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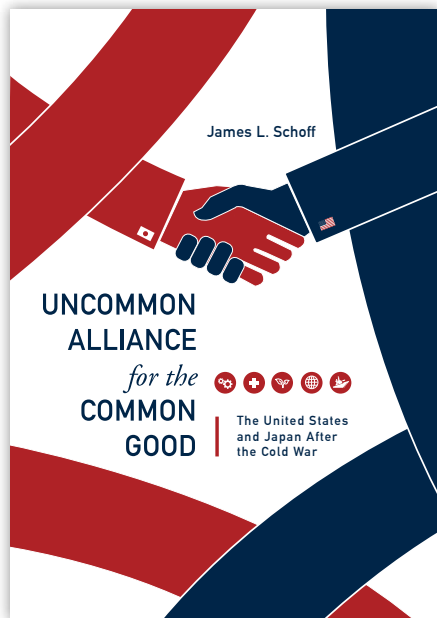


Asia

Uncommon Alliance for the Common Good: The United States and Japan After the Cold War

JAMES L. SCHOFF

2017



The three decade-old U.S.-Japan alliance faced a major turning point in 1990, as the Cold War wound down and a central pillar of the relationship—containment of the Soviet Union—began to fall away just as bilateral trade competition was peaking. Despite this, the allies deepened security cooperation throughout the next quarter century, in addition to broadening collaboration in economics, technology, and diplomacy. At the current juncture of global uncertainty and diversified threats to prosperity, the allies should work to incorporate their full range of cooperation in more direct service of comprehensive national strategies, recognizing the unique ways that their alliance supports global stability and serves mutual interests. The start of a new U.S. administration is an opportune time to recalibrate alliance interaction to keep it relevant and productive.

JAMES L. SCHOFF is a senior fellow in the Carnegie Asia Program. His research focuses on U.S.-Japan relations and regional engagement, Japanese politics and security, and the private sector's role in Japanese policymaking.

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Creating a Stable Asia: An Agenda for a U.S.-China Balance of Power

MICHAEL D. SWAINE

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AUBE REY LESCURE

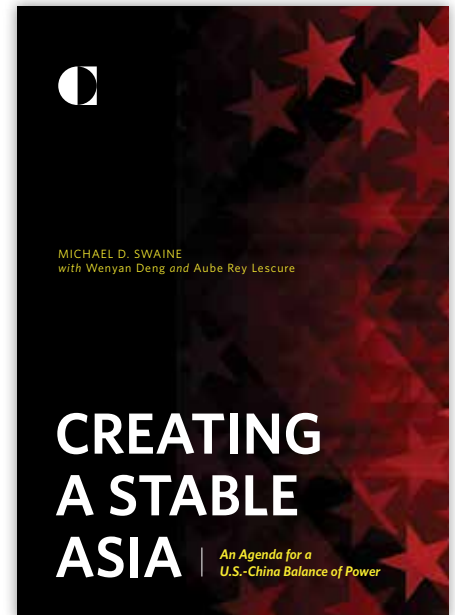
2016

The Western Pacific is experiencing a fundamental and potentially destabilizing military and economic power transition driven primarily by China's economic and military rise and a corresponding relative decline in American power. Efforts by the United States or China to secure future predominance will prove futile and dangerous, given a host of security, economic, and diplomatic factors. Instead, creating a stable de facto balance of power is necessary and feasible for both countries. This shift could take the form of a more durable balance that would necessitate major regional changes that would be difficult to achieve, or a more feasible but less stable balance involving more modest adjustments. The incremental, conditional process this would entail involves developing domestic consensus, securing allied and friendly support, deepening U.S.-China dialogue, and achieving interlinked changes in several existing regional security policies.

MICHAEL D. SWAINE is a senior fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and one of the most prominent American analysts in Chinese security studies.

WENYAN DENG is a former junior fellow in the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace's Asia Program, where her research focused on international relations in the Western Pacific, Sino-U.S. crisis-management behaviors, Chinese military development, and U.S. military strategy in Asia.

