

SPRING 2018
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS



American Grand Strategy in the Age of Trump

HAL BRANDS

Few scholars have done more than Hal Brands to illuminate American grand strategy, and in this book he has done it again. Written with deep insight and welcome clarity, Brands provides an indispensable guide to understanding our troubled times. His book is must-reading for anyone interested in how U.S. foreign policy is made—and where it is going.

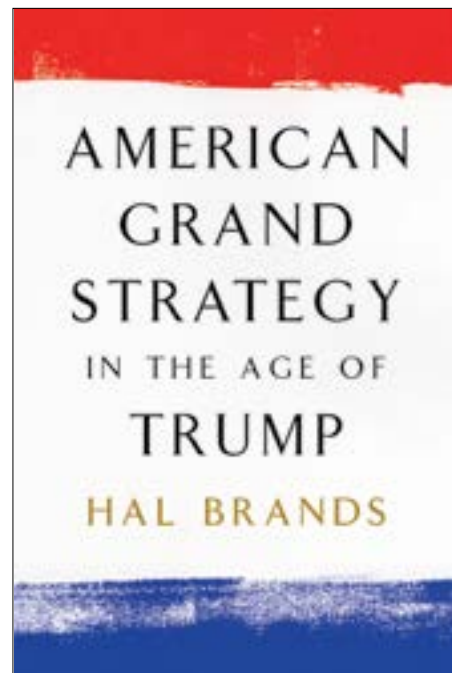
—Derek Chollet, former U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense and author of *The Long Game: How Obama Defied Washington and Redefined America's Role in the World*

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 addresses such questions as: Has America really blundered aimlessly in the world since the end of the Cold War, or has its grand strategy 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?

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.



January 2018, 5½ x 8½, 256 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

The Sovereignty Wars

Reconciling America with the World

STEWART PATRICK

"Stewart Patrick has written a perfect Guide to the Perplexed that helps sort through the muddled arguments being thrown about today regarding perceived threats to American sovereignty and shows how international engagement often enhances rather than limits U.S. influence."

—Francis Fukuyama, Olivier Nomellini Senior Fellow, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, Stanford University

"Patrick (Council on Foreign Relations) addresses the subject of state sovereignty and its controversial role in US foreign policy—past and present. The book is well-researched and written. Highly Recommended."

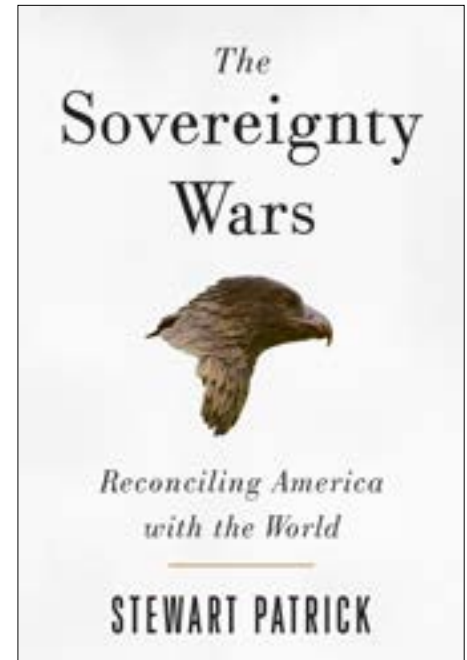
—CHOICE

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

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

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

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



October 2017, 6 x 9, 352 pp
cloth, 9780815731597, \$29.99
ebook, 9780815731603, \$23.99

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

Chinese Politics in the Xi Jinping Era

Reassessing Collective Leadership

CHENG LI

"Li has produced one of the most in-depth studies of Chinese politics in recent years. Combining a comprehensive database of information about Chinese elites with exhaustive qualitative research, he maps the groups of official who helped President Xi Jinping rise to power and whose careers have prospered under Xi."

—Victor Shih, *Foreign Affairs*

Chinese politics are at a crossroads as President Xi Jinping amasses personal power and tests the constraints of collective leadership.

In the years since he became general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party in 2012, Xi Jinping has surprised many people in China and around the world with his bold anti-corruption campaign and his aggressive consolidation of power.

Given these new developments, we must rethink how we analyze Chinese politics—an urgent task as China now has more influence on the global economy and regional security than at any other time in modern history.

