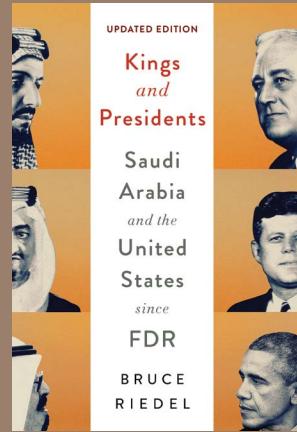
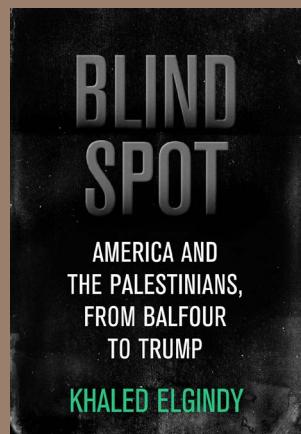
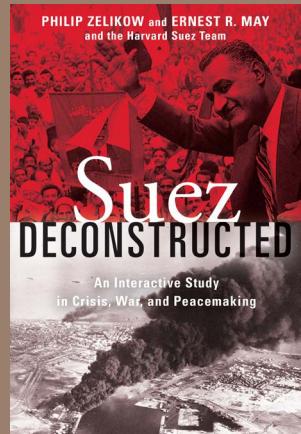


B | Brookings Institution Press



International Relations

SPRING 2019



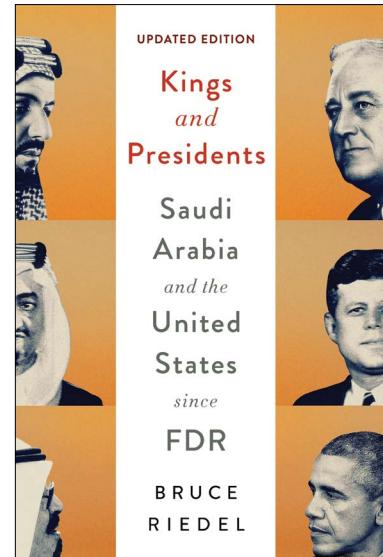
March 2019, 6 x 9, 272 pp.
 paper, 9780815737155, \$23.99
 ebook, 9780815737162, \$18.99

Kings and Presidents

SAUDI ARABIA AND THE UNITED STATES SINCE FDR

Updated Edition

Bruce Riedel



Saudi Arabia and the United States have been partners since 1943, when President Roosevelt met with two future Saudi monarchs. Subsequent U.S. presidents have had direct relationships with those kings and their successors—setting the tone for a special partnership between an absolute monarchy with a unique Islamic identity and the world's most powerful democracy.

Although based in large part on economic interests, the U.S.-Saudi relationship has rarely been smooth. Differences over Israel have caused friction since the early days, and ambiguities about Saudi involvement—or lack of it—in the September 11 terrorist attacks against the United States continue to haunt the relationship. Now, both countries have new, still-to-be-tested leaders in President Trump and King Salman.

Bruce Riedel for decades has followed these kings and presidents during his career at the CIA, the White House, and Brookings. This book offers an insider's account of the U.S.-Saudi relationship, with unique insights. Using declassified documents, memoirs by both Saudis and Americans, and eyewitness accounts, this book takes the reader inside the royal palaces, the holy cities, and the White House to gain an understanding of this complex partnership.

BRUCE RIEDEL is a senior fellow and director of the Brookings Intelligence Project, part of the Brookings Center for 21st Century Security and Intelligence. In addition, Riedel serves as a senior fellow in the Center for Middle East Policy. He retired in 2006 after 30 years of service at the Central Intelligence Agency, including postings overseas. He was a senior advisor on South Asia and the Middle East to the last four presidents of the United States in the staff of the National Security Council at the White House. He was also deputy assistant secretary of defense for the Near East and South Asia at the Pentagon and a senior advisor at the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Brussels.

An insider's account of the often-fraught U.S.-Saudi relationship

Kings and Presidents offers a quick and insightful tour through decades of ups and downs, from the oil embargo in the 1970s to Iran-Contra in the 1980s to the scars of the Arab Spring. Better yet, Riedel, a former CIA officer who advised several presidents, calls on years of U.S. government experience to pepper his story with plenty of firsthand recollections and anecdotes.

