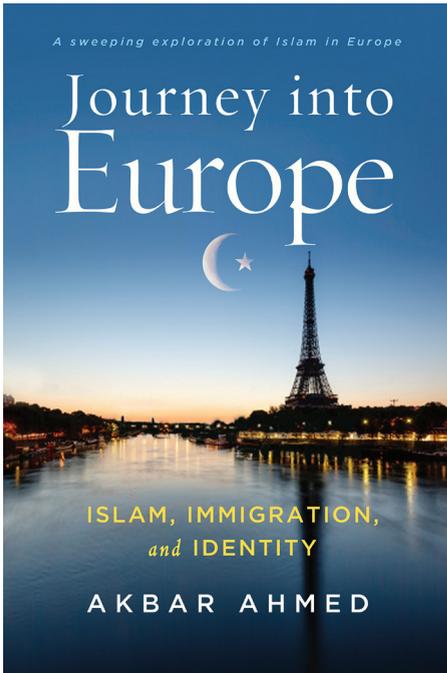
*Diversity Explosion* is an accessible, richly illustrated overview of how unprecedented racial change is remaking the United States once again. It is an essential guide for political strategists, marketers, investors, educators, policymakers, and anyone who wants to understand the magnitude, potential, and promise of the new national melting pot in the twenty-first century.

**William H. Frey** is a senior fellow with the Metropolitan Policy Program at the Brookings Institution and Research Professor in Population Studies at the University of Michigan. Frey is an internationally regarded demographer with expertise in U.S. demographics and American political demographics whose work has been written about in the *Economist*, the *New Yorker*, and *New York Times Magazine*. He is also a frequent commentator on broadcast media.



February 2018, 6½ x 9½, 224 pp.  
paper, 9780815732846, \$19.99†  
ebook, 9780815732853, \$19.99

**Greater racial diversity  
is good news for  
America's future**



February 2018, 6 x 9, 600 pp.  
cloth, 9780815727583, \$34.99†  
ebook, 9780815727590, \$34.99

**An unprecedented,  
richly detailed, and  
clear-eyed exploration  
of Islam in European  
history and civilization**

# Journey into Europe

## Islam, Immigration, and Identity

AKBAR AHMED

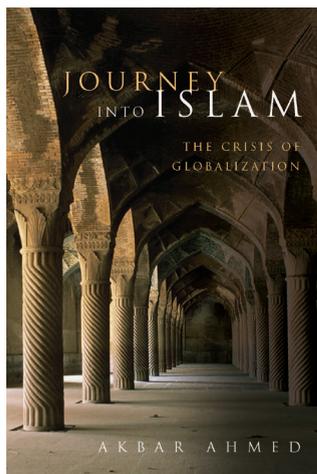
Daily headlines tell of escalating tensions surrounding Muslims in Europe: the refugee crisis, repeated episodes of terrorism, and cultural differences over language and female dress have helped shape a growing rift between the communities, while the parallel rise of right-wing, nationalist political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

Over the past decade, the relationship between European and Islamic societies has been defined by steadily escalating tension. Many Europeans see Islam as an alien, even barbaric force that threatens to overwhelm them and their societies. Muslims, by contrast, face conflicts, torn between Europe's promise of economic well-being and the new reality of intolerance there. Discrimination makes many feel unwelcome in their European homes.

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

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

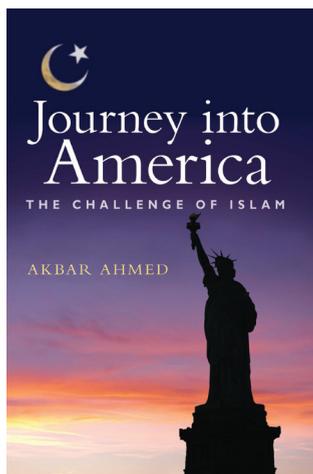
ALSO AVAILABLE BY AKBAR AHMED



## Journey into Islam

The Crisis of Globalization

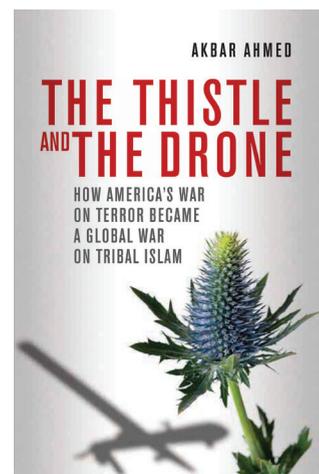
October 2008, 6 x 9, 323 pp.  
cloth, 9780815701323, \$33.99  
paper, 9780815701316, \$21.99  
ebook, 9780815701330, \$16.99



## Journey into America

The Challenge of Islam

June 2010, 6 x 9, 530 pp.  
cloth, 9780815703877, \$35.99  
paper, 9780815722175, \$25.99  
ebook, 9780815704409, \$19.99



## The Thistle and the Drone

How America's War on Terror Became  
a Global War on Tribal Islam

March 2013, 6 x 9, 424 pp.  
cloth, 9780815723783, \$33.99  
ebook, 9780815723790, \$26.99

# The Future of Work

## Robots, AI, and Automation

DARRELL M. WEST

Robots, artificial intelligence, and driverless cars are no longer things of the distant future. They are with us today and will become increasingly common in coming years, along with virtual reality and digital personal assistants.

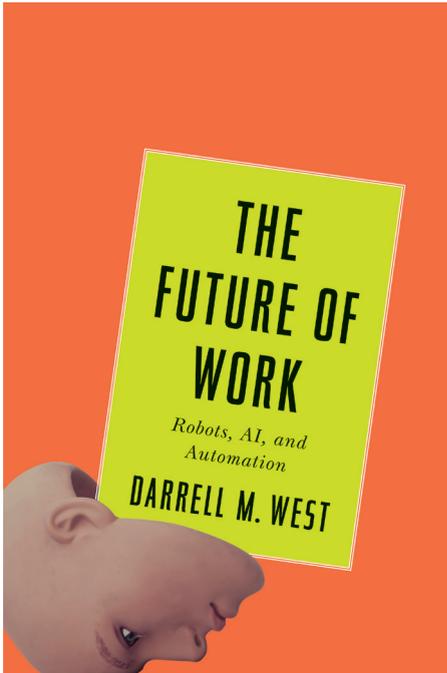
As these tools advance deeper into everyday use, they raise the question—how will they transform society, the economy, and politics? If companies need fewer workers due to automation and robotics, what happens to those who once held those jobs and don't have the skills for new jobs? And since many social benefits are delivered through jobs, how are people outside the workforce for a lengthy period of time going to earn a living and get health care and social benefits?

Looking past today's headlines, political scientist and cultural observer Darrell M. West argues that society needs to rethink the concept of jobs, reconfigure the social contract, move toward a system of lifetime learning, and develop a new kind of politics that can deal with economic dislocations. With the U.S. governance system in shambles because of political polarization and hyper-partisanship, dealing creatively with the transition to a fully digital economy will vex political leaders and complicate the adoption of remedies that could ease the transition pain. It is imperative that we make major adjustments in how we think about work and the social contract in order to prevent society from spiraling out of control, the author argues.

This book presents a number of proposals to help people deal with the transition from an industrial to a digital economy. We must broaden the concept of employment to include volunteering and parenting and pay greater attention to the opportunities for leisure time. New forms of identity will be possible when the "job" no longer defines people's sense of personal meaning, and they engage in a broader range of activities. Workers will need help throughout their lifetimes to acquire new skills and develop new job capabilities. Political reforms will be necessary to reduce polarization and restore civility so there can be open and healthy debate about where responsibility lies for economic well-being.

This book is an important contribution to a discussion about tomorrow—one that needs to take place today.

**Darrell M. West** is vice president of the Governance Studies program at the Brookings Institution. He is the author of *Megachange: Economic Disruption, Political Upheaval, and Social Strife in the 21st Century* (Brookings, 2016) and *Billionaires: Reflections on the Upper Crust* (Brookings, 2014).



July 2018, 6 x 9, 200 pp.  
cloth, 9780815732938, \$21.99a  
ebook, 9780815732945, \$16.99

**Looking for ways to  
handle the transition  
to a digital economy**

PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED

# Epidemic

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

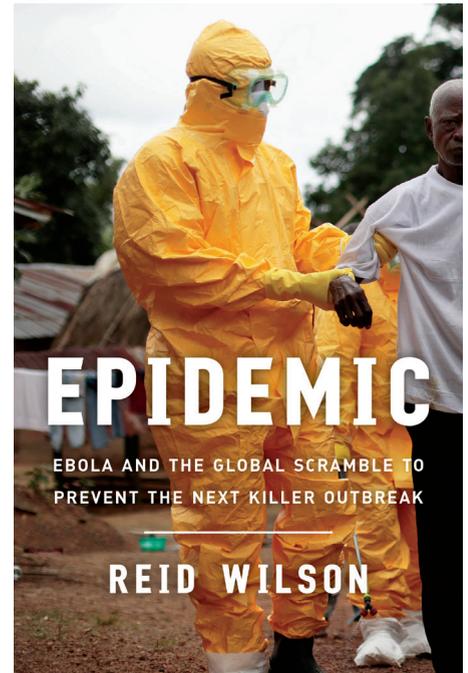
REID WILSON

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

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

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

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



March 2018, 6 x 9, 300 pp.  
cloth, 9780815731351, \$25.99†  
ebook, 9780815731368, \$25.99

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

# The Rise of the Alt-Right

Thomas J. Main

May 2018, 6 x 9, 200 pp.  
cloth, 9780815732884, \$24.99a  
ebook, 9780815732907, \$19.99

What is the Alt-Right,  
and how will  
it affect America?

