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World in Danger
GERMANY AND EUROPE IN AN UNCERTAIN TIME

Wolfgang Ischinger

The world appears to be at another major turning point. Tensions between the United States and China threaten a resumption of great power conflict. Global institutions are being tested as never before, and hard-edged nationalism has resurfaced as a major force in both democracies and authoritarian states. From the European perspective, the United States appears to be abdicating its global leadership role. Meanwhile, Moscow and Beijing eagerly exploit every opportunity to pit European partners against one another.

But a pivot point also offers the continent an opportunity to grow stronger. In World in Danger, Wolfgang Ischinger, Germany’s most prominent diplomat, offers a vision of a European future of peace and stability. Ischinger examines the root causes of the current conflicts and suggests how Europe can successfully address the most urgent challenges facing the continent. The European Union, he suggests, is poised to become a more powerful actor on the world stage, able to shape global politics while defending the interests of its 500 million citizens. This important book offers a practical vision of a Europe fully capable of navigating these turbulent times.

WOLFGANG ISCHINGER was deputy foreign minister (1998–2001) and has served as Germany’s ambassador to both the United States and the United Kingdom. He has chaired the Munich Security Conference, the world’s leading forum for debating international security policy, since 2008.
Difficult Choices
TAIWAN’S QUEST FOR SECURITY
AND THE GOOD LIFE
Richard C. Bush

Taiwan was a poster child for the “third wave” of global democratization in the 1980s. It was the first Chinese society to make the transition to democracy, and it did so gradually and peacefully. But Taiwan today faces a host of internal issues, starting with the aging of society and the resulting intergenerational conflicts over spending priorities. China’s long-term threat to incorporate the island on terms similar to those used for Hong Kong exacerbates the island’s home-grown problems. Taiwan remains heavily dependent on the United States for its security, but it must use its own resources to cope with Beijing’s constant intimidation and pressure. How Taiwan responds to the internal and external challenges it faces—and what the United States and other outside powers do to help—will determine whether it is able to stand its ground against China’s ambitions.

The book explores the broad range of issues and policy choices Taiwan confronts and offers suggestions both for what Taiwan can do to help itself and what the United States should do to improve Taiwan’s chances of success.

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RICHARD BUSH is a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and the Chen–fu and Cecilia Yen Koo Chair in Taiwan Studies. He is a leading specialist on issues concerning Taiwan and its relations with China.
Middle Class Shanghai
RESHAPING U.S.-CHINA ENGAGEMENT

Cheng Li

The United States and China now appear to be locked on a collision course that has already fomented a trade war. The current deterioration of the bilateral relationship is the culmination of years of disputes, disillusionment, disappointment, and distrust between the two countries. Washington has legitimate concerns about Beijing’s excessive domestic political control and aggressive foreign policy stances, just as Chinese leaders believe the United States still has futile designs on blocking their country’s inevitable rise to great-power status.

Cheng Li’s *Middle Class Shanghai* argues that American policymakers must not lose sight of the expansive dynamism and diversity in present-day China. The caricature of the PRC as a monolithic Communist apparatus set on exporting its ideology and development model is simplistic and misguided. Drawing on empirical research in the realms of higher education, avant-garde art, architecture, and law, this unique study highlights the strong, constructive impact of bilateral exchanges.

Combining eclectic human stories with striking new data analysis, this book addresses the possibility that the development of China’s class structure and cosmopolitan culture—exemplified and led by Shanghai—could provide a force for reshaping U.S.-China engagement. The author concludes that U.S. policymakers should neither underestimate the role and strength of the Chinese middle class, nor ostracize or alienate this force with policies that push it toward jingoistic nationalism.

With its unique focus, this book will enlighten policymakers, scholars, business leaders, and anyone interested in China and its relations with the United States.

**CHENG LI** is director and a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution’s John L. Thornton China Center. He is also a director of the National Committee on U.S.–China Relations. He is the principal editor of the Thornton Center Chinese Thinkers Series published by the Brookings Institution Press.
Rivalry and Response
GREAT POWER DYNAMICS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

EDITED BY Jonathan Stromseth

Southeast Asia has become a hotbed of strategic rivalry between China and the United States. China is asserting its influence in the region through economic statecraft and far-reaching efforts to secure its sovereignty claims in the South China Sea, while the United States has promoted a Free and Open Indo-Pacific strategy that explicitly challenges China’s expanding influence—warning other countries that Beijing is practicing predatory economics and advancing governance concepts associated with rising authoritarianism in the region.