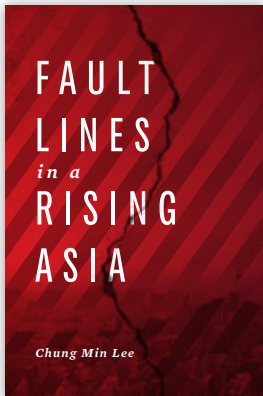
AUBE REY LESCURE worked as a research assistant in the Asia Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.



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Fault Lines in a Rising Asia

CHUNG MIN LEE

2016

Asia has already risen by most hard-power measures. But without an understanding of the downsides of Asia's rise, the conventional narrative is incomplete, misleading, and inaccurate.

Chung Min Lee explores the fundamental dichotomy that defines contemporary Asia. While the region has been an unparalleled economic success, it is also home to some of the world's most dangerous, diverse, and divisive challenges. Contrary to prevailing wisdom, he says, Asia's rise doesn't mean the demise of the West.

CHUNG MIN LEE is a professor of international relations at the Graduate School of International Studies at Yonsei University in Seoul, South Korea, and a nonresident senior fellow in Carnegie's Asia Program. He works on security issues in Northeast Asia, including strategic developments on the Korean Peninsula.

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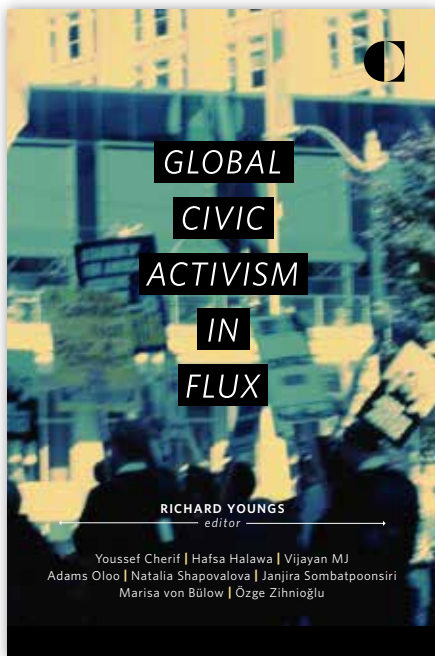




Democracy and Rule of Law

Global Civic Activism in Flux

RICHARD YOUNGS, YOUSSEF CHERIF, HAFSA HALAWA, VIJAYAN MJ, ADAMS OLOO, NATALIA SHAPOVALOVA, JANJIRA SOMBATPOONSIRI, MARISA VON BÜLOW, AND ÖZGE ZIHNIÖĞLU
2017



Civil society around the world is in flux. New forms of civic activism have taken shape, ranging from protest movements to community-level forums and online campaigns by individual activists. Debate is growing over how much these new, dynamic forms of civic activism are displacing the influence wielded by traditional, professional, advocacy-based nongovernmental organizations.

RICHARD YOUNGS is a senior fellow in Carnegie's Democracy and Rule of Law Program. He is an expert on the foreign policy of the European Union, in particular on questions of democracy support.

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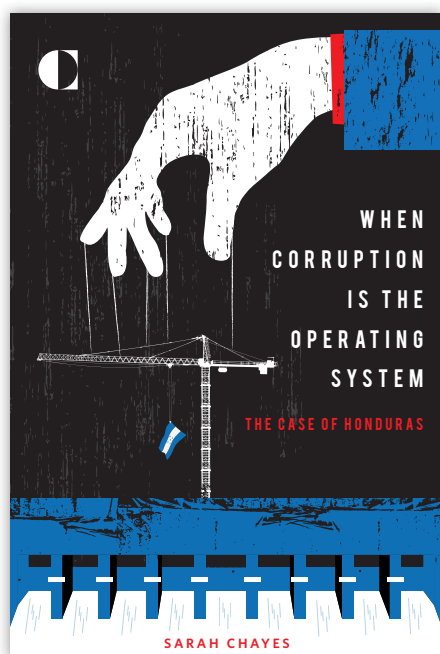
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When Corruption Is the Operating System: The Case of Honduras

SARAH CHAYES

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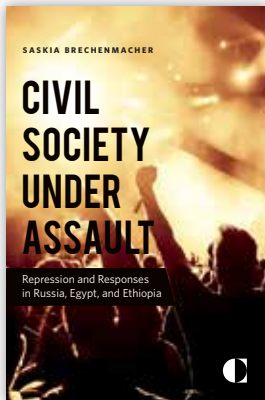
In some five dozen countries worldwide, corruption can no longer be understood as merely the iniquitous doings of individuals. Rather, it is the operating system of sophisticated networks that cross sectoral and national boundaries in their drive to maximize returns for their members. Honduras offers a prime example of such intertwined, or “integrated,” transnational kleptocratic networks. This case thus illustrates core features of the way apparently open or chaotic economies are in reality structured worldwide—and some of the dynamics that are driving climate change, persistent inequality, and spiraling conflict.