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## The Rise of the Alt-Right

THOMAS J. MAIN

Donald Trump's election as president in 2016 suddenly brought to prominence a political movement that few in political circles or the mainstream media had paid much attention to: the so-called Alt-Right. Steven Bannon, Trump's campaign manager, was a leading figure in the movement, and the election results seemed to give it a real opportunity to gain some political power.

But what is the Alt-Right? Is it a movement, a theory, a trend, or just an unorganized group of people far outside what used to be the political mainstream in America? Or could it be all of these things? Why has it suddenly emerged into prominence? What impact is it having on American politics today, and what are the prospects for the Alt-Right in the future?

Through careful research and analysis, *The Rise of the Alt-Right* addresses these and other questions, tracing the movement's history from the founding of modern conservatism in postwar America to the current Trump era. Although the Alt-Right might seem to be just the latest extremist group to arise in the United States—one likely to take its place in the graveyard of its many predecessors—Thomas J. Main analyzes evidence that the Alt-Right is having a greater influence on the American political mainstream than did past extremist tendencies. *The Rise of the Alt-Right* is thus an important study for anyone interested in the future of American politics and public life.

**Thomas J. Main** is a professor at the Austin W. Marxe School of Public and International Affairs, Baruch College, CUNY. He is the author of *Homelessness in New York City: Policymaking from Koch to de Blasio* (NYU Press, 2016) and editor of the anthology, *Is the American Constitution Obsolete?* (Carolina Academic Press, 2013). He holds a Ph.D. in politics from Princeton University and an MPA (master in public administration) from the Harvard Kennedy School of Government. He has written widely for academic journals, political magazines, and newspapers.

# Degrees of Debt

## The Impoverishment of the American Student

JAMES V. KOCH

Tuition and fees at public colleges and universities have consistently risen twice or even three times as fast as comparable increases in the Consumer Price Index in recent years. Since 2000 these costs have even grown 60 percent faster than health care costs. The results have been rapidly rising student debt (now \$1.4 trillion nationally), rising delinquencies in debt repayment, and a dysfunctional stratification of public college student bodies on the basis of family incomes. This is a broken, unsustainable model for the majority of public colleges.

Why has this occurred? The multiple causes include declining state support, the avaricious behavior of individual institutions, their reluctance to adopt productivity-increasing innovations, their cost-increasing competition for higher *U.S. News* ratings, and misdirected federal student financial aid policies.

The key actors are the 50,000 members of the governing boards of public colleges, who too often forget that their primary responsibility is to citizens, taxpayers, and the 15 million students. Instead, board members are co-opted by clever administrators into approving tuition and fee increases well beyond what is needed to make up for declining state funding. Concerted, informed public pressure on governors, legislators, and board members is necessary to move institutions in more positive directions.

Higher education funding and tuition and fee inflation are complicated matters that very few people understand well. *Degrees of Debt* clarifies the central issues and provides plentiful data to support its key points. It is a must-read for anyone who believes that maintaining access to and the affordability of public colleges are vitally important to our society's future.

**James V. Koch** is Board of Visitors Professor of Economics at Old Dominion University and served fifteen years as a college president (Old Dominion and the University of Montana). He has been a consultant for more than 100 colleges and businesses and has written widely about economics and higher education.

April 2018, 6 x 9, 200 pp.  
cloth, 9780815732617, \$22.99a  
ebook, 9780815732624, \$17.99

**Is the end in sight for  
college tuition hikes?**

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# American Grand Strategy in the Age of Trump

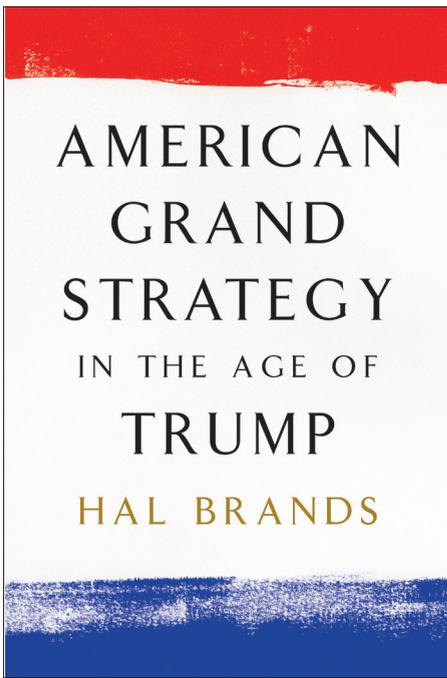
HAL BRANDS

American foreign policy is in a state of upheaval. The rise of Donald Trump and his “America First” platform have created more uncertainty about America’s role in the world than at any time in recent decades. From the South China Sea, to the Middle East, to the Baltics and Eastern Europe, the geopolitical challenges to U.S. power and influence seem increasingly severe—and America’s responses to those challenges seem increasingly unsure. Questions that once had widely accepted answers are now up for debate. What role should the United States play in the world? Can, and should, America continue to pursue an engaged and assertive strategy in global affairs?

In this book, a leading scholar of grand strategy helps to make sense of the headlines and the upheaval by providing sharp yet nuanced assessments of the most critical issues in American grand strategy today. Hal Brands asks, and answers, such questions as: Has America really blundered aimlessly in the world since the end of the Cold War, or has its grand strategy actually been mostly sensible and effective? Is America in terminal decline, or can it maintain its edge in a harsher and more competitive environment? Did the Obama administration focus on disastrous retrenchment, or did it execute a shrewd foreign policy to maximize U.S. power for the long term? Does Donald Trump’s presidency mean that American internationalism is dead? What type of grand strategy might America pursue in the age of Trump and after? What would happen if the United States radically pulled back from the world, as many leading academics—and, at certain moments, the current president—have advocated? How much military power does America need in the current international environment?

Grappling with these kinds of issues is essential to understanding the state of America’s foreign relations today—and what path the country might take in the years ahead. At a time when American grand strategy often seems consumed by crisis, this collection of essays provides an invaluable guide to thinking about both the recent past and the future of America’s role in the world.

**Hal Brands** is Henry A. Kissinger Distinguished Professor of Global Affairs at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies and Senior Fellow at the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments. His other books include *What Good Is Grand Strategy?* (Cornell University Press, 2015) and *Making the Unipolar Moment* (Cornell University Press, 2016). He has served in the Pentagon as a special assistant to the secretary of defense for strategic planning.



AMERICAN  
GRAND  
STRATEGY  
IN THE AGE OF  
TRUMP  
HAL BRANDS

January 2018, 5½ x 8½, 224 pp.  
paper, 9780815732785, \$25.99  
ebook, 9780815732792, \$19.99

Looking beyond the headlines to address the enduring grand strategic questions facing the United States today

# Putin's Counterrevolution

SERGEY ALEKSASHENKO

During his nearly twenty years at the center of Russian political power, Vladimir Putin has transformed the vast country in many ways, not all of them for the better. The near chaos of the early post-Soviet years has been replaced by an increasingly rigid authoritarianism, resembling a hard-fisted monarchy more than the previous communist dictatorship. Putin's early years in power saw rapid economic growth, averaging nearly 7 percent annually, and the rise of Moscow as a vibrant European-style city. But a slowdown during the second half of Putin's administration, since 2009, has resulted in the stagnation of the economy, especially in the hinterlands, with few signs of a possible turnaround.

What accounted for these changes in Russia? Sergey Aleksashenko, a former top Russian finance official and then private businessman, lays the blame squarely on Putin himself, even more than external factors such as the sharp fall in oil prices or Western sanctions after Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014.

In his relentless drive to consolidate power in his own hands, Aleksashenko writes, Putin has destroyed the very idea of competition for political power. He has done so by systematically undercutting basic political institutions of the post-Soviet Russian state, including independent power centers such as the parliament, the judiciary, and a free media. In the economic realm, Putin effectively undermined Russia's still-emerging and very fragile system for protecting property rights—the basis of all economic activity. This in turn caused a sharp decline in private investment and thus contributed to the long-term economic slowdown.

A key result of Putin's rule has been the destruction of the emerging checks and balances system in Russia—a major setback for Russia if and when it decides to become a “normal” democratic country based on Western values. *Putin's Counterrevolution* offers universal lessons in the necessity of checks and balances in any political system—as well as in the importance of vibrant political institutions for economic growth.

**Sergey Aleksashenko** is a nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. In the 1990s he was in public service in Russia, serving as deputy minister of finance and first deputy governor of the Central Bank of Russia. Afterward he spent ten years in Russian and international business. Since 2008 he has been in academia. His previous book, *The Battle for the Ruble* (Vremia, 2009), gives an insider's view of the 1998 financial crisis in Russia.