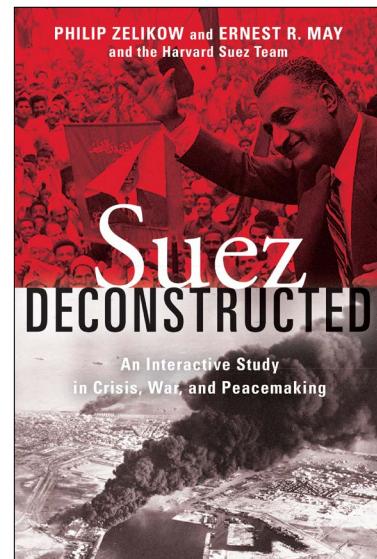
—*Foreign Policy*

September 2018, 6 x 9, 420 pp.
 cloth, 9780815735724, \$40.99
 ebooks, 9780815735731, \$31.99

Suez Deconstructed

AN INTERACTIVE STUDY IN CRISIS, WAR, AND PEACEMAKING

Philip Zelikow and Ernest May



The Suez crisis of 1956—now little more than dim history for many people—offers a master class in statecraft. It was a potentially explosive Middle East confrontation capped by a surprise move that reshaped the region for years to come. It was a diplomatic crisis that riveted the world's attention. And it was a short but startling war that ended in unexpected ways for every country involved.

Six countries, including two superpowers, had major roles, but each saw the situation differently. From one stage to the next, it could be hard to tell which state was really driving the action. As in any good ensemble, all the actors had pivotal parts to play.

In this book, the story is broken down into three distinct phases. In each phase, the reader sees the issues as they were perceived by each country involved, taking into account different types of information and diverse characteristics of each leader and that leader's unique perspectives. Then, after each phase has been laid out, editorial observations invite the reader to consider the interplay.

Developed by a group of veteran policy practitioners and historians working as a team, *Suez Deconstructed* is not just a fresh way to understand the history of a major world crisis. Whether one's primary interest is statecraft or history, this study provides a fascinating step-by-step experience, repeatedly shifting from one viewpoint to another. At each stage, readers can gain rare experience in the way these very human leaders sized up their situations, defined and redefined their problems, improvised diplomatic or military solutions, sought ways to influence each other, and tried to change the course of history.

PHILIP ZELIKOW, the White Burkett Miller Professor of History at the University of Virginia, taught at Harvard University during most of the 1990s. He has experience with high-level statecraft in each of the five administrations from Reagan through Obama, working in various capacities at the State Department, White House, and the Defense Department. He was also the executive director of the 9/11 Commission. **ERNEST MAY** was the Charles Warren Professor of History at Harvard University, where he also directed the Charles Warren Center for Studies in American History. A Navy veteran, he taught about international history for more than fifty years before his death in 2009.

Experiencing a major crisis from different viewpoints, step by step

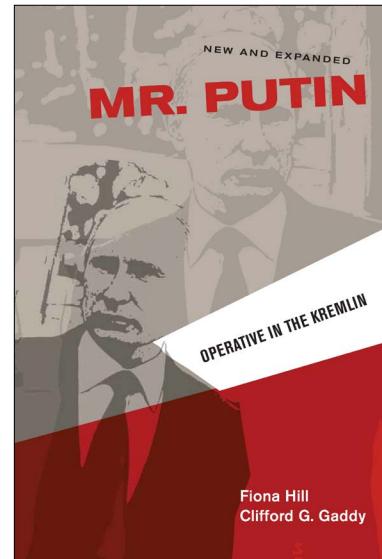
The authors use existing literature and some archival research to produce the best study so far of the crisis. With its vivid insight into the international politics of this period (and the domestic politics of key countries), *Suez Deconstructed* will interest many historians, political scientists, policy makers, and sophisticated general readers. Essential.

—CHOICE

February 2015, 5¹/₂ x 8¹/₂, 533 pp.
 paper, 9780815726173, \$32.99
 ebook, 9780815726180, \$25.99

Mr. Putin OPERATIVE IN THE KREMLIN

Fiona Hill and Clifford G. Gaddy



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 was 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).

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

PRAISE FOR THE FIRST EDITION:

Of the many biographies of Vladimir Putin that have appear in recent years, this one is the most usefull.