Chinese Politics in the Xi Jinping Era examines how the structure and dynamics of party leadership have evolved since the late 1990s and argues that "inner-party democracy"—the concept of collective leadership that emphasizes deal making based on accepted rules and norms—may pave the way for greater transformation within China's political system. Xi's legacy will largely depend on whether he encourages or obstructs this trend of political institutionalization in the governance of the world's most populous and increasingly pluralistic country.

Cheng Li also addresses the recruitment and composition of the political elite, a central concern in Chinese politics. China analysts will benefit from the meticulously detailed biographical information of the 376 members of the 18th Central Committee, including tables and charts detailing their family background, education, occupation, career patterns, and mentor-patron ties.

Cheng Li is director of the John L. Thornton China Center and a senior fellow in the Foreign Policy program at Brookings. He is also a director of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations. Li focuses on the transformation of political leaders, generational change and technological development in China.



October 2016, 6 x 9, 512 pp.
paper, 9780815726920, \$30.00
ebook, 9780815726937, \$23.99

Mr. Putin

Operative in the Kremlin

New and Expanded

FIONA HILL and CLIFFORD G. GADDY

Praise for the first edition

"Of the many biographies of Vladimir Putin that have appeared in recent years, this one is the most useful."
—*Foreign Affairs*

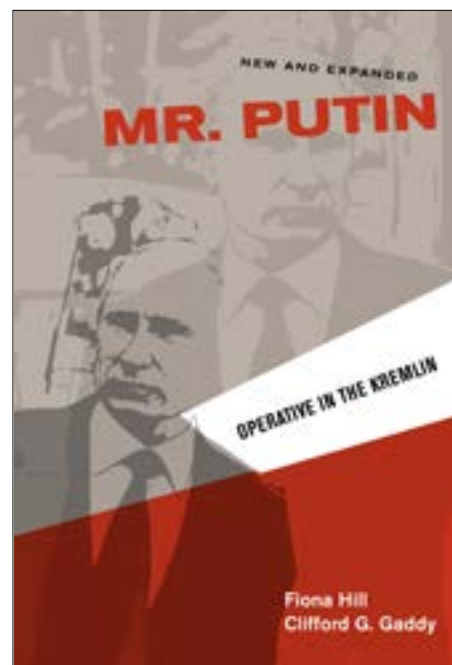
From the KGB to the Kremlin: a multidimensional portrait of the man at war with the West.

Where do Vladimir Putin's ideas come from? How does he look at the outside world? What does he want, and how far is he willing to go?

The great lesson of the outbreak of World War I in 1914 was the danger of misreading the statements, actions, and intentions of the adversary. Today, Vladimir Putin has become the greatest challenge to European security and the global world order in decades. Russia's 8,000 nuclear weapons underscore the huge risks of not understanding who Putin is. Featuring five new chapters, this new edition dispels potentially dangerous misconceptions about Putin and offers a clear-eyed look at his objectives. It presents Putin as a reflection of deeply ingrained Russian ways of thinking as well as his unique personal background and experience.

Fiona Hill is director of the Center on the United States and Europe and a senior fellow in Foreign Policy at Brookings.

Clifford G. Gaddy is a senior fellow in Foreign Policy at Brookings. Hill and Gaddy are coauthors of *The Siberian Curse: How Communist Planners Left Russia Out in the Cold* (Brookings, 2003).



February 2015, 6 x 9, 533 pp.
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ebook, 9780815726180, \$25.99

The New Autocracy

Information, Politics, and Policy in Putin's Russia

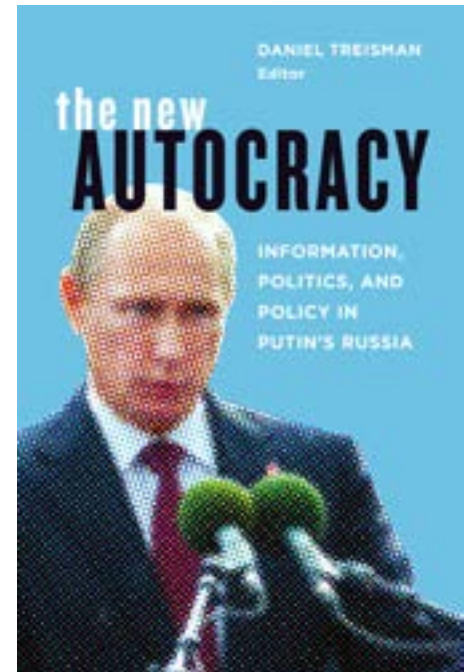
DANIEL TREISMAN, EDITOR

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, 336 pp.
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ebook, 9780815732440, \$27.99