SARAH CHAYES is a senior fellow in Carnegie’s Democracy and Rule of Law program, is the author of *Thieves of State: Why Corruption Threatens Global Security*. She is internationally recognized for her innovative thinking on corruption and its implications. Her work explores how severe corruption can help prompt such crises as terrorism, revolutions and their violent aftermaths, and environmental degradation.

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Civil Society Under Assault: Repression and Responses in Russia, Egypt, and Ethiopia

SASKIA BRECHENMACHER

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The closing of civic space has become a defining feature of political life in an ever-increasing number of countries. Civil society organizations worldwide are facing systematic efforts to reduce their legitimacy and effectiveness. Russia, Egypt, and Ethiopia have been at the forefront of this global trend. In all three countries, governments' sweeping assault on associational life has forced civic groups to reorient their activities, seek out new funding sources, and move toward more resilient organizational models. Competing security and geopolitical interests have muddled U.S. and European responses, with governments divided over the value of aggressive pushback versus continued engagement.

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U.S. Leadership and the Challenge of State Fragility

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The new administration, a coming change in leadership at the United Nations, and an emerging global consensus about the fragility challenge make this an opportune moment to recalibrate our approach. The United States cannot and should not try to “fix” every fragile state. Nor can we ignore this challenge; all fragility has the potential to affect U.S. interests to some extent, especially when left to fester. There is simply too much at stake for our interests, our partners, and the global order. A sound and realistic policy framework is urgently needed to help our policymakers determine where, when, and how to invest scarce resources and attention to maximum effect.

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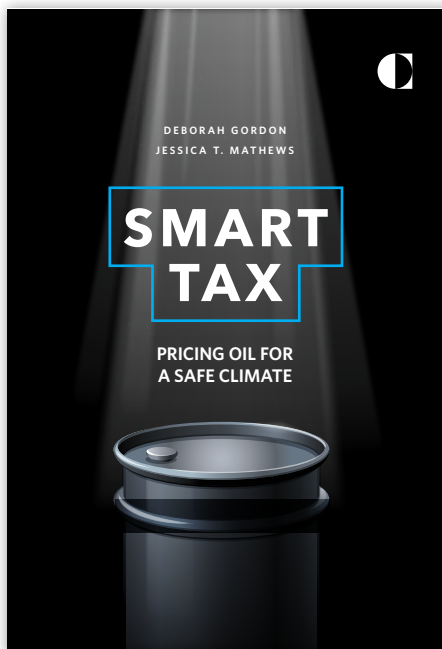


Energy and Climate

Smart Tax: Pricing Oil for a Safe Climate

DEBORAH GORDON
JESSICA T. MATHEWS

2016



Regulation and government funding of R&D are necessary but not sufficient to slow climate change. To transform energy use and supply across the economy, greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions will have to be priced and the power of the market brought to bear.

Oil is the most demanding fossil fuel in this regard. It is largely used for a single purpose—transportation—for which it has few substitutes. It is the most diverse of all fuels—chemically, geologically, and geographically. And it is heavily capitalized and the most traded global commodity. Each characteristic makes the design of an effective and fair tax particularly difficult.

Moreover, the United States faces a hydrocarbon landscape transformed by new, unconventional oils. The long-standing expectation of a gradual, shortage-driven shift to clean fuels has been replaced by the need for a swift transformation in the face of abundant supply. National policy making has not begun to catch up. A new smart tax design offers a way to do so.

DEBORAH GORDON is director of Carnegie’s Energy and Climate Program, where her research focuses on oil and climate change issues in North America and globally.