—*Foreign Affairs*

June 2019, 5½ x 8¼, 220 pp.
 paper, 9780815737018, \$24.99
 ebook, 9780815737025, \$19.99

Nationalism

A SHORT HISTORY

Liah Greenfeld



Nationalism, often the scourge, always the basis of modern world politics, is spreading. In a way, all nations are willed into being. But a simple declaration, such as Grouvelle's, is not enough. As historian Liah Greenfeld shows in her new book, a sense of nation—nationalism—is the product of the complex distillation of ideas and beliefs, and the struggles over them.

Greenfeld takes the reader on an intellectual journey through the origins of the concept “nation” and how national consciousness has changed over the centuries. From its emergence in sixteenth century England, nationalism has been behind nearly every significant development in world affairs over succeeding centuries, including the American and French revolutions of the late eighteenth centuries and the authoritarian communism and fascism of the twentieth century. Now it has arrived as a mass phenomenon in China as well as gaining new life in the United States and much of Europe in the guise of populism.

Written by an authority on the subject, *Nationalism* stresses the contradictory ways of how nationalism has been institutionalized in various places. On the one hand, nationalism has made possible the realities of liberal democracy, human rights, and individual self-determination. On the other hand, nationalism also has brought about authoritarian and racist regimes that negate the individual as an autonomous agent. That tension is all too apparent today.

LIAH GREENFELD is the author, among other works, of the trilogy on nationalism and modern experience, including *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*; *The Spirit of Capitalism: Nationalism and Economic Growth*; and *Mind, Modernity, Madness: The Impact of Culture on Human Experience*, published by Harvard University Press (1992, 2001, 2013).

**“We need a nation,”
 declared a certain
 Phillippe Grouvelle
 in the revolutionary
 year of 1789,
 “and the Nation
 will be born.”—
 from Nationalism**

January 2019, 6 x 9, 240 pp.
 paper, 9780815735748, \$34.99
 ebook, 9780815735755, \$27.99

Moscow Rules

WHAT DRIVE RUSSIA TO CONFRONT THE WEST

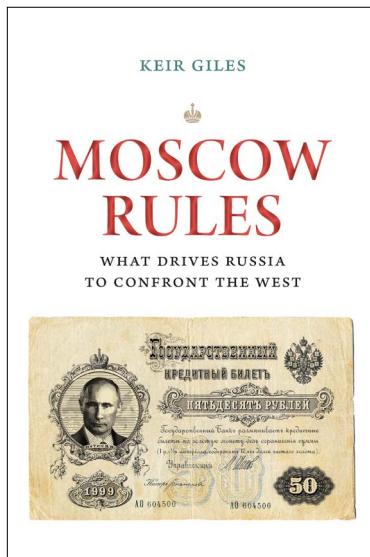
The Chatham House Insights Series

Keir Giles

Russia and the West are like neighbors who never seem able to understand each other. A major reason, this book argues, is that Western leaders tend to think that Russia should act as a “rational” Western nation—even though Russian leaders for centuries have thought and acted based on their country’s much different history and traditions. Russia, through Western eyes, is unpredictable and irrational, when in fact its leaders from the czars to Putin almost always act in their own very predictable and rational ways. For Western leaders to try to engage with Russia without attempting to understand how Russians look at the world is a recipe for repeated disappointment and frequent crises.

Keir Giles, a senior expert on Russia at Britain’s prestigious Chatham House, describes how Russian leaders have used consistent doctrinal and strategic approaches to the rest of the world. These approaches may seem deeply alien in the West, but understanding them is essential for successful engagement with Moscow. Giles argues that understanding how Moscow’s leaders think—not just Vladimir Putin but his predecessors and eventual successors—will help their counterparts in the West develop a less crisis-prone and more productive relationship with Russia.

KEIR GILES is a senior consulting fellow at Chatham House, the Royal Institute of International Affairs. He also works with the Conflict Studies Research Centre (CSRC), a group of subject matter experts in Eurasian security with a particular focus on the wide range of security challenges coming from Russia.



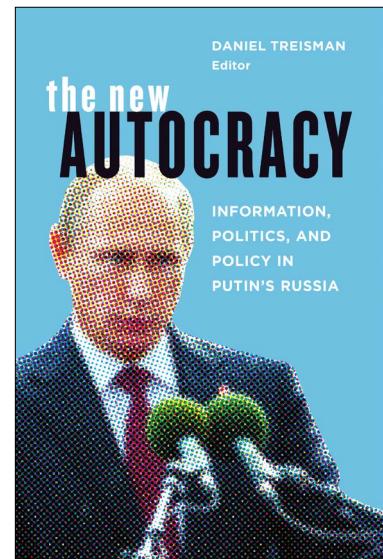
From Moscow, the world looks different. It is through understanding how Russia sees the world—and its place in it—that the West can best meet the Russian challenge.