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

The Soviet Mind

Russian Culture under Communism

ISAIAH BERLIN

Edited by HENRY HARDY

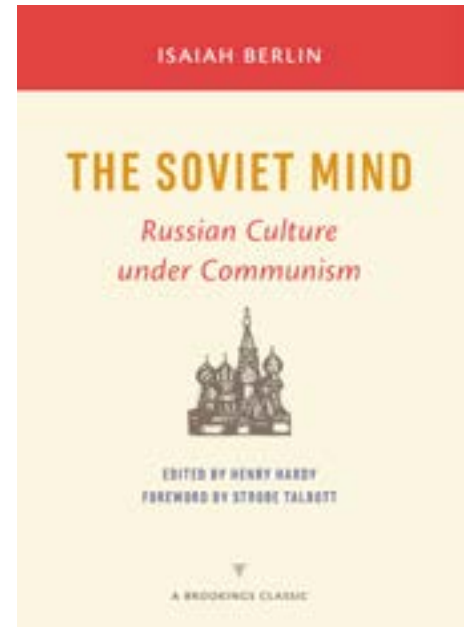
Foreword by STROBE TALBOTT

"This is an excellent resource for those interested in 20th-century Russian history."
—CHOICE

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.



October 2016, 5.5 x 8.5, 320 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

Beyond NATO

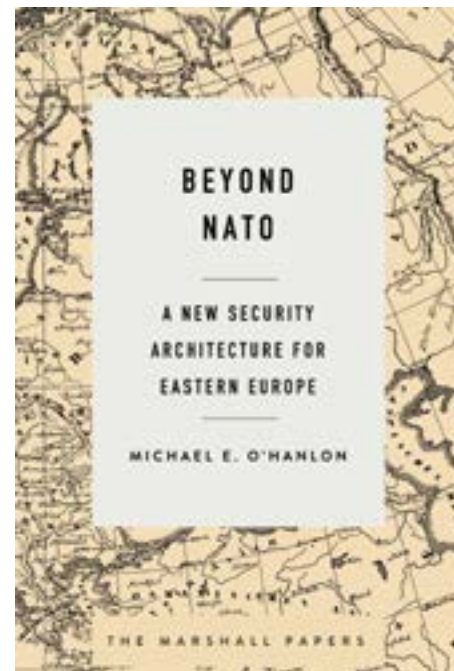
A New Security Architecture for Eastern Europe

MICHAEL E. O'HANLON

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

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

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



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 paper, 9780815732570, \$14.99
 ebook, 9780815732587, \$11.99

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

Countering Terrorism

MARTHA CRENSHAW and GARY LAFREE

"A substantial contribution to the literature on terrorism and counterterrorism."

—Paul Pillar, Nonresident Senior Fellow, Center for Security Studies,
Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Services, Georgetown University

"A corrective to oversimplified analysis. The scholarship is sound and the book is a welcome offering from two scholars whose knowledge and credentials are superlative."

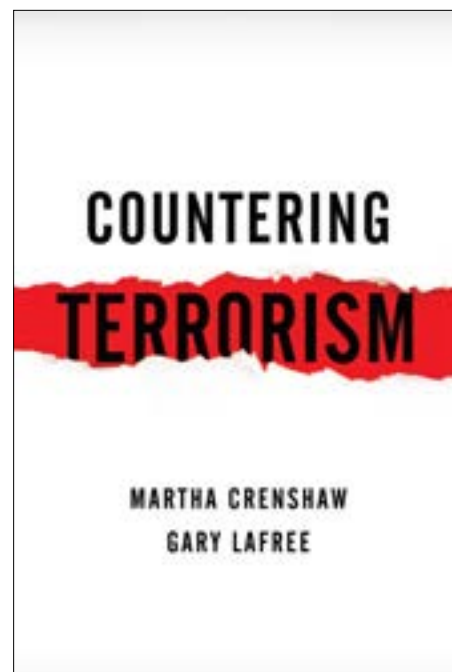
—Audrey Kurth Cronin, Professor of International Relations,
American University, and author of *How Terrorism Ends:
Understanding the Decline and Demise of Terrorist Campaigns*