JESSICA T. MATHEWS is a distinguished fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. She served as Carnegie’s president for eighteen years.

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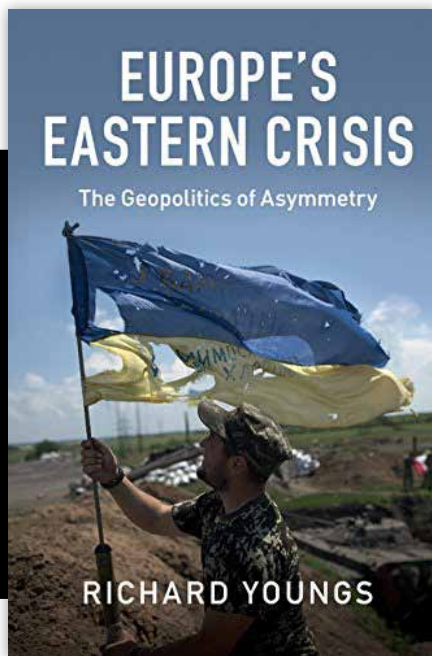
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Europe's Eastern Crisis: The Geopolitics of Asymmetry

RICHARD YOUNGS

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“Richard Youngs’s new account of the complex geopolitical context in the Eastern Partnership region provides a nuanced, sophisticated, and empirically rich study that is invaluable in taking into account the opinions of diplomats, policymakers, and civil society in the EaP states themselves.”

—Eka Tkeshelashvili, head of EU Anti-Corruption Initiative in Ukraine, former Georgian foreign minister, and president of the Georgian Institute for Strategic Studies

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In recent years, a series of crises have erupted on the European Union’s eastern borders. Russia’s annexation of Crimea and the subsequent conflict in eastern Ukraine presented the EU with a major foreign policy challenge, both in Ukraine and across the other countries of the Eastern Partnership. In response, the EU has begun to map its own form of “liberal-redux geopolitics” that combines various strategic logics. This book traces the effect of these crises on the foreign policy of the EU, examining the changes in policies toward the countries on its eastern borders, the EU’s review of the Eastern Partnership, as well as the EU’s relations with Russia overall. It goes on to uncover whether the EU has contained the crisis or if it has set up new conditions for more instability in the future.

RICHARD YOUNGS is a senior fellow in the Democracy and Rule of Law Program, based at Carnegie Europe. He works on EU foreign policy and on issues of international democracy. He is also a professor of international relations at the University of Warwick.

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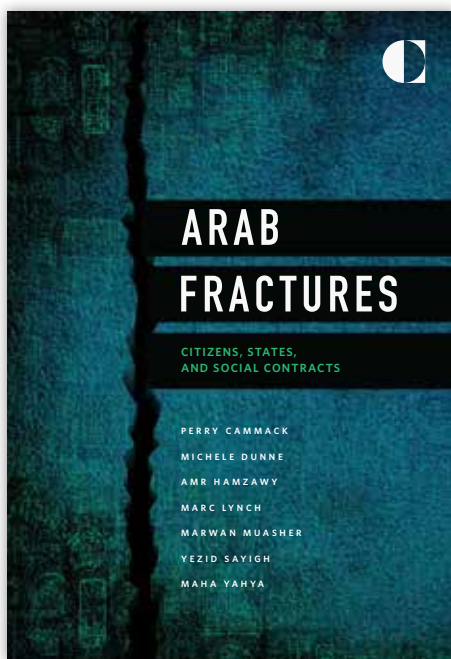
Middle East

Arab Fractures: Citizens, States, and Social Contracts

PERRY CAMMACK
MICHELE DUNNE
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MARWAN MUASHER
YEZID SAYIGH
MAHA YAHYA

2017

Long-standing pillars of the Arab order—authoritarian bargains and hydrocarbon rents—are collapsing as political institutions struggle with the rising demands of growing populations. Pervasive socioeconomic deficiencies, polarization, and repression have resulted, leading to unprecedented state disintegration, particularly in Iraq, Libya, Syria, and Yemen. These forces are in turn fueling massive human displacement and geopolitical power plays. If any semblance of order is to return after the conflicts subside, citizens and states must forge new social contracts that establish accountability and energize systemic political and economic reform.