In this timely volume, leading experts from Southeast Asia, Australia, and the United States assess these great power dynamics by examining the strategic landscape, domestic governance trends, and economic challenges in Southeast Asia, with the latter focusing especially on infrastructure. Among other findings, the authors express concern that U.S. policy has become too concentrated on defense and security, to the detriment of diplomacy and development, allowing China to fill the soft power vacuum and capture the narrative through its signature Belt and Road Initiative.

As the Biden administration begins to formulate its strategy for the region much is at stake for U.S. foreign policy and American interests. Southeast Asia includes two U.S. allies in Thailand and the Philippines, important security partners like Singapore, and key emerging partners such as Vietnam and Indonesia. Almost 42,000 U.S. companies export to the 10 countries that comprise the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), supporting about 600,000 jobs in the United States, but America’s economic standing is increasingly at risk.

Jonathan Stromseth is a senior fellow and Lee Kuan Yew Chair at the Brookings Institution, where he specializes in Southeast Asian politics and U.S. Asia policy. He previously served on the secretary of state’s policy planning staff, advising the State Department’s leadership on China, Southeast Asia, and East Asian and Pacific affairs.
U.S. policy toward China is at an inflection point. For more than a generation, since the 1970s, a near-consensus view in the United States supported engagement with China, with the aim of integrating China into the U.S.-led international order. By the latter part of the 2010s, that consensus had collapsed as a much more powerful and increasingly assertive China was seen as a strategic rival to the United States. How the two countries tackle issues affecting the most important bilateral relationship in the world will significantly shape overall international relations for years to come.

In this timely book, leading scholars of U.S.-China relations and China’s foreign policy address recent changes in American assessments of China’s capabilities and intentions and consider potential risks to international security, the significance of a shifting international distribution of power, problems of misperception, and the risk of conflicts. China’s military modernization, its advancing technology, and its Belt and Road Initiative, as well as regional concerns, such as the South China Sea disputes, relations with Japan, and tensions on the Korean Peninsula, receive special focus.

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JACQUES DELISLE is the Stephen A. Cozen Professor of Law, professor of political science, and director of the Center for the Study of Contemporary China at the University of Pennsylvania, and director of the Asia Program at the Foreign Policy Research Institute, Philadelphia. AVERY GOLDSTEIN is the David M. Knott Professor of Global Politics and International Relations, inaugural director of the Center for the Study of Contemporary China, and associate director of the Christopher H. Browne Center for International Politics at the University of Pennsylvania.
Meltdown
INSIDE THE FUKUSHIMA NUCLEAR CRISIS
Yoichi Funabashi

The March 2011 Fukushima nuclear disaster in Japan saw failures at all levels of the Japanese government and private sector that worsened the human and economic impact of the disaster and ensured the consequences that continue to be felt today—and will continue for years to come. Based on the author’s interviews with more than three hundred government officials, power plant operators, and military personnel during the years since the disaster, Meltdown offers an unrivaled chronological account of the immediate two weeks of human struggle to contain the failures of man-made technology overwhelmed by nature.

Yoichi Funabashi, one of Japan’s most eminent journalists, also provides insight into why Japan’s decision-making process failed almost as dramatically as the Fukushima nuclear reactors: even as people were risking their lives to deal with the crisis at the plant, the government in Tokyo was in disarray, and the utility company that operated the plants seemed more engaged in power struggles with the government than in containing the crisis. Funabashi uses the Fukushima experience to draw lessons on leadership, governance, disaster resilience, and crisis management—lessons that have universal application for an increasingly technology-driven society.

YOICHI FUNABASHI is chairman of Asia Pacific Initiative, a Tokyo-based think tank that includes the Rebuild Japan Initiative Foundation as one of its research programs.
Global Political Cities

ACTORS AND ARENAS OF INFLUENCE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Kent E. Calder

The British Empire declined decades ago, but London remains one of the world’s preeminent centers of finance, commerce, and political discourse. London is just one of the global cities assuming greater importance in the post-cold war world—even as many national governments struggle to meet the needs of their citizens. Global Political Cities shows how and why cities are re-asserting their historic role at the forefront of international economic and political life.