February 2018, 6 x 9, 336 pp.
 paper, 9780815732433, \$35.99
 ebook, 9780815732440, \$27.99

The New Autocracy

INFORMATION, POLITICS, AND POLICY IN PUTIN'S RUSSIA

EDITED BY *Daniel Treisman*



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 decision-making in Russia, tend to be out of date or just plain wrong.

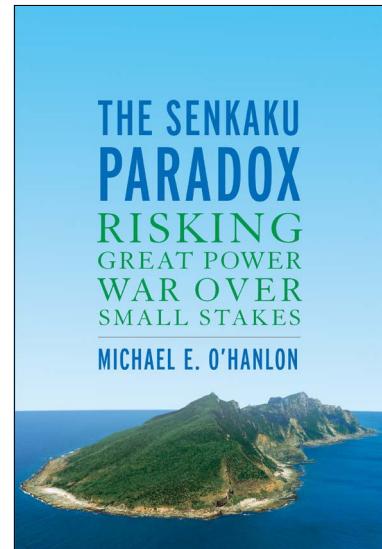
Under the leadership of Vladimir Putin since 2000, Russia is neither a somewhat reduced version of the Soviet Union nor a classic police state. Corruption is prevalent at all levels of government and business, but Russia's leaders pursue broader and more complex goals than one would expect in a typical 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 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 (russiapoliticalinsight.com). His latest book is *The Return: Russia's Journey from Gorbachev to Medvedev*, The Free Press, 2011.

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

April 2019, 6 x 9, 280 pp.
 paper, 9780815736899, \$27.99
 ebook, 9780815736905, \$21.99



The Senkaku Paradox

RISKING GREAT POWER WAR OVER SMALL STAKES

Michael E. O'Hanlon

In recent years, the Pentagon has elevated its concerns about Russia and China as potential military threats to the United States and its allies. But what issues could provoke actual conflict between the United States and either country? And how could such a conflict be contained before it took the world to the brink of thermonuclear catastrophe, as was feared during the cold war?

Defense expert Michael O'Hanlon wrestles with these questions in this insightful book, setting them within the broader context of hegemonic change and today's version of great-power competition.

The book examines how a local crisis could escalate into a broader and much more dangerous threat to peace. What if, for example, Russia's "little green men" seized control of a community, like Narva or an even smaller town in Estonia, now a NATO ally? Or, what if China seized one of the uninhabited Senkaku islands now claimed and administered by Japan, or imposed a partial blockade of Taiwan?

O'Hanlon argues that the United States needs a better range of options for dealing with such risks to peace. He advocates "integrated deterrence," which combines military elements with economic warfare. The military components would feature strengthened forward defenses as well as, possibly, limited military options against Russian or Chinese assets in other theaters. Economic warfare would include offensive elements, notably sanctions, as well as measures to ensure the resilience of the United States and allies against possible enemy reprisal.

The goal is to deter war through a credible set of responses that are more commensurate than existing policy with the stakes involved in such scenarios.

MICHAEL O'HANLON is a senior fellow in Foreign Policy at the Brookings Institution, where he specializes in U.S. defense strategy, the use of military force, and American national security policy. He is also director of research for the Foreign Policy program at Brookings. He is also a member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies. O'Hanlon was a member of the external advisory board at the Central Intelligence Agency from 2011 to 2012.

America needs better options for resolving potential crises

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

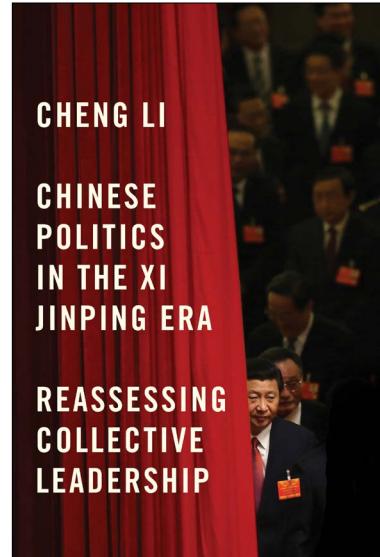
Chinese Politics in the Xi Jinping Era

REASSESSING COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP

Cheng Li

CHENG LI

CHINESE
POLITICS
IN THE XI
JINPING ERA
REASSESSING
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 and senior fellow at the John L. Thornton China Center at Brookings Institution. His previous books include *China’s Political Development: Chinese and American Perspectives* (coedited), *The Road to Zhongnanhai: High-Level Leadership Groups on the Eve of the 18th Party Congress*, and *China’s Leaders: The New Generation*.