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Arguing Islam After the Revival of Arab Politics

NATHAN J. BROWN

2016

For much of its modern history, a combination of deep nervousness and profound lack of interest seemed to inhibit or even prevent regular political conversations in the Arab World. Public spaces were devoid of political discussions: public squares in major cities showed no signs of assemblies for political purposes. If one picked up a newspaper, one was more likely to read about the comings and goings of officials rather than any sort of comprehensive political coverage.

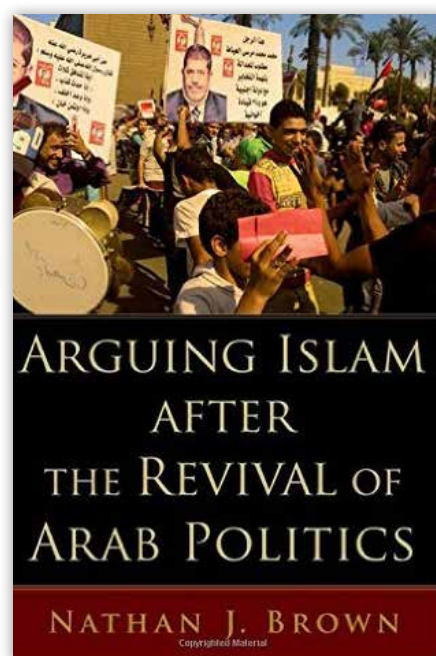
In the wake of the Arab Spring, newer media and older forms (such as the daily newspaper) have gradually made it easier for Middle East countries to participate in public debates from a variety of ideological perspectives. The state retreat from social welfare commitments have opened opportunities for a host of new informal groups and organizations to operate in areas previously dominated by officially-controlled bodies. These trends have obviously been noticed by social scientists, but scholars who focus on the large-scale political changes tend to edge into a celebratory tone: the changes are seen as potentially democratizing.

Arguing Islam after the Revival of Arab Politics presents an understanding the “revived” forms of Arab politics as they really are, and does not speculate about the democratic future these changes could signal. In particular, this book examines various sites of Arab public life to explore how politics operates. Four kinds of public spheres are brought into focus: small group discussions that straddle the public/private divide (such as diwaniyyas in Kuwait or piety groups in Egypt), public spaces of assembly (such as public squares and mosques), media (both new and old), and parliaments (an institution etymologically founded in philosophizing and pontificating rather than legislating). Further, the author gives due attention to the ways in which these spheres interact to explore how these gradations, affirmations, and subversions of hierarchy, status, and power make up the current political landscape of the Middle East.

NATHAN J. BROWN, a professor of political science and international affairs at George Washington University, is a distinguished scholar and author of six well-received books on Arab politics. Brown brings his special expertise on Islamist movements, Egyptian politics, Palestinian politics, and Arab law and constitutionalism to Carnegie. His current work focuses on religion, law, and politics in the Arab world.

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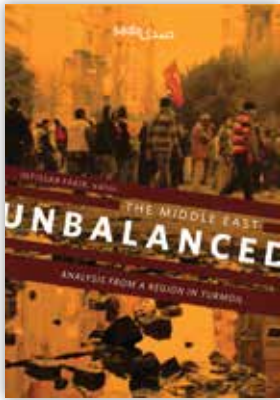
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The Middle East Unbalanced:
Analysis From a Region in Turmoil

INTISSAR FAKIR *editor*

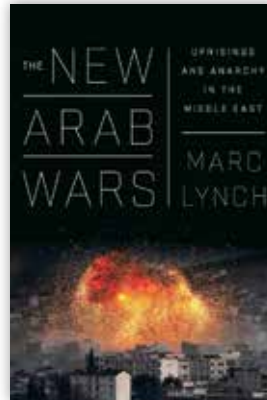
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In 2011, the political trajectories of many Arab states appeared to converge as protesters across the region revolted against corruption and authoritarianism, demanding dignity and acknowledgement of their basic rights. Yet since that time five years ago, not only has the optimism of the moment faded, but post-revolutionary Arab states have proceeded along diverse paths. This has brought—in varying forms—chaos, unpredictability, stagnation, and perhaps progress. These divergences present challenges for governments, political parties, the private sector, and civil society in the Middle East, as well as for policymakers in the West. With few common themes across the region and little predictability, analytical insights can become outdated quickly and even short-term planning risks being irrelevant.