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, 288 pp.
paper, 9780815727644, \$32.00
ebook, 9780815727651, \$24.99

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

Militants, Criminals, and Warlords

The Challenge of Local Governance in an Age of Disorder

VANDA FELBAB-BROWN, HAROLD TRINKUNAS, and SHADI HAMID

"This book is essential reading. Conceptually sharp and well written, this is a major step in the search for enduring remedies to the current disorder. It is hard to imagine a more timely study than this insightful analysis of the ways that people are really governed when their states are unable or unwilling to do so."

—William Reno, Professor of Political Science and Director,
Program of African Studies, Northwestern University

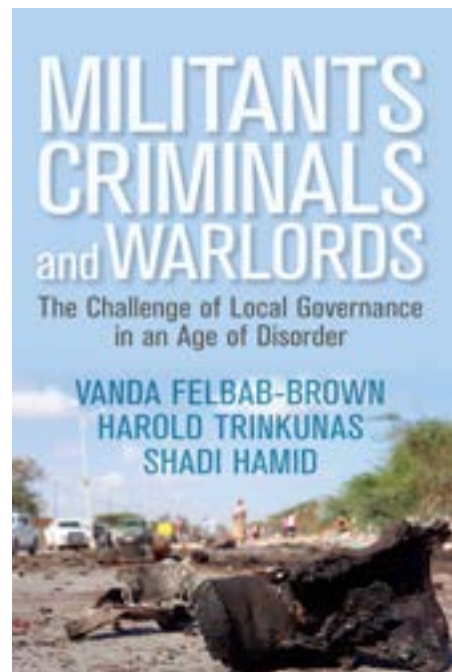
ISIS in the Middle East. The Taliban in South Asia. Pirate clans in Africa. Drug cartels and criminal gangs in Mexico and elsewhere in Latin America. All are examples of nonstate actors that control local territory and render public services that the nation-state cannot or will not provide.

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

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

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

Vanda Felbab-Brown is a senior fellow in the Center for 21st Century Security and Intelligence in the Foreign Policy program at Brookings. **Harold Trinkunas** is a nonresident senior fellow in the Latin America Initiative in the Foreign Policy program at Brookings. **Shadi Hamid** is a senior fellow in the Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World in the Center for Middle East Policy.



November 2017, 6 x 9, 192 pp
cloth, 9780815731894, \$34.99
ebook, 9780815731900, \$27.99

What can be done to counter the breakdown of state authority and the rise of nonstate actors such as Hezbollah, ISIS, pirates, and criminal gangs that spring up when governance disappears?

Turkey and the West

Fault Lines in a Troubled Alliance

KEMAL KIRIŞCI

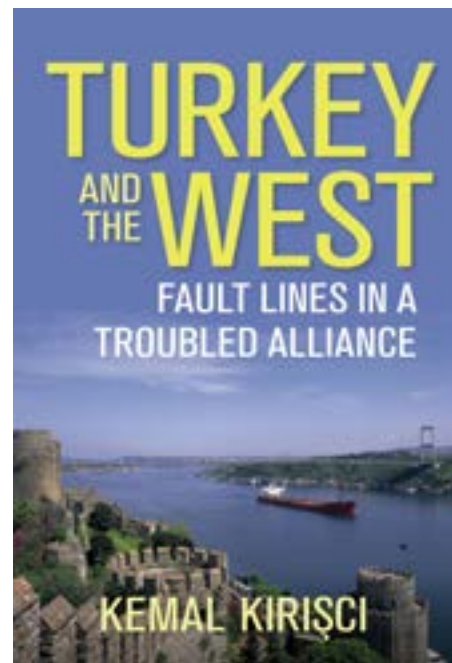
With the new administration in office, it is not clear whether the U.S. will continue to lead and sustain a global liberal order that was already confronted by daunting challenges. These range from a fragile European Union rocked by the United Kingdom's exit and rising populism to a cold war-like rivalry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

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

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

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

Kemal Kirişci 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.