July 2018, 6 x 9, 224 pp.  
paper, 9780815732761, \$37.99  
ebook, 9780815732778, \$29.99

**How Putin's autocracy  
undercut Russia's economy  
and chances for democracy**

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PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED

# The New Autocracy

Information, Politics, and Policy in Putin's Russia

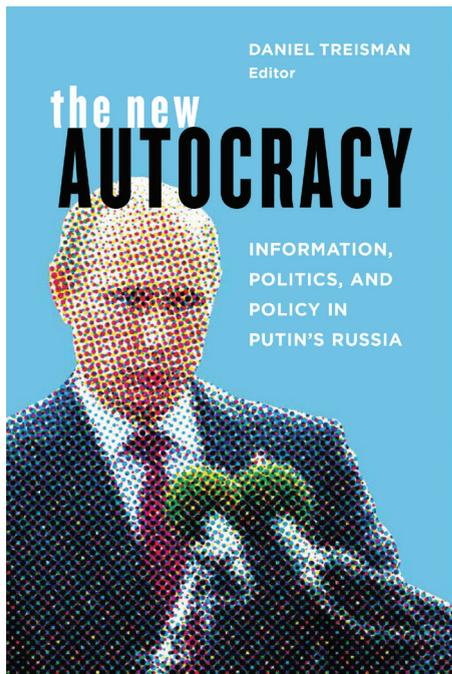
DANIEL TREISMAN, EDITOR

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

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

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

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



February 2018, 6 x 9, 316 pp.  
paper, 9780815732433, \$35.99  
ebook, 9780815732440, \$27.99

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

# Bucharest Diary

## An American Ambassador's Memoir

ALFRED H. MOSES

In the 1970s American attorney Alfred H. Moses was approached on the streets of Bucharest by young Jews seeking help to emigrate to Israel. This became the author's mission until the communist regime fell in 1989. Before that Moses had met periodically with Romania's communist dictator, Nicolae Ceausescu, to persuade him to allow increased Jewish emigration. This experience deepened Moses's interest in Romania—an interest that culminated in his serving as U.S. ambassador to the country from 1994 to 1997 during the Clinton administration.

The ambassador's time of service in Romania came just a few years after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the subsequent collapse of communism in Eastern Europe. During this period Romania faced economic paralysis and was still buried in the rubble of communism. Over the next three years Moses helped nurture Romania's nascent democratic institutions, promoted privatization of Romania's economy, and shepherded Romania on the path toward full integration with Western institutions. Through frequent press conferences, speeches, and writings in the Romanian and Western press and in his meetings with Romanian officials at the highest level, he stated in plain language the steps Romania needed to take before it could be accepted in the West as a free and democratic country.

*Bucharest Diary: An American Ambassador's Memoir* is filled with firsthand stories, including colorful anecdotes, of the public and private diplomacy that helped Romania recover from four decades of communist rule and, eventually, become a member of both NATO and the European Union. Romania still struggles today with the consequences of its history, but it has reached many of its post-communist goals, which Ambassador Moses championed at a crucial time.

This book will be of special interest to readers of history and public affairs—in particular those interested in Jewish life under communist rule in Eastern Europe and how the United States and its Western partners helped rebuild an important country devastated by communism.

**Alfred H. Moses** is a Washington attorney, author, and former partner in a major Washington law firm. He was special counsel to President Jimmy Carter (1980–81), U.S. ambassador to Romania (1994–97), and special presidential envoy for the Cyprus conflict (1999–2001). He was national president of the American Jewish Committee immediately before becoming ambassador. Presently chairman of U.S. Watch (Geneva), he has written several books and numerous articles appearing in the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and other periodicals in the United States, Europe, and Israel. In 2002 he was awarded Romania's Mare Cruce Medal (Order For Merit) by President Ion Iliescu of Romania, the only American to have been so honored.

June 2018, 6 x 9, 220 pp.  
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**An insider's account of  
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# MELTDOWN

*Inside the Fukushima Nuclear Crisis*



YOICHI FUNABASHI

March 2018, 6 x 9, 400 pp.  
cloth, 9780815732594, \$39.99  
ebook, 9780815732600, \$31.99

**The human drama,  
and long-term lessons,  
of the Fukushima  
nuclear disaster**

## Meltdown

### Inside the Fukushima Nuclear Crisis

YOICHI FUNABASHI

The Fukushima nuclear disaster in March 2011 presented an enormous challenge to Japan, one of the world's most advanced and organized countries. Failures at all levels—of both the government and the private sector—worsened the human and economic impact of the disaster and ensured that the consequences would continue for many years to come.

Based on interviews with more than 300 government officials, power plant operators, and military personnel during the years since the disaster, *Meltdown* is a meticulous recounting and analysis of the human stories behind the response to the Fukushima disaster.

While the people battling to deal with the crisis at the site of the power plant were risking their lives, the government at the highest levels in Tokyo was in disarray and the utility company that operated the plants seemed focused more on power struggles with the government than on dealing with the crisis. The author, one of Japan's most eminent journalists, provides an unrivaled chronological account of the immediate two weeks of human struggle to contain man-made technology that was overwhelmed by nature.

Yoichi Funabashi provides insights into why Japan's decisionmaking process failed almost as dramatically as had the Fukushima nuclear reactors, which went into meltdown following a major tsunami. Funabashi uses the Fukushima experience to draw lessons on leadership, governance, disaster resilience, and crisis management—lessons that have universal application and pertinence for an increasingly technology-driven and interconnected global society.

**Yoichi Funabashi** is chairman of Asia Pacific Initiative (AP Initiative), a Tokyo-based think tank that includes the Rebuild Japan Initiative Foundation (RIJF) as one of its research programs. He was former editor-in-chief of *Asahi Shimbun*, Japan's foremost newspaper, and his previous books include *The Peninsula Question* (Brookings, 2007) and *Managing the Dollar: From the Plaza to the Louvre* (Peterson Institute, 1989).

# A New City O/S

## The Power of Open, Collaborative, and Distributed Governance

STEPHEN GOLDSMITH *and* NEIL KLEIMAN

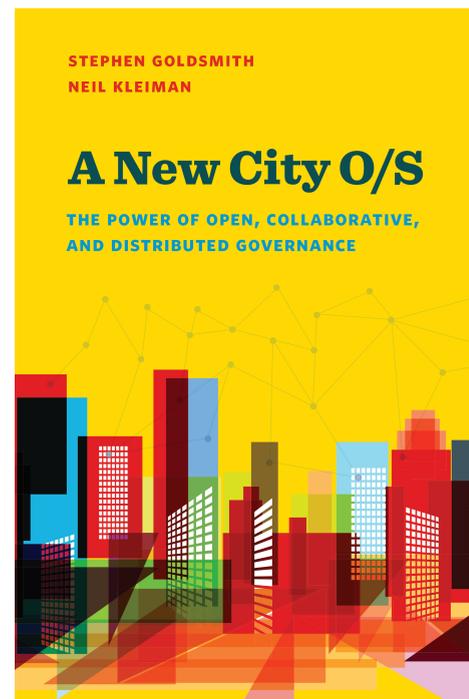
At a time when trust is dropping precipitously and American government at the national level has fallen into a state of long-term, partisan-based gridlock, local government can still be effective—indeed more effective and even more responsive to the needs of its citizens. Based on decades of direct experience and years studying successful models around the world, the authors of this intriguing book propose a new operating system (O/S) for cities. Former mayor and Harvard professor Stephen Goldsmith and New York University professor Neil Kleiman suggest building on the giant leaps that have been made in technology, social engagement, and big data.

Calling their approach “distributed governance,” Goldsmith and Kleiman offer a model that allows public officials to mobilize new resources, surface ideas from unconventional sources, and arm employees with the information they need to become pre-emptive problem solvers. This book highlights lessons from the many innovations taking place in today’s cities to show how a new O/S can create systemic transformation.

For students of government, *A New City O/S: The Power of Open, Collaborative, and Distributed Governance* presents a groundbreaking strategy for rethinking the governance of cities, marking an important evolution of the current bureaucratic authority-based model dating from the 1920s. More important, the book is designed for practitioners, starting with public-sector executives, managers, and frontline workers. By weaving real-life examples into a coherent model, the authors have created a step-by-step guide for all those who would put the needs of citizens front and center. Nothing will do more to restore trust in government than solutions that work. *A New City O/S* puts those solutions within reach of those public officials responsible for their delivery.

**Stephen Goldsmith** is the Daniel Paul Professor of the Practice of Government and the Director of the Innovations in American Government Program at Harvard Kennedy School. He previously served as deputy mayor of New York and mayor of Indianapolis, where he earned a reputation as one of the country’s leaders in public-private partnerships, competition, and privatization. His most recent book is *The Responsive City: Engaging Communities through Data-Smart Governance* (Jossey-Bass, 2014).

**Neil Kleiman** is a clinical professor at New York University’s Wagner School of Public Service and the Center for Urban Science + Progress. His research focuses on urban innovation and uses of technology and big data. He is policy director of the National Resource Network, a public/private consortium supporting economically challenged cities, and was founding director of the New York City-based Center for an Urban Future.