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The New Arab Wars: Uprisings
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MARC LYNCH

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Less than twenty-four months after the hope-filled Arab uprising, the popular movement had morphed into a dystopia of resurgent dictators, failed states, and civil wars. Egypt's epochal transition to democracy ended in a violent military coup. Yemen and Libya collapsed into civil war, while Bahrain erupted in smothering sectarian repression. Syria proved the greatest victim of all, ripped apart by internationally fueled insurgencies and an externally supported, bloody-minded regime. Amidst the chaos, a virulently militant group declared an Islamic State, seizing vast territories and inspiring terrorism across the globe. What happened?

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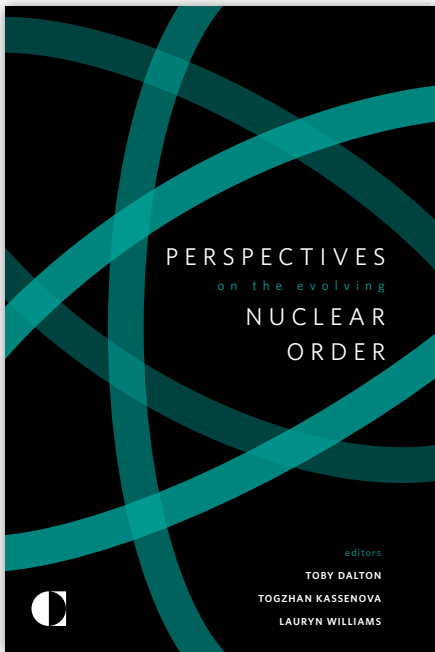


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The global nuclear order appears increasingly tense, primarily because many states feel that the structure and distribution of benefits is unjust. Among the states that will determine how the nuclear order will adapt, Argentina, Brazil, China, India, and Pakistan are particularly important.

These states occupy an uncomfortable middle ground in the order. Each possesses advanced nuclear technology, and three of them hold nuclear weapons. Unlike other states that seek to fundamentally change the existing system, these states would like to improve their standing in the order even though they remain deeply uneasy with its perceived lack of fairness.

TOBY DALTON is co-director of the Nuclear Policy Program at the Carnegie Endowment. An expert on nonproliferation and nuclear energy, his work addresses regional security challenges and the evolution of the global nuclear order.

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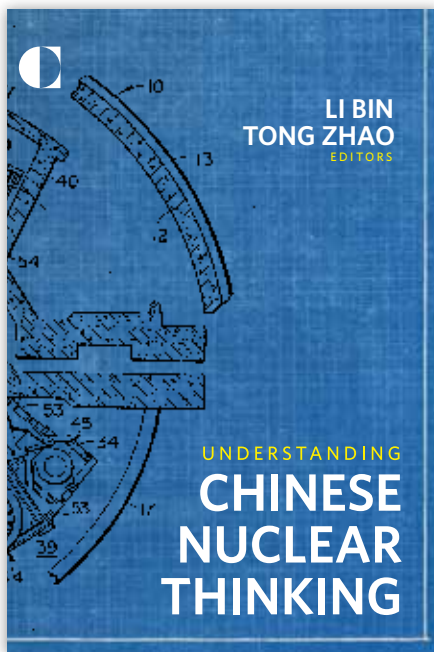
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LI BIN is a senior fellow working jointly in the Nuclear Policy Program and Asia Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

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The U.S.-Russian relationship is broken, and it cannot be repaired quickly or easily. Improved personal ties between President Donald Trump and President Vladimir Putin may be useful, but they are not enough. The Trump administration needs to temper expectations about breakthroughs or grand bargains with Moscow. Instead, the focus should be on managing a volatile relationship with an increasingly emboldened and unpredictable Russian leadership. The real test for any sustainable approach will be whether it advances U.S. interests and values, especially in the wake of Moscow's reckless meddling in the November presidential election.

EUGENE RUMER, a former national intelligence officer for Russia and Eurasia at the U.S. National Intelligence Council, is a senior fellow and the director of Carnegie's Russia and Eurasia Program.

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