The book focuses on fifteen major cities across Europe, Asia, and the United States, including New York, London, Tokyo, Brussels, Seoul, Geneva, and Hong Kong, not to mention Beijing and Washington, D.C. In addition to highlighting the achievements of high-profile mayors, the book chronicles the growing influence of think tanks, mass media, and other global agenda setters, in their local urban political settings. It also shows how these cities serve in the Internet age as the global stage for grassroots appeals and protests of international significance.

Global Political Cities shows why cities cope much better than nations with many global problems—and how their strengths can help transform both nations and the broader world in future. The book offers important insights for students of both international and comparative political economy; diplomats and other government officials; executives of businesses with global reach; and general readers interested in how the world is changing around them.

KENT CALDER is Director of the Reischauer Center for East Asian Studies at Johns Hopkins University/SAIS, where he specializes in International Political Economy and Comparative Urban Politics. His recent research focuses on the rising role of cities in international affairs.
Until recently, globalization was viewed, on balance, as an inherently good thing that would benefit people and societies nearly everywhere. Now there is growing concern that some countries will use their position in globalized networks to gain undue influence over other societies through their dominance of information and financial networks, a concept known as “weaponized interdependence.”

In exploring the conditions under which China, Russia, and the United States might be expected to weaponize control of information and manipulate the global economy, the contributors to this volume challenge scholars and practitioners to think differently about foreign economic policy, national security, and statecraft for the twenty-first century. The book addresses such questions as: What areas of the global economy are most vulnerable to unilateral control of information and financial networks? How sustainable is the use of weaponized interdependence? What are the possible responses from targeted actors? And how sustainable is the open global economy if weaponized interdependence becomes a default tool for managing international relations?

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Daniel W. Drezner is professor of international politics at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, and a nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. Henry Farrell is professor of political science and international affairs at George Washington University. Abraham L. Newman is a professor in the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service and Government Department, Georgetown University, and director of the Mortara Center for International Studies.
India and Asian Geopolitics
THE PAST, PRESENT
Shivshankar Menon

India faces many questions as it forges a path through the increasingly complex world of Asian geopolitics. Shivshankar Menon, a former Indian foreign secretary and national security adviser, traces India’s approach to the shifting regional landscape since its independence in 1947. From its leading role in the nonaligned movement during the Cold War to its current status as a perceived counterweight to China, India often has been an afterthought for global leaders—until they realized how much they needed it.

Examining India’s policy choices throughout its history, Menon focuses in particular on India’s responses to the rise of China. Menon also looks to the future and analyzes how India’s policies are likely to evolve in response to new challenges.

As India grows economically and gains in stature across the globe, both its domestic preoccupations and its international choices will become more significant. Menon makes a powerful geopolitical case for an India increasingly and positively engaged in Asia and the broader world in pursuit of a pluralistic, open, and inclusive world order.

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SHIVSHANKAR MENON is a former foreign secretary of India and national security adviser to Prime Minister Manmohan Singh.
In this Asian century, scholars, officials and journalists are increasingly focused on the fate of the rivalry between China and India. They see the U.S. relationships with the two Asian giants as now intertwined, after having followed separate paths during the Cold War.

In *Fateful Triangle*, Tanvi Madan argues that China’s influence on the U.S.-India relationship is neither a recent nor a momentary phenomenon. Drawing on documents from India and the United States, she shows that American and Indian perceptions of and policy toward China significantly shaped U.S.-India relations in three crucial decades, from 1949 to 1979. *Fateful Triangle* updates our understanding of the diplomatic history of U.S.-India relations, highlighting China’s central role in it, reassesses the origins and practice of Indian foreign policy and nonalignment, and provides historical context for the interactions between the three countries.

*TANVI MADAN* is a senior fellow in the Foreign Policy program at the Brookings Institution, where she specializes in Indian foreign policy. Her work focuses on India’s relations with China and the United States, and India’s role in the Indo-Pacific.
Partners of First Resort

AMERICA, EUROPE, AND THE FUTURE OF THE WEST

David McKean and Bart M. J. Szewczyk

Is the Western alliance, which brought together the United States and Europe after World War II, in an inevitable state of decline, and if so, can anything be done to repair it? There seems little doubt that fragmentation of the Western alliance was under way even before Donald Trump’s unorthodox policymaking broadened the schism. Opinions differ as to the next step, however, with some taking the current divisions as a given and advocating the creation of a new group of like-minded democracies that would exclude the United States, while others seek to exploit the rift in hopes of furthering their own nationalistic ambitions for a postliberal world.