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

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 officials who helped President Xi Jinping rise to power and whose careers have prospered under Xi.

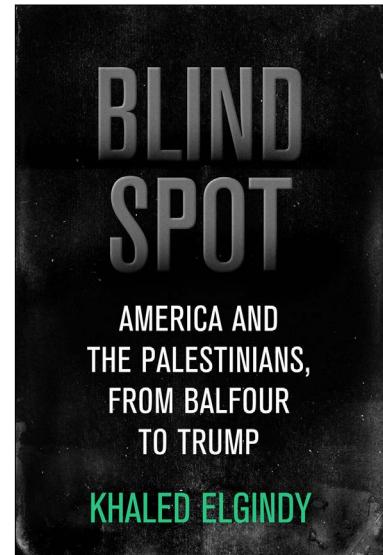
—Foreign Affairs

April 2019, 6 x 9, 333 pp.
 cloth, 9780815731559, \$25.99
 ebook, 9780815731566, \$19.99

Blind Spot

AMERICA AND THE PALESTINIANS, FROM BALFOUR TO TRUMP

Khaled Elgindy



The United States has invested billions of dollars and countless diplomatic hours in the pursuit of Israeli-Palestinian peace and a two-state solution. Yet American attempts to broker an end to the conflict have repeatedly come up short. Two irreducible factors stand in the way: Israeli power and Palestinian politics.

American peacemaking efforts have been hobbled by the U.S. assumption that a credible peace settlement could be achieved without addressing Israel's vast superiority in power or internal Palestinian politics. While there is no denying the roles played by Israelis and Palestinians in perpetuating their conflict, Washington's distinctive "blind spot" to Palestinian politics and Israeli power has prevented it from serving as an effective peace broker. Shaped by the pressures American domestic politics and the special relationship with Israel, the blind spot also has deep historical roots, dating back to the 1917 Balfour Declaration and the British Mandate over Palestine.

The size of the blind spot has varied over the years and from one administration to another, but it is always present. Unless and until U.S. policymakers are prepared to act in ways that constrain Israeli power and acknowledge Palestinian politics, American peacemaking stands little chance of success.

KHALED ELGINDY is a fellow in the Center for Middle East Policy at Brookings. He is a founding board member of the Egyptian American Rule of Law Association. He previously served as an advisor to the Palestinian leadership in Ramallah on permanent status negotiations with Israel from 2004 to 2009, and was a key participant in the Annapolis negotiations held throughout 2008.

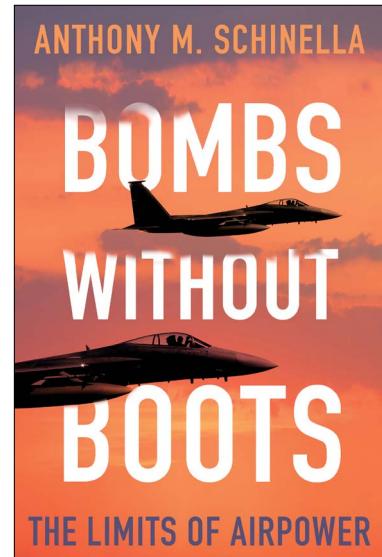
*A critical political
 history of US-
 Palestinian
 relations*

February 2019, 6 x 9, 300 pp.
paper, 9780815732419, \$44.99
ebook, 9780815732426, \$35.99

Bombs without Boots

THE LIMITS OF AIRPOWER

Anthony M. Schinella



It sounds simple: using airpower to intervene militarily in conflicts, thus minimizing the deaths of soldiers and civilians while achieving both tactical and strategic objectives. In reality, airpower alone sometimes does win battles, but the costs can be high and the long-term consequences may fall short of what decision-makers had in mind.