December 2017, 6 x 9, 320 pp
 cloth, 9780815730002, \$34.99
 ebook, 9780815730019, \$27.99

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

Pakistan under Siege

Extremism, Society, and the State

MADIHA AFZAL

Over the last fifteen years, Pakistan has come to be defined exclusively in terms of its struggle with terror. But are ordinary Pakistanis extremists? And what explains how Pakistanis think?

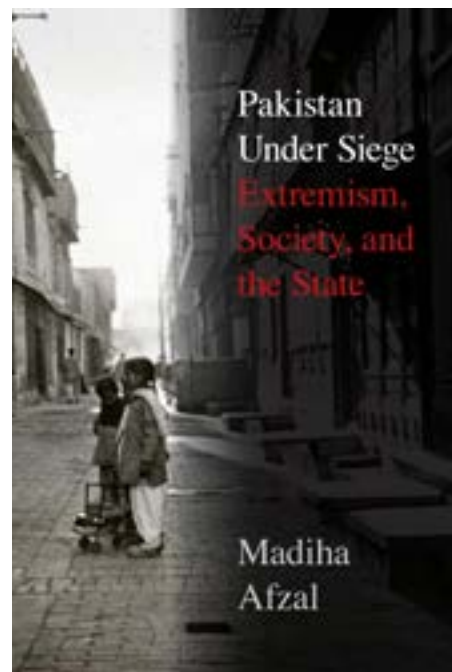
Much of the current work on extremism in Pakistan tends to study extremist trends in the country from a detached position—a top-down security perspective, that renders a one-dimensional picture of what is at its heart a complex, richly textured country of 200 million people. In this book, using rigorous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

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

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

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

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



January 2018, 6 x 9, 208 pp
paper, 9780815729457, \$36.99
ebook, 9780815729464, \$28.99

How the state, education, society, and religion interlock and interact to create an environment in which jihadism thrives in Pakistan.

The Consequences of Chaos

Syria's Humanitarian Crisis and the Failure to Protect

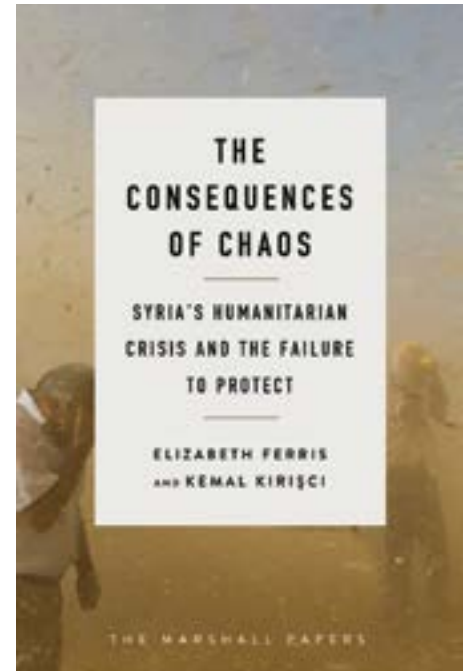
ELIZABETH FERRIS *and* KEMAL KIRIŞCI

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

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

The Power of the Past

History and Statecraft

HAL BRANDS and JEREMI SURI, EDITORS

"Brands and Suri have assembled a fine collection of contributions that should attract historians and policy-makers alike, but it could also be of great interest to other professionals such as journalists and activists. Hopefully this book will inspire more of this kind of work and an increasingly fruitful dialogue between historians and practitioners."

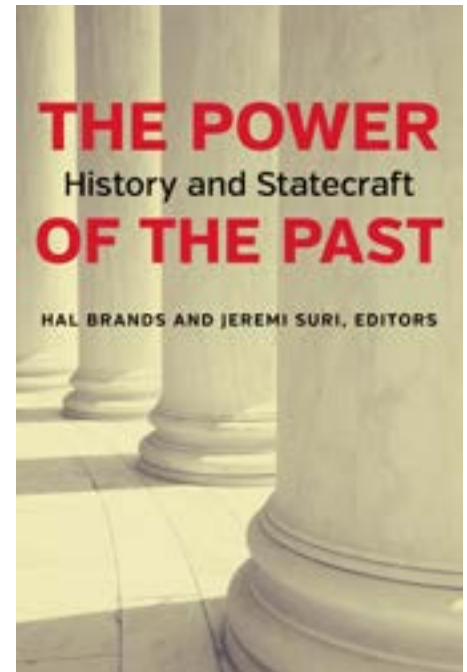
—*International Affairs*

Leading scholars and policymakers explore how history influences foreign policy and offer insights on how the study of the past can more usefully serve the present.

History, with its insights, analogies, and narratives, is central to the ways that the United States interacts with the world. Historians and policymakers, however, rarely engage one another as effectively or fruitfully as they might. This book bridges that divide, bringing together leading scholars and policymakers to address the essential questions surrounding the history-policy relationship including Mark Lawrence on the numerous, and often contradictory, historical lessons that American observers have drawn from the Vietnam War; H. W. Brands on the role of analogies in U.S. policy during the Persian Gulf crisis and war of 1990–91; and Jeremi Suri on Henry Kissinger's powerful use of history.

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.

Jeremi Suri is the Mack Brown Distinguished Chair for Leadership in Global Affairs at the University of Texas at Austin, where he is a professor in the Department of History and the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs.



November 2015, 6 x 9, 300 pp.

paper, 9780815727125, \$32.00

ebook, 9780815727132, \$24.99

The Future of Land Warfare

MICHAEL E. O'HANLON

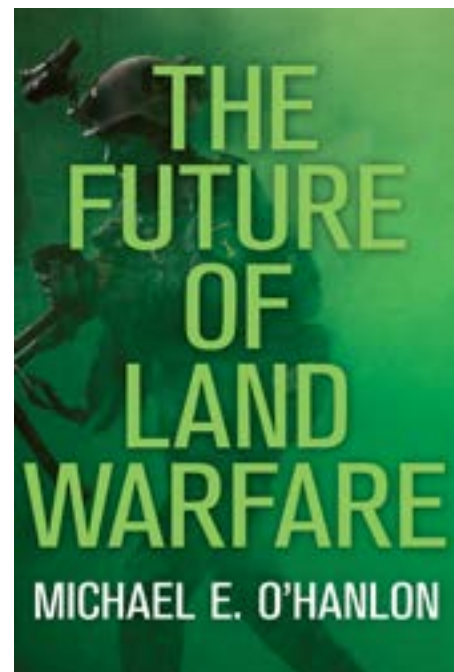
What happens if we bet too heavily on unmanned systems, cyber warfare, and special operations in our defense?

In today's U.S. defense policy debates, big land wars are out. Drones, cyber weapons, special forces, and space weapons are in. Accordingly, Pentagon budget cuts have honed in on the army and ground forces: this, after the long wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, seems like an appealing idea. No one really wants American boots on the ground in bloody conflicts abroad. But it is not so easy to simply declare an end to messy land wars. A survey of the world's trouble spots suggests that land warfare has more of a future than many now seem to believe.

In *The Future of Land Warfare*, Michael O'Hanlon offers an analysis of the future of the world's ground forces: Where are large-scale conflicts or other catastrophes most plausible? Which of these could be important enough to require the option of a U.S. military response? And which of these could in turn demand significant numbers of American ground forces in their resolution? O'Hanlon is not predicting or advocating big American roles in such operations—only cautioning against overconfidence that we can and will avoid them.

O'Hanlon considers a number of illustrative scenarios in which large conventional forces may be necessary: discouraging Russia from even contemplating attacks against the Baltic states; discouraging China from considering an unfriendly future role on the Korean peninsula; handling an asymmetric threat in the South China Sea with the construction and protection of a number of bases in the Philippines and elsewhere; managing the aftermath of a major and complex humanitarian disaster superimposed on a security crisis—perhaps in South Asia; coping with a severe Ebola outbreak not in the small states of West Africa but in Nigeria, at the same time that country falls further into violence; addressing a further meltdown in security conditions in Central America.

Michael O'Hanlon is research director for the Foreign Policy program at Brookings, where he specializes in defense policy. He has written extensively on Northeast Asian security and has traveled frequently to the war zones of the broader Middle East on research trips over the past decade.



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