The authors outline a “transatlantic renaissance,” in which U.S. and European leaders would work together to craft a new Atlantic Charter that would restore the liberal objectives that animated the Western alliance for more than seven decades. Modernizing institutional relationships across the Atlantic should help both the United States and Europe address common challenges jointly and improve burden-sharing. The world needs a vibrant and energetic West to protect fundamental values from illiberal forces, both internal and external.

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DAVID MCKEAN is a senior fellow at the German Marshall Fund. Formerly he served as director of Policy Planning at the U.S. Department of State and as U.S. ambassador to Luxembourg. BART M. J. SZEWCZYK is adviser on global affairs at the European Commission’s think tank and adjunct professor at Sciences Po, Paris. Formerly he served on the Policy Planning staff of the U.S. Department of State.
The “decline of the West” is once again a frequent topic of speculation. Often cited as one element of the alleged decline is the succession of prolonged and unsuccessful wars.

Temporality is the central concept linking a series of structural fractures that leave the West seemingly muscle-bound: overwhelmingly powerful in technology and military might but strategically fragile. This temporality is composed of three interrelated dimensions: trajectories, perceptions, and pace.

First, Western societies tend to view time as a linear trajectory, focusing mostly on recent and current events. The authors examine whether the inevitable fall already has happened, is underway, or is still in the future.

Perceptions of time also vary across cultures and periods, shaping socio-political activities, including warfare. And war can be seen either as cyclical or exceptional, helping frame the public’s willingness to accept its violent and tragic consequences.

The pace of war is another factor shaping policies and actions. Western societies emphasize speed: the shorter the war the better, even if the long-term result is unsuccessful.

This unique book is thus a critical assessment of the evolution and future of Western military power. It contributes much-needed insight into the potential for the West’s political and institutional renewal.

**STEN RYNNING** is professor of war studies at the University of Southern Denmark. **OLIVIER SCHMITT** is professor with special responsibilities at the Center for War Studies, University of Southern Denmark, and currently director of research and studies at the French Institute for Higher National Defence Studies. **AMELIE THEUSSEN** is assistant professor at the Center for War Studies, University of Southern Denmark.
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 has for decades followed these kings and presidents through 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, Kings and Presidents takes the reader inside the royal palaces, the holy cities, and the White House to gain an understanding of this complex partnership.

BRUCE RIEDEL joined Brookings in 2006 after thirty years of service at the Central Intelligence Agency, including postings overseas in the Middle East and Europe. Riedel was a senior adviser on South Asia and the Middle East to the past four presidents of the United States in the staff of the National Security Council at the White House.
Assignment Russia
BECOMING A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT IN THE CRUCIBLE OF THE COLD WAR

Marvin Kalb

Marvin Kalb, the award-winning journalist who has written extensively about the world he reported on during his long career, now turns his eye on the young man who became that journalist. Chosen by legendary broadcaster Edward R. Murrow to become one of what came to be known as the Murrow Boys, Kalb in this newest volume takes readers back to his first days as a journalist, and what also were the first days of broadcast news.

Kalb captures the excitement of being present at the creation of a whole new way of bringing news immediately to the public. And what news. Cold War tensions were high between Eisenhower’s America and Khrushchev’s Soviet Union. Kalb is at the center, occupying a unique spot as a student of Russia tasked with explaining Moscow to Washington and the American public. He joins a cast of legendary figures along the way, from Murrow himself to Eric Severeid, Howard K. Smith, Richard Hottelet, Charles Kuralt, and Daniel Schorr among many others. He finds himself assigned as Moscow correspondent of CBS News just as the U2 incident—the downing of a US spy plane over Russian territory—is unfolding.

Assignment Russia sees Kalb once again an eyewitness to history—and a writer and analyst who helped shape the first draft of that history.