This book by a long-time U.S. intelligence analyst assesses the military operations and post-conflict outcomes in five cases since the mid-1990s in which the United States and/or its allies used airpower to “solve” military problems: Bosnia in 1995, Kosovo in 1999, Afghanistan in 2001, Lebanon in 2006, and Libya in 2011. In each of these cases, airpower helped achieve the immediate objective, but the long-term outcomes often diverged significantly from the original intent of policymakers. The author concludes that airpower sometimes can be effective when used to support indigenous ground forces, but decision-makers should carefully consider all the circumstances before sending planes, drones, or missiles aloft.

Airpower can achieve military objectives—sometimes, in some circumstances

ANTHONY M. SCHINELLA is the National Intelligence Officer for Military Issues on the National Intelligence Council. He has spent more than 25 years serving in the U.S. government assessing foreign military forces and operations.

January 2019, 6 x 9, 438 pp.
 paper, 9780815735472, \$45.99
 ebook, 9780815735489, \$35.99

BYTES BOMBS AND SPIES

The Strategic Dimensions
of Offensive Cyber Operations

Edited by Herbert Lin and Amy Zegart

A new era of war fighting is emerging for the U.S. military. Hi-tech weapons have given way to hi tech in a number of instances recently:

A computer virus is unleashed that destroys centrifuges in Iran, slowing that country's attempt to build a nuclear weapon.

ISIS, which has made the internet the backbone of its terror operations, finds its network-based command and control systems are overwhelmed in a cyber attack.

A number of North Korean ballistic missiles fail on launch, reportedly because their systems were compromised by a cyber campaign.

Offensive cyber operations like these have become important components of U.S. defense strategy and their role will grow larger. But just what offensive cyber weapons are and how they could be used remains clouded by secrecy.

This new volume by Herbert Lin and Amy Zegart is a groundbreaking discussion and exploration of cyber weapons with a focus on their strategic dimensions. It brings together many of the leading specialists in the field to provide new and incisive analysis of what former CIA director Michael Hayden has called "digital combat power" and how the United States should incorporate that power into its national security strategy.

DR. HERBERT LIN is senior research scholar for cyber policy and security at the Center for International Security and Cooperation and Hank J. Holland Fellow in Cyber Policy and Security at the Hoover Institution, both at Stanford University. **AMY ZEGART** is a senior fellow at the Freeman Spogli Institute of International Studies (FSI), professor of political science (by courtesy) at Stanford University, and a contributing editor to *The Atlantic*. She is also the Davies Family Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution, where she directs the Robert and Marion Oster National Security Affairs Fellows program. She is founder and co-director of the Stanford Cyber Policy Program.

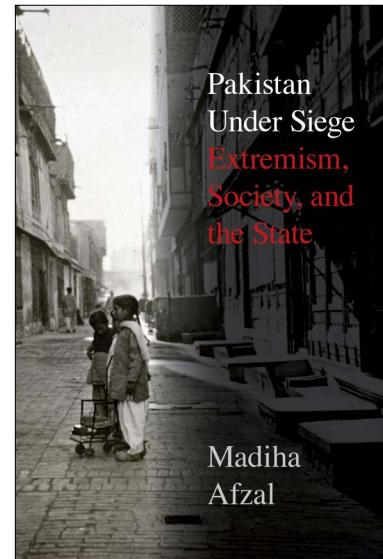
***"We are dropping
cyber bombs. We
have never done
that before." —U.S.
Defense Department
official***

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

Pakistan Under Siege

EXTREMISM, SOCIETY, AND THE STATE

Madiha Afzal



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 a nonresident fellow at the Brookings Institution. She is also an adjunct assistant professor of global policy at Johns Hopkins SAIS and was previously an assistant professor of public policy at the University of Maryland. She writes regularly for Pakistani and international publications and has been a consultant for the World Bank and DFID. For her writing on education in Pakistan, she was named to *Lo Spazio della Politica's* list of Top 100 Global Thinkers of 2013.