November 2017, 6 x 9, 180 pp.  
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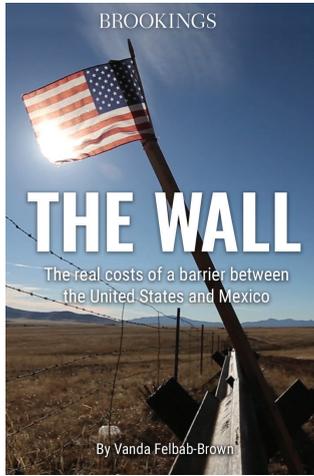
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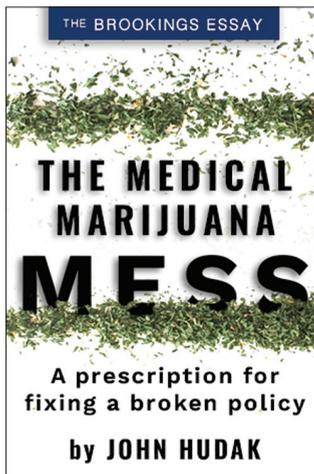
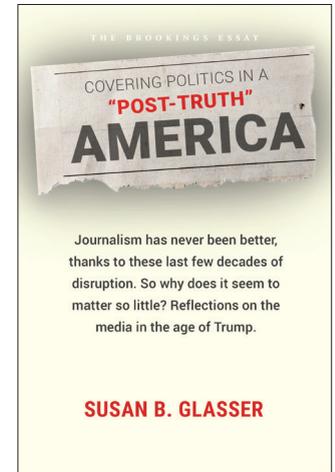
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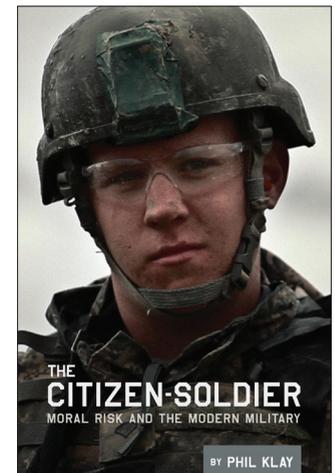
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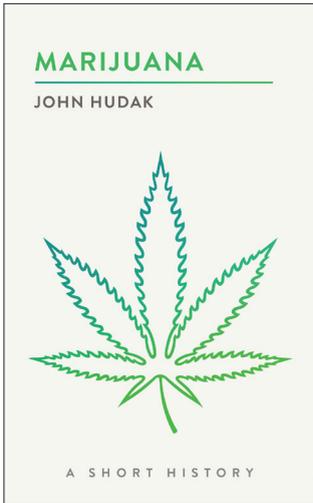
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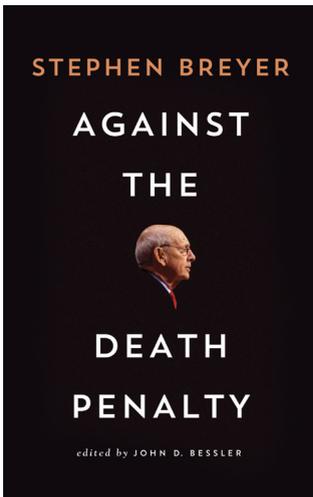
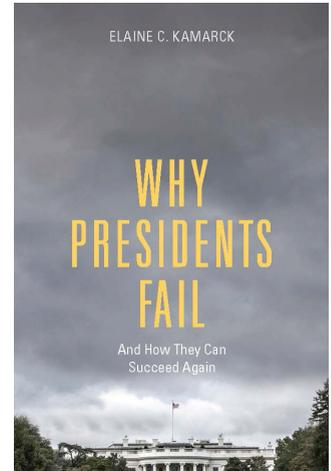
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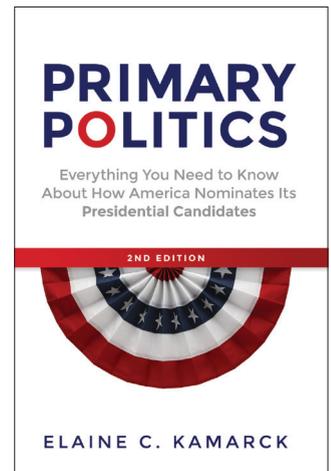
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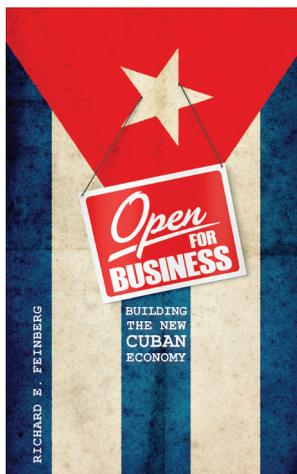


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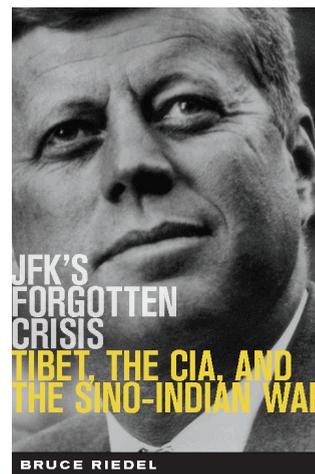


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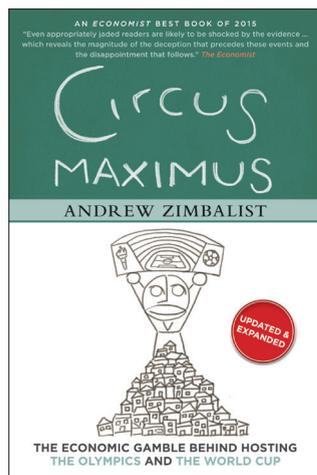


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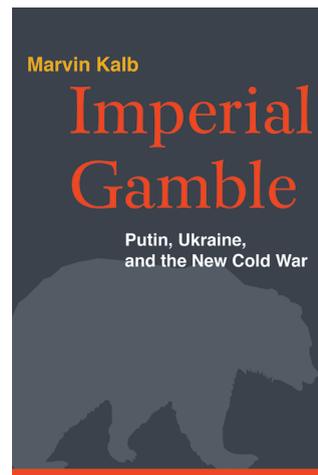
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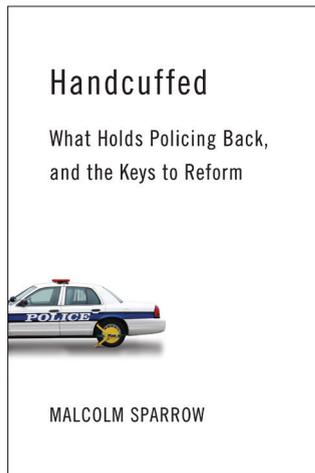
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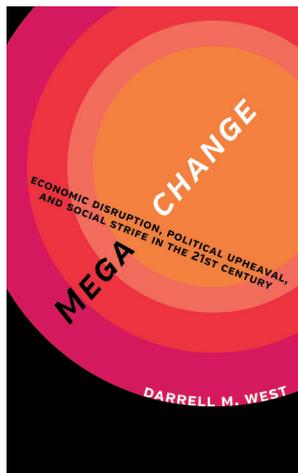


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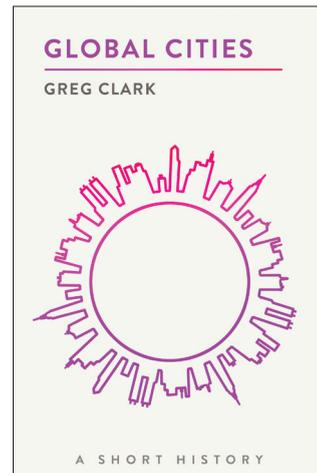


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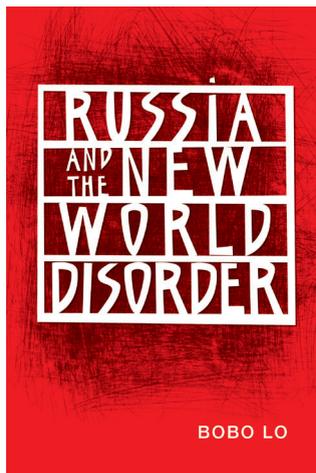


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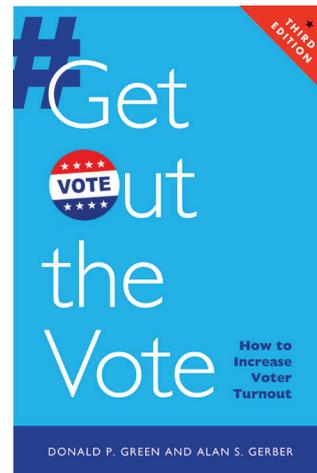
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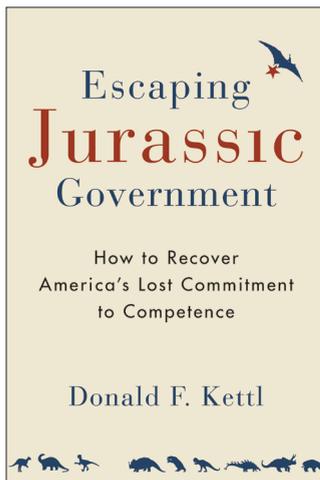
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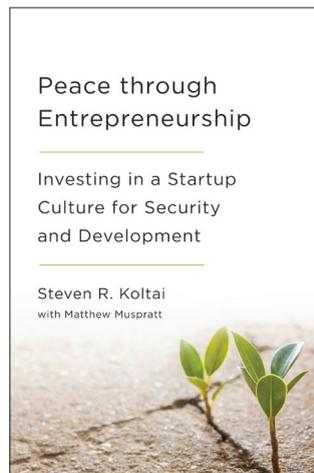
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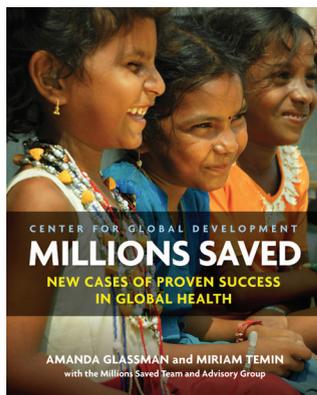
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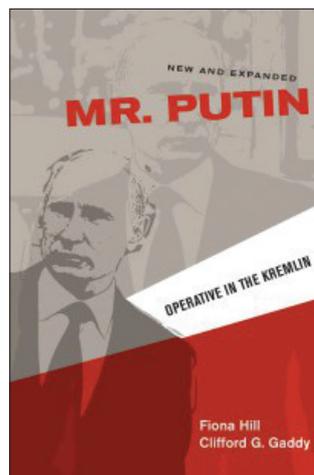
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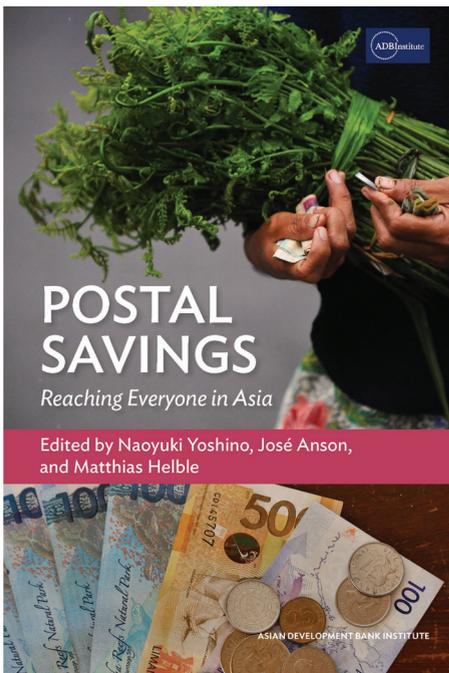
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## Postal Savings