MARVIN KALB is a former senior adviser to the Pulitzer Center on Crisis Reporting, a Harvard Professor emeritus, former network news correspondent at NBC and CBS, senior fellow nonresident at the Brookings Institution, and author of 16 other books, the most recent of which is, The Year I Was Peter the Great [Brookings].
U.S. policy in the Middle East has had few successes under recent administrations. But is the sudden swerve taken by the Trump administration—military disengagement, coupled with unquestioning support for key allies, Israel, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia—the way forward? In this edited volume, noted experts on the region lay out a better long-term strategy for protecting U.S. interests in the Middle East. The authors articulate a vision that is both self-interested and carefully tailored to the unique dynamics of the increasingly divergent subregions in the Middle East, including North Africa, the Sunni Arab bloc of Egypt and the Persian Gulf states, and the increasingly chaotic Levant.

The most effective way to pursue U.S. interests, the authors suggest, is unlikely to involve the same alliance-centric approach that has been the basis of Washington’s policy since the 1990s. Instead, the United States should adopt a less military-dominant strategy that relies on a diversified set of partners and a determination to establish priorities for American interests and the use of resources, both financial and military. This nimble approach is needed as U.S. interests in the region continue to evolve.

**DAFNA H. RAND** is the vice president for policy and research at Mercy Corps. Rand most recently served as deputy assistant secretary in the State Department’s Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor and on the staff of the National Security Council. **ANDREW P. MILLER** is deputy director for policy with the Project on Middle East Democracy and a nonresident scholar in the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace’s Middle East Program.

**It’s time for new policies based on changing U.S. interests.**
Public Sector Reform in the Middle East and North Africa

LESSONS OF EXPERIENCE FOR A REGION IN TRANSITION

EDITED BY Robert P. Beschel
AND Tarik M. Yousef

Political upheavals and civil wars in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) have obscured efforts by many countries in the region to reform their public sectors. Unwieldy, unresponsive—and often corrupt—governments across the region have faced new pressure, not least from their publics, to improve the quality of public services and open up their decisionmaking processes. Some of these reform efforts were under way and at least partly successful before the outbreak of the Arab Spring in 2010. Reform efforts have continued in some countries despite the many upheavals since then.

This book offers a comprehensive assessment of a wide range of reform efforts in nine countries. In six cases the reforms targeted core systems of government: Jordan’s restructuring of cabinet operations, the Palestinian Authority’s revision of public financial management, Morocco’s voluntary retirement program, human resource management reforms in Lebanon, an e-governance initiative in Dubai, and attempts to improve transparency in Tunisia. Five other reform efforts tackled line departments of government, among them Egypt’s attempt to improve tax collection and Saudi Arabia’s work to improve service delivery and bill collection.

Some of these reform efforts were more successful than others. This book examines both the good and the bad, looking not only at what each reform accomplished but at how it was implemented. The result is a series of useful lessons on how public sector reforms can be adopted in MENA.

ROBERT BESCHEL is the head of the World Bank’s Center of Government Practice. Previously, he served as director for policy in the Office of the Prime Minister in Kuwait. TARIK YOUSEF is the director of the Brookings Doha Center. Previously, he served as the founding dean of the Dubai School of Government.
It’s no secret that the nearly 200 nations in the world have a hodgepodge of governance systems. No two countries are governed in exactly the same way, even though overall structures might seem similar.

What’s the problem with this disparate nature of how governments operate and make decisions? The answer, Ralph C. Bryant says, is that disorderly or even competing systems often produce faulty decisions that cause damage within countries, across borders, and across the world. Disorder undermines mutual well-being.

The solution lies in not in endlessly arguing over the pros and cons of globalization, as too often has been the case in recent years. Instead, the nations need to craft compromises among themselves that acknowledge the higgledy-piggledy nature of their existing governance systems and that instead promote cross-border cooperation ameliorating the disorder.

International cooperation is becoming progressively more essential, as shown by current struggles to deal with a global pandemic and the longer-term challenges posed by climate change. Could the world produce enough cooperation to support marked progress in reducing the dangers of global climate change? Could more cross-border cooperation mitigate dangers from recurring financial instability? Do nations and their leaders have enough foresight to use their borders not as barriers but as catalysts for comity and stronger international agreements?

This intriguing and thought-provoking book addresses essential questions that are, or should be, at the forefront of humanity’s ongoing struggles to govern itself.

Ralph C. Bryant has been a Senior Fellow in the Economic Studies program of the Brookings Institution since 1976. His primary fields of expertise are international economics, monetary economics, and open-economy macroeconomics.