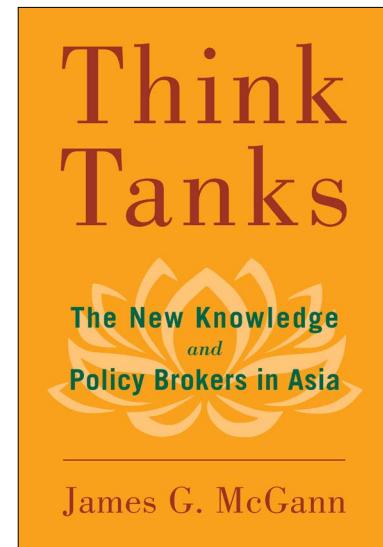
Over the last fifteen years, Pakistan has come to be defined exclusively in terms of its struggle with terror. But are ordinary Pakistanis extremists? And what explains how Pakistanis think?

March 2019, 6 x 9, 220 pp.
 paper, 9780815732914 \$44.99
 ebook, 9780815732921, 35.99

Think Tanks

THE NEW KNOWLEDGE AND POLICY BROKERS IN ASIA

James G. McGann



Policy research institutes—better known as think tanks—are long established and well known in Western countries but have developed only in recent years in much of the rest of the world. Globalization is partly responsible for the new growth in think tanks, since few issues are totally domestic and governments and citizens increasingly understand the need for well-informed policy advice.

Think tanks have become especially important in many Asian nations over the past decade, coinciding with their rise to new prominence in international affairs. Asia's major players—the People's Republic of China, India, Japan, the Republic of Korea, Singapore—and more recently countries in Central Asia like Kazakhstan now have major think tanks. These institutions have become the go-to organizations for proposals and policy advice on key economic, security, social and environmental issues.

This book by a noted expert in the field traces the growing influence of these policy actors in Asia, places the trend in historical context, and explores how the region's countries have fostered the growth of think tanks with uniquely Asian characteristics.

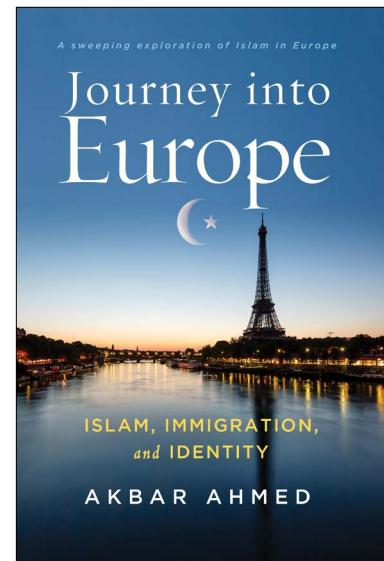
JAMES G. MCGANN is a senior lecturer of International Studies at the Lauder Institute, director of the Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program and senior fellow, Fels Institute of Government at the University of Pennsylvania.

*The growth of
think tanks—with
uniquely Asian
characteristics*

February 2018, 6 x 9, 592 pp.
 cloth, 9780815727583, \$34.99
 ebook, 9780815727590, \$34.99

Journey into Europe ISLAM, IMMIGRATION, AND IDENTITY

Akbar Ahmed



Tensions over Islam were escalating in Europe even before 9/11. Since then, repeated episodes of terrorism together with the refugee crisis have dramatically increased the divide between the majority population and Muslim communities, pushing the debate well beyond concerns over language and female dress. Meanwhile, 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.

Many Europeans see Islam as an alien, even barbaric force that threatens to overwhelm them and their societies. Muslims, by contrast, struggle to find a place in Europe in the face of increasing intolerance. In tandem, anti-Semitism and other forms of discrimination cause many on the continent to feel unwelcome in their European homes.

Akbar Ahmed, an internationally renowned Islamic scholar, traveled across Europe over the course of four years with his team of researchers and interviewed Muslims and non-Muslims from all walks of life to investigate questions of Islam, immigration, and identity. They spoke with some of Europe's most prominent figures, including presidents and prime ministers, archbishops, chief rabbis, grand muftis, heads of right-wing parties, and everyday Europeans from a variety of backgrounds. Their findings reveal a story of the place of Islam in European history and civilization that is more interwoven and complex than the reader might imagine, while exposing both the misunderstandings and the opportunities for Europe and its Muslim communities to improve their relationship. Along with an analysis of what has gone wrong and why, this urgent study, the fourth in a quartet examining relations between the West and the Muslim world, features recommendations for promoting integration and pluralism in the twenty-first century.

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

Journey into Europe is at once an intellectual inquiry, critical commentary, social observation, part-autobiography and case-study-focused, all skillfully interwoven by an expert social anthropologist and storyteller.