Reaching Everyone in Asia

NAOYUKI YOSHINO, JOSÉ ANSON, *and* MATTHIAS HELBLE, EDITORS

Rapid economic growth in Asia has gone hand in hand with increased savings. Yet, many people remain unbanked and savings are often invested abroad. If Asia is to continue to grow, governments must explore ways to better mobilize domestic finance and increase financial access. One way is through postal savings. This book (i) explains the benefits of postal savings, (ii) presents strategies ranging from a simple model of postal savings to full-fledged banking services, (iii) assesses national regulations, (iv) studies the challenges and opportunities arising from new technologies such as fintech, and (v) recommends ways to promote postal savings in developing Asia.

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

**José Anson** is an economist at Universal Postal Union.

**Matthias Helble** is a senior economist and co-chair, Research, at the Asian Development Bank Institute.

March 2018, 6 x 9, 260 pp.  
paper, 9784899740834, \$30.00

# Wealthy but Healthy

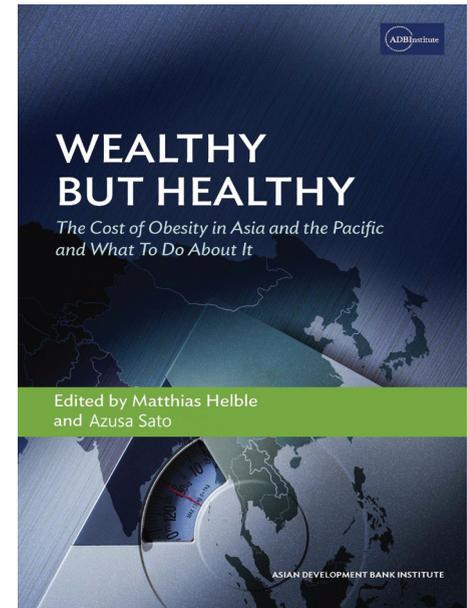
## The Cost of Obesity in Asia and the Pacific and What to Do About It

MATTHIAS HELBLE *and* AZUSA SATO, EDITORS

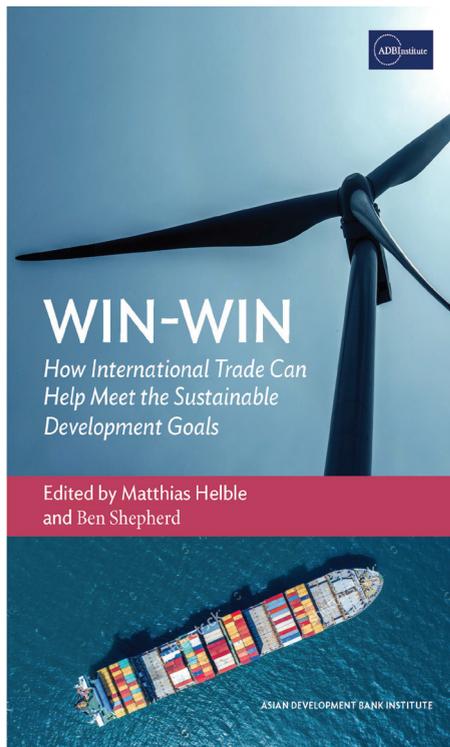
Asia and the Pacific have recently recorded high rates of not only economic growth but also overweight and obesity, which are important risk factors for diseases such as diabetes, cardiovascular diseases, and certain types of cancer. Both conditions reduce productivity and thus have a direct impact on economies. Both conditions are also typically chronic and often require lifelong treatment, which burdens households and governments. This book (i) summarizes the knowledge on overweight and obesity in the region; (ii) presents the main determinants of overweight and obesity across countries; (iii) evaluates the economic costs of overweight and obesity, including the negative impact on productivity and higher probability of premature death; and (iv) recommends ways to lower the incidence of overweight based on market and nonmarket-based instruments.

**Matthias Helble** is a senior economist and co-chair, Research, at the Asian Development Bank Institute.

**Azusa Sato** is a health specialist in the South East Asia Regional Department at the Asian Development Bank, Manila.



April 2018, 6 x 9, 260 pp.  
paper, 9784899740858, \$35.00



March 2018, 6 x 9, 400 pp.  
paper, 9784899740810, \$37.00

## Win-Win

### How International Trade Can Help Meet the Sustainable Development Goals

MATTHIAS HELBLE *and* BEN SHEPHERD, EDITORS

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), adopted in 2015, are expected to chart a course for development over the next 15 years. The 17 SDGs cover poverty, health, sustainable development, and the environment, among others, but not trade. This book shows that international trade can contribute to achieving all SDGs. It maps out a triple-win scenario where good trade policy (i) spurs international trade, (ii) contributes to development, and (iii) helps achieve the SDGs.

**Matthias Helble** is a senior economist and co-chair, Research, at the Asian Development Bank Institute.

**Ben Shepherd** is the principal of Developing Trade Consultants.

# Avoiding the Middle-Income Trap in Asia

The Role of Trade, Manufacturing, and Finance

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

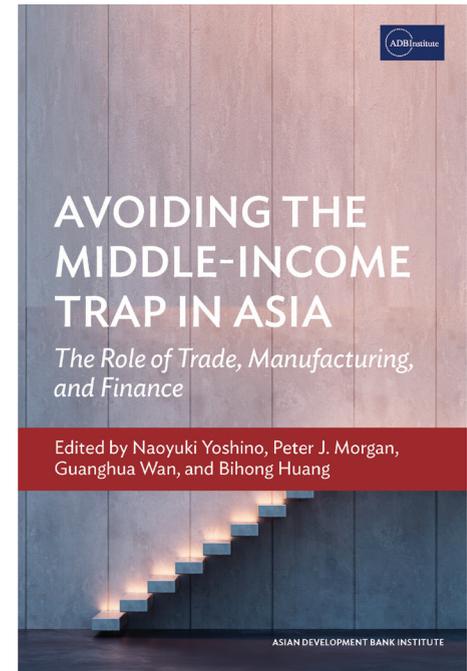
Since many policymakers aspire to pull their countries out of the middle-income trap and into the ranks of high-income countries, they must understand the factors that hinder or support the transition. This book defines the middle-income trap and examines the roles of manufacturing, finance, and trade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

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

**Peter J. Morgan** is senior consulting economist and co-chair, Research, at the Asian Development Bank Institute.

**Guanghua Wan** is principal economist of the Economic Research and Regional Cooperation Department at the Asian Development Bank.

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



May 2018, 6 x 9, 220 pp.  
paper, 9784899740797, \$30.00

## Order from Ashes

### New Foundations for Security in the Middle East

MICHAEL WAHID HANNA and THANASSIS CAMBANIS, EDITORS

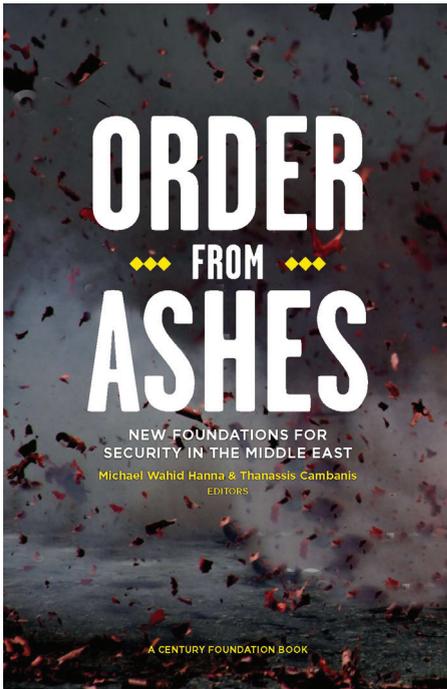
The Middle East is experiencing unprecedented political turmoil, violence, and state failure. It also suffers from a unique deficit in its peace and security architecture, even compared to other fractious or unevenly developed regions. Key stakeholders have failed to address the lack of formal structures, even though chronic conflict and sharp crises regularly underscore the deadly and destabilizing consequences.

In this volume, established researchers explore the possibilities for creating security architecture and institutions to facilitate cooperation and mitigate the risks of conflict escalation. These studies examine past and current efforts to undertake regional security dialogue; approaches to collective security; confidence-building measures that can decrease tensions and establish precedents for security cooperation; non-Arab regional actors and outside parties and their role in regional security efforts; and the shape and scope of a future regional security system.

A grim urgency marks the current historical moment. The Middle East gravely needs new ideas to advance regional security. While crisis and conflict have exacerbated threats and fears, they have also created opportunities for carefully crafted prescriptions and alternative security frameworks.

**Michael Wahid Hanna** is a senior fellow at The Century Foundation in New York and an adjunct senior fellow at the Center on Law and Security at New York University School of Law. His research focuses on international security, international law, regional politics, and U.S. policy in the Middle East and South Asia.

**Thanassis Cambanis** is a senior fellow at The Century Foundation in Beirut and columnist for the *Boston Globe*. His research focuses on Arab political and social movements and U.S. policy in the Middle East.



April 2018, 6 x 9, 420 pp.  
paper, 9780870785504, \$34.99

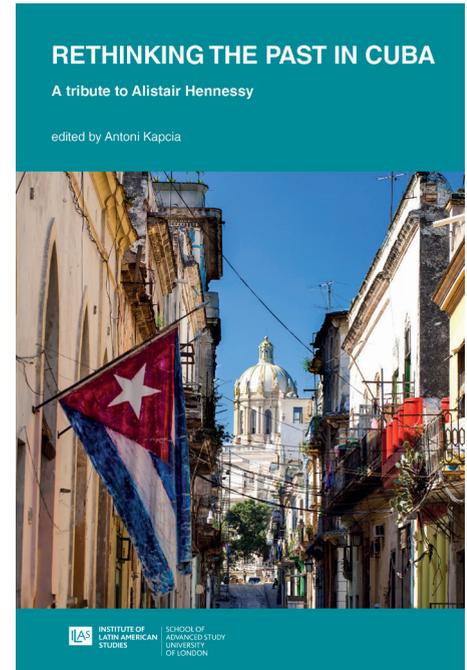
# Rethinking the Past in Cuba

## A Tribute to Alistair Hennessy

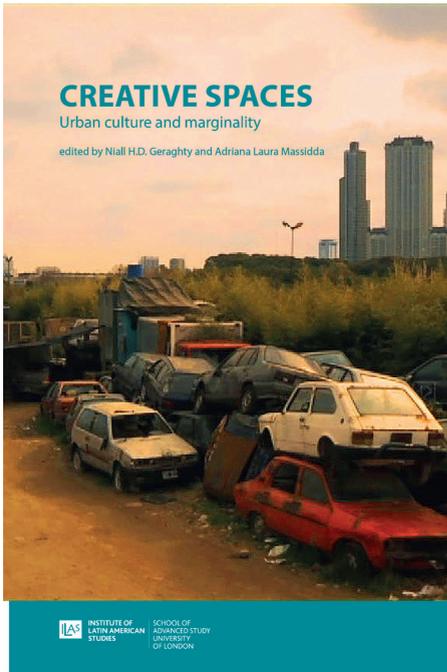
ANTONI KAPCIA, EDITOR

This collection of essays and research articles pays homage to the seminal influence and contribution made by the late Alistair Hennessy toward the development of Cuban studies. It includes writing from both new researchers as well as several leading experts on a wide range of current and historical social, cultural, and political issues in Cuba, including papers on race and “ethnic whitening,” Cuban socialism and international Cuban migration. That mixture together with the combination of topics reflects Hennessy’s own cross-disciplinary and open-minded approach to the study of the history of Cuba.

**Antoni Kapcia** is professor of Latin American history at the University of Nottingham. He is also the author of *Cuba: Island of Dreams* (2000) and *Havana: The Making of Cuban Culture* (2005).



November 2017, 5 x 8, 300 pp.  
paper, 9781908857415, \$30.00



May 2018, 5 x 8, 300 pp.  
paper, 9781908857484, \$30.00

## Creative Spaces

### Urban Culture and Marginality in Latin America

NIALL GERAGHTY and ADRIANA LAURA MASSIDDA, EDITORS

*Creative Spaces: Urban Culture and Marginality in Latin America* is an interdisciplinary exploration of the different ways in which marginal urban spaces have become privileged locations for creativity in Latin America. The collection reassesses theories of “marginality” in the region and argues that these notions invariably allow for the production of the new in contemporary society. Moreover, the book explores how this creativity reveals, manifests, and challenges existing tensions in Latin American space, culture, and society. The essays are drawn from a wide spectrum of disciplines, ranging from cultural and urban studies to architecture and sociology. Includes case studies on Juan Rulfo’s photographs of Mexico City and the Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

**Niall Geraghty** is a postdoctoral fellow at the Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London. His research interests include investigating the intersections between critical theory, philosophy, and politics within contemporary Latin American cultural production and the development of liberation theology in Latin America.

**Adriana Laura Massidda** is currently a teaching fellow at the Bartlett School of Architecture, University College London. She obtained her architectural training from the University of Buenos Aires (2006) and has worked in practice in Argentina and in the United Kingdom.

# Shaping Migration between Europe and Latin America

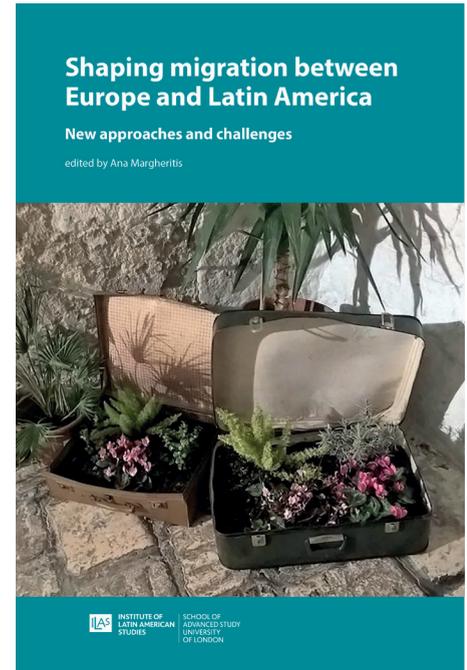
## New Approaches and Challenges

ANA MARGHERITIS, EDITOR

A fascinating examination of historical international migration patterns and cultural conversations across and between Latin America and Europe, this volume focuses on two world regions historically linked by human mobility and cultural exchange but now responding to significant demographic changes and new migration trends.

The contributions address the subject from a diversity of disciplinary and methodological perspectives. They illustrate trends and practices at various levels of analysis (for example, local, national, and regional). Includes essays on Brazilian sex workers in Europe, Latin American careworkers in Italy, and concepts of shifting identity.

**Ana Margheritis** is reader in international relations at the University of Southampton. Her areas of expertise include transnational migration, comparative regional integration, foreign policy, inter-American relations, and Latin American political economy.



May 2018, 5 x 8, 300 pp.  
paper, 9781908857453, \$30.00

# Transformation Index BTI 2018

## Political Management in International Comparison

BERTELSMANN STIFTUNG, EDITOR

Based on comprehensive country reports and in collaboration with about 250 internationally recognized experts, the BTI 2018 for the eighth time gives a detailed picture of the impact of reform strategies on democracy under the rule of law, a market economy anchored in principles of social justice and governance. The BTI provides significant impetus and information for the work of foreign and development policy stakeholders, academia and media, as well as for local democrats and reformers. The present volume summarizes the most important global and regional developments between 2015 and 2017.

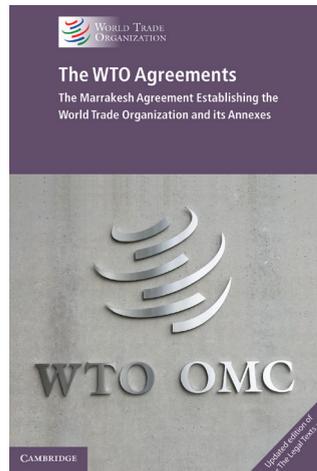


April 2018, 7 x 10, 140 pp.  
paper, 9783867937979, \$22.00

## The WTO Agreements, 2nd Edition

The Marrakesh Agreement Establishing the World Trade Organization and Its Annexes

Updated Edition of "The Legal Texts"



### THE WTO AGREEMENTS

January 2018, 6 x 9, 550 pp.  
cloth, 9781108423823, \$90.00  
paper, 9781108438438, \$40.00

### LES ACCORDS DE L'OMC

January 2018, 6 x 9, 550 pp.  
cloth, 9789287046413, \$90.00  
paper, 9789287045171, \$40.00

### LOS ACUERDOS DE LA OMC

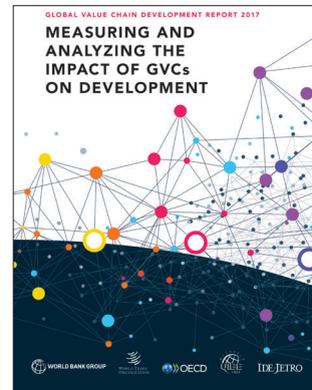
January 2018, 6 x 9, 550 pp.  
cloth, 9789287046420, \$90.00  
paper, 9789287045195, \$40.00

This publication contains the text of the WTO's founding agreement, the 1994 Marrakesh Agreement Establishing the World Trade Organization, and its annexes. In addition to the original text, it contains all amendments and additions to the Agreement since its entry into force. These include the revised Government Procurement Agreement, an amendment to the WTO's intellectual property agreement aimed at improving developing countries' access to medicines, and the WTO's landmark Trade Facilitation Agreement, which entered into force in February 2017. The publication updates and replaces *The Legal Texts: The Results of the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations*, which was first printed in 1994.

*The WTO Agreements* is the definitive reference for all practicing and academic trade lawyers and an essential addition to all international law

libraries, for students taking courses on international economic or trade law, and for economists and political researchers.

## Global Value Chain Development Report 2017



November 2017, 6 x 9, 204 pp.  
paper, 9789287041258, \$60.00

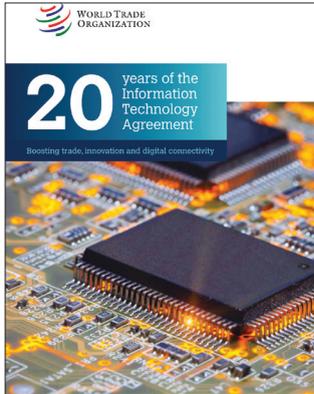
Global value chains (GVCs) break up the production process so that different steps can be carried out in different countries. Many smart phones and televisions, for example, are designed in the United States or Japan. They have sophisticated inputs, such as semiconductors and processors, which are produced in Korea or Taiwan Province of China. And they are assembled in China. They are then marketed and receive after-sale servicing in Europe and the United States. These

complex global production arrangements have transformed the nature of trade. But their complexity has also created difficulties in understanding trade and in formulating policies that allow firms and governments to capitalize on GVCs and to mitigate negative side effects.

This publication provides a detailed map of GVCs, enabling policymakers to have a better understanding of the ongoing development and evolution of GVCs and the relationship between economic development and GVC participation. Copublished with the World Bank, OECD, IDE-JETRO, and the Research Center for Global Value Chain Research. The joint research undertaken by these organizations aims to synthesize the parties' knowledge and expertise on GVC studies and to contribute to better policymaking by the international community.

## 20 Years of the Information Technology Agreement

Boosting Trade, Innovation and Digital Connectivity

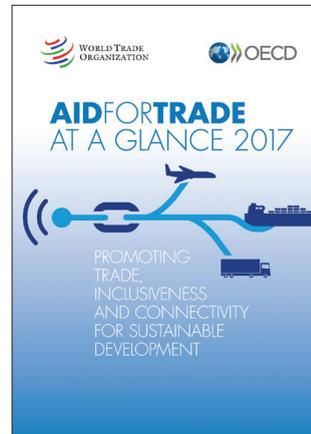


September 2017, 8 x 11, 96 pp.  
paper, 9789287045355, \$40.00

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

## Aid for Trade at a Glance 2017

Promoting Trade, Inclusiveness and Connectivity for Sustainable Development

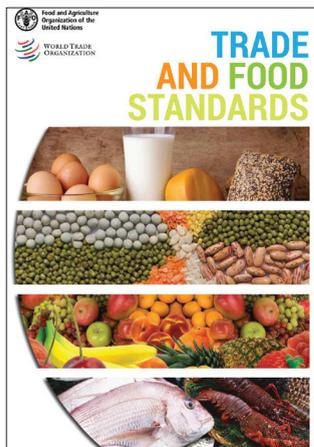


September 2017, 8 x 11, 552 pp.  
paper, 9789287045393, \$70.00

*Aid for Trade at a Glance* focuses on trade connectivity, which is critical for economic growth, inclusiveness and sustainable development. Physical connectivity enables the movement of goods and services to local, regional and global markets. It is closely intertwined with digital connectivity, which is vital in today's trade environment. Yet, the internet remains inaccessible for 3.9 billion people globally, many of whom live in the least developed countries.

The report builds on the analysis of trade costs and extends it into the digital domain, reflecting the changing nature of trade. It seeks to identify ways to support developing countries—and notably the least developed—in realizing the gains from trade. It reviews action being taken by a broad range of stakeholders to promote connectivity for sustainable development, including by governments, their development partners, and the private sector. One message that emerges strongly is that participation in e-commerce requires much more than a simple internet connection.

## Trade and Food Standards



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

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

## Investing in Skills for Inclusive Trade



October 2017, 6 x 8, 186 pp.  
paper, 9789287040169, \$40.00

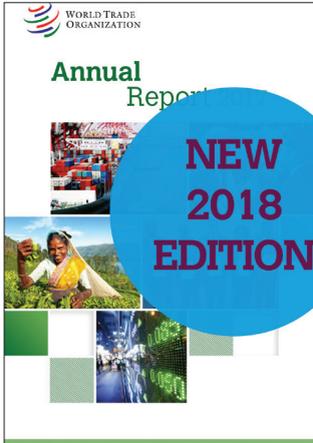
In recent decades, the global economy has experienced a profound transformation due to trade integration and technological progress as well as important political changes. This transformation has been accompanied by significant positive effects at the global level, as increased trade integration has helped to raise incomes in advanced and developing economies, lifting millions out of poverty. At the same time, it has translated into changes experienced by individuals, companies, and communities. While overall, better job opportunities are on the rise, workers who are

forced to leave their existing jobs may find it difficult to share in these improvements.

Policies aimed at facilitating adjustment can reduce the number of those left behind by trade or technology, while at the same time raising the net gains from these developments, improving overall efficiency, and boosting incomes.

Given the role of skills in productivity and in trade performance as well as in access to employment and wage distribution, a strong emphasis on skills development is vital for both firms and workers. This publication argues that in the current fast-changing context of globalization, where technology and trade relations evolve rapidly, the responsiveness of skills supply to demand plays a central role not only from an efficiency perspective, but also from a distributional perspective. Featuring results from the ILO's Skills for Trade and Economic Diversification (STED) program, this report shows that appropriate skills development policies are key to helping firms participate in trade, and also to helping workers find good jobs.

## Annual Report 2018



The Annual Report 2018 provides an overview of WTO activities in 2017 and early 2018. The report begins with a message from WTO Director-General Roberto Azevêdo, followed by a brief overview of 2017–18 and more in-depth accounts of WTO activities over the past year.

### **ANNUAL REPORT 2018**

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paper, 9789287045096, \$50.00

## How Trade Can Help to Reduce Poverty

### 10 Case Studies

This joint report is a follow-up to “The Role of Trade in Ending Poverty” co-published by the WTO and the World Bank in 2015. The new publication brings together 10 case studies to look at the different ways in which trade can help to reduce poverty.

January 2018, 9¼ x 11¾, 100 pp.  
paper, 9789287045218, \$40.00

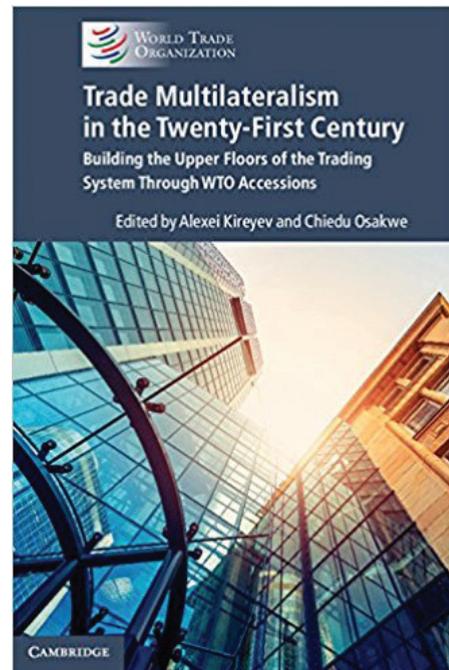
# Trade Multilateralism in the Twenty-First Century

Building the Upper Floors of the Trading System through WTO Accessions

ALEXEI KIREYEV *and* CHIEDU OSAKWE, EDITORS

Trade multilateralism in the twenty-first-century century faces a serious test as weakness in the global economy and fast-paced technological changes create a challenging environment for world trade. This book examines how an updated and robust, rules-based multilateral framework, anchored in the WTO, remains indispensable to maximizing the benefits of global economic integration and to reviving world trade. By examining recent accessions to the WTO, it reveals how the growing membership of the WTO has helped to support domestic reforms and to strengthen the rules-based framework of the WTO. It argues that the new realities of the twenty-first century require an upgrade to the architecture of the multilateral trading system. By erecting its 'upper floors' on the foundation of existing trade rules, the WTO can continue to adapt to a fast-changing environment and to maximize the benefits brought about by its ever-expanding membership.

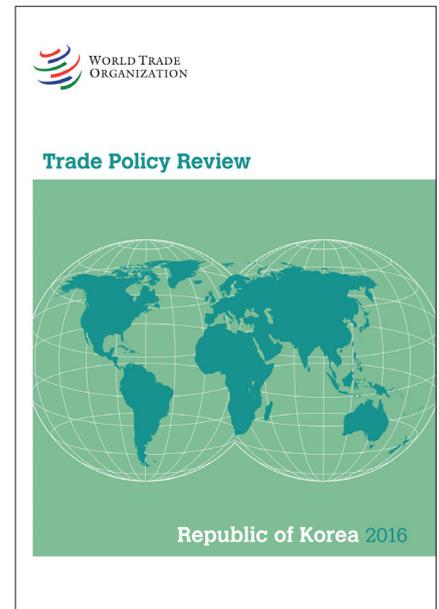
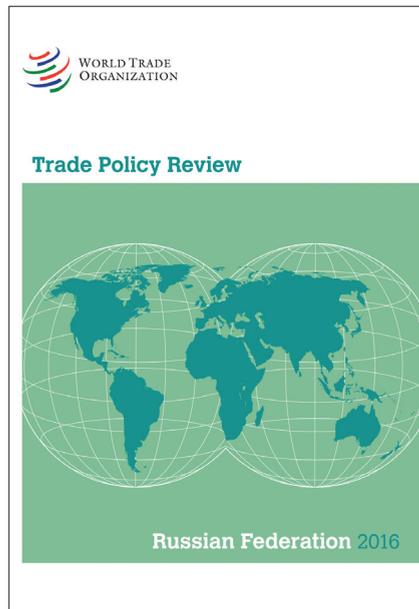
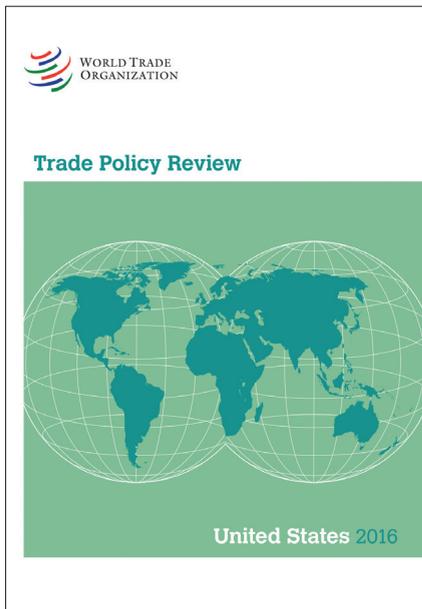
- Includes contributions from top-policy-makers and chief negotiators, providing first-hand accounts and expertise in trade policy-making
- Analyses WTO accessions in the context of global economic and social development
- Describes how WTO accessions can function as a tool to accelerate domestic reforms



January 2018, 6 x 9, 700 pp.  
 cloth, 9781108421287, \$210.00  
 paper, 9781 108431682, \$35.00

## Trade Policy Reviews 2017

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. 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 policy-making 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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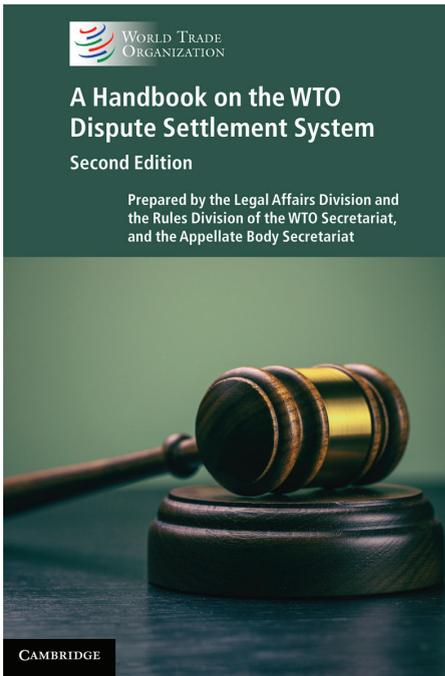
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The WTO dispute settlement system has become one of the most dynamic, effective and successful international dispute settlement systems in the world over the past twenty years. This second edition of *A Handbook on the WTO Dispute Settlement System* has been compiled by the dispute settlement lawyers of the WTO Secretariat with a view to providing a practice-oriented account of the system. In addition to describing the existing rules and procedures, this accessibly written handbook explains how those rules and procedures have been interpreted by dispute settlement panels and the Appellate Body, and how they have evolved over time. The handbook provides practical information to help various audiences understand the day-to-day operation of the WTO dispute settlement system.

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November 2017, 6 x 9, 416 pp.  
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## INDEX

- Against the Death Penalty*, 18  
Ahmed, Akbar, 4, 5  
*Aid for Trade at a Glance 2017: Promoting Trade, Inclusiveness and Connectivity for Sustainable Development*, 32  
Aleksashenko, Sergey, 11  
*American Grand Strategy in the Age of Trump*, 10  
Anson, José, 22  
Asian Development Bank Institute, 22–25  
*Avoiding the Middle-Income Trap in Asia: The Role of Trade, Manufacturing, and Finance*, 25
- Bertelsmann Stiftung, 30  
Bessler, John, 18  
Brands, Hal, 10  
Breyer, Stephen, 18  
Brookings Essays, 17  
*Brookings Papers on Economic Activity* (journal), 16  
BSP (Behavioral Science & Policy, journal), 16  
*Bucharest Diary: An American Ambassador's Journey*, 13
- Cambanis, Thanassis, 26  
The Century Foundation, 26  
*Chinese Politics in the Xi Jinping Era: Reassessing Collective Leadership*, 19  
Circus Maximus: The Economic Gamble behind Hosting the Olympics and the World Cup (2nd ed.), 19  
*The Citizen-Soldier: Moral Risk and the Modern Military* (Brookings Essay), 17  
Clark, Greg, 20  
*Covering Politics in a "Post-Truth" America* (Brookings Essay), 17  
*Creative Spaces: Urban Culture and Marginality in Latin America*, 28
- Degrees of Debt: The Impoverishment of the American Student*, 9  
*Diversity Explosion: How New Racial Demographics Are Remaking America* (rev. ed.), 3  
*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* (rev. pbk ed.), 1
- Economía* (journal), 16  
*Epidemic: Ebola and the Global Scramble to Prevent the Next Killer Outbreak*, 7  
*Escaping Jurassic Government: How to Recover America's Lost Commitment to Competence*, 21
- Feinberg, Richard E., 19  
Felbab-Brown, Vanda, 17  
Frey, William H., 3  
Funabashi, Yoichi, 14  
*The Future of Work: Robots, AI, and Automation*, 6
- Geraghty, Niall, 28  
Gerber, Alan S., 20  
*Get Out the Vote: How to Increase Voter Turnout*, 20  
Glasser, Susan B., 17  
Glassman, Amanda, 21  
*Global Cities: A Short History*, 20  
Global Value Chain Development Report 2017, 31  
Goldsmith, Stephen, 15  
Green, Donald P., 20
- Handcuffed: What Holds Policing Back, and the Keys to Reform*, 20  
Hanna, Michael Wahid, 26  
Helble, Matthias, 22, 23, 24
- Huang, Bihong, 25  
Hudak, John, 17, 18
- Imperial Gamble: Putin, Ukraine, and the New Cold War*, 19  
Institute of Latin American Studies, 27–30  
*Investing in Skills for Inclusive Trade*, 33
- JFK's Forgotten Crisis: Tibet, the CIA, and the Sino-Indian War* (pbk ed.), 19  
*Journey into America: The Challenge of Islam*, 5  
*Journey into Europe: Islam, Immigration, and Identity*, 4  
*Journey into Islam: The Crisis of Globalization*, 5
- Kalb, Marvin, 19  
Kamarck, Elaine C., 18  
Kapcia, Antoni, 27  
Kettl, Donald F., 21  
Kireyev, Alexei, 35  
Klay, Phil, 17  
Kleiman, Neil, 15  
Koch, James V., 9  
Koltai, Steven R., 21
- Li, Cheng, 19  
Lo, Bobo, 20
- Main, Thomas J., 8  
*Man Out: Men on the Sidelines of American Life*, 2  
Margheritis, Ana, 29  
*Marijuana: A Short History*, 18  
Massidda, Adriana Laura, 28  
*The Medical Marijuana Mess: A Prescription for Fixing a Broken Policy* (Brookings Essay), 17  
*Megachange: Economic Disruption, Political Upheaval, and Social Strife in the 21st Century*, 20

- Meltdown: Inside the Fukushima Nuclear Crisis*, 14
- Millions Saved: New Cases of Proven Success in Global Health*, 21
- Morgan, Peter J., 25
- Moses, Alfred H., 13
- Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin* (rev. ed.), 21
- Muspratt, Matthew, 21
- A New City O/S: The Power of Open, Collaborative, and Distributed Governance*, 15
- The New Autocracy: Information, Politics, and Policy in Putin's Russia*, 12
- Open for Business: Building the New Cuban Economy*, 19
- Order from Ashes: New Foundations for Security in the Middle East*, 26
- Osakwe, Chiedu, 35
- Peace through Entrepreneurship: Investing in a Startup Culture for Security and Development*, 21
- Postal Savings: Reaching Everyone in Asia*, 22
- Primary Politics: Everything You Need to Know About How America Nominates Its Presidential Candidates* (2nd ed.), 18
- Putin's Counterrevolution*, 11
- Reeves, Richard V., 1
- Rethinking the Past in Cuba: Essays in Memory of Alistair Hennessy*, 27
- Riedel, Bruce, 18
- The Rise of the Alt-Right*, 8
- Russia and the New World Disorder*, 20
- Sato, Azusa, 23
- Shaping Migration between Europe and Latin America: New Approaches and Challenges*, 29
- Shepherd, Ben, 24
- Sparrow, Malcolm, 20
- Temin, Miriam, 21
- The Thistle and the Drone: How America's War on Terror Became a Global War on Tribal Islam*, 5
- Trade and Food Standards*, 33
- Trade Multilateralism in the 21st Century: Building the Upper Floors of the Trading System through WTO Accessions*, 35
- Trade Policy Reviews 2017 (WTO), 36
- Transformation Index BTI 2018: Political Management in International Comparison*, 30
- Treisman, Daniel, 12
- 20 Years of the Information Technology Agreement: Boosting Trade, Innovation and Digital Connectivity*, 32
- The Wall: The Real Costs of a Barrier between the United States and Mexico* (Brookings Essay), 17
- Wan, Guanghua, 25
- Wealthy but Healthy: The Cost of Obesity in Asia and the Pacific and What to Do about It*, 23
- West, Darrell M., 6, 20
- Why Presidents Fail and How They Can Succeed Again*, 18
- Wilson, Reid, 7
- Win-Win: How International Trade Can Help Meet the Sustainable Development Goals*, 24
- The WTO Agreements: The Marrakesh Agreement Establishing the World Trade Organization and Its Annexes* (2nd ed.), 31
- WTO Annual Report 2018, 34
- World Trade Organization, 31–36
- Yarrow, Andrew L., 2
- Yoshino, Naoyuki, 22, 25
- Zimbalist, Andrew, 19

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