—Professor Tahir Abbas, *London School of Economics Review of Books*

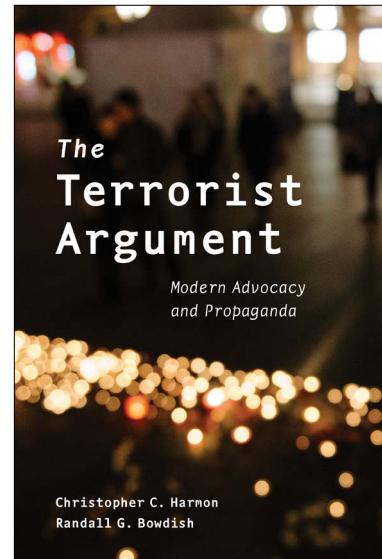
AKBAR AHMED is the Ibn Khaldun Chair of Islamic Studies at American University in Washington, D.C., and the former Pakistani high commissioner to the United Kingdom and Ireland. He has been called “the world’s leading authority on contemporary Islam” by the BBC. Among his previous books are *Journey into Islam*, *Journey into America*, and *The Thistle and the Drone*, all published by Brookings. He is also a published poet and playwright.

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The Terrorist Argument

MODERN ADVOCACY AND PROPAGANDA

Christopher C. Harmon
 AND *Randall G. Bowdish*



Propaganda used by terrorists and armed groups might not always be the most sophisticated or nuanced form of rhetoric, but with the right mix of emotion and logic it can be extremely effective in motivating supporters and frightening opponents. This book examines how terrorist groups in recent history have used propaganda, and how they had adapted to new communications technologies while retaining useful techniques from the past.

Harmon and Bowdish trace how armed groups and terrorists around the globe have honed their messages for maximum impact, both on the communities they hope to persuade to support them and on the official state organs they hope to overthrow. Sometimes both the messages and the techniques are crude; others are highly refined, carefully crafted appeals to intellect or emotion, embracing the latest forms of communications technology. Whatever the ideas or methodology, all are intended to use the power of ideas, along with force, to project an image and to communicate—not merely intimidate.

The Terrorist Argument uses nine case studies of how armed groups have used communications techniques with varying degrees of success: radio, newspapers, song, television, books, e-magazines, advertising, the Internet, and social media. It is fascinating reading for anyone interested in civil conflict, terrorism, communications theory and practice, or world affairs in general.

CHRISTOPHER C. HARMON is a terrorism specialist and held the privately endowed Horner Chair at the Marine Corps University Foundation. He has lectured at INTERPOL headquarters, on Capitol Hill, and at dozens of universities and graduate schools, in the United States and abroad. **RANDALL G. BOWDISH** is a retired Navy captain who commanded the USS *Simpson*. He has lectured at the NATO Center of Excellence for Defense Against Terrorism and the Institute of World Politics and has taught courses on terrorism, irregular warfare, and strategy at the Marine Corps Command and Staff College, University of Nebraska, Nebraska Wesleyan University, and the U.S. Air Force Academy, where he presently teaches.

From chants and pamphlets to the Internet, terrorist propaganda can be deadly effective

The Terrorist Argument's main contribution to the scholarship is a new understanding of terrorist messages in the context of the media used to propagate them, and of how inseparable action and public argument are in modern terrorism.

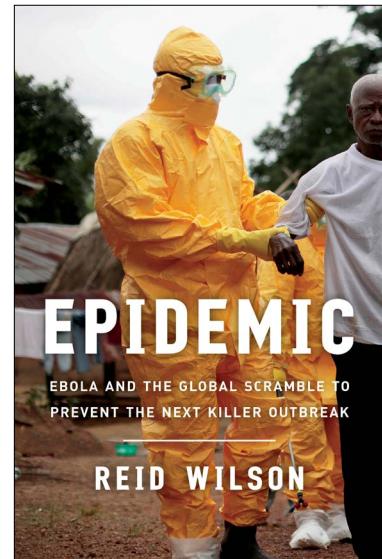
—*The American Interest*

March 2018, 6 x 9, 320 pp.
 cloth, 9780815731351, \$25.99
 ebook, 9780815731368, \$25.99

Epidemic

EBOLA AND THE GLOBAL SCRAMBLE TO PREVENT THE NEXT KILLER OUTBREAK

Reid Wilson



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

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.

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. He is a former staff writer at *The Washington Post* and a former editor in chief of *National Journal's The Hotline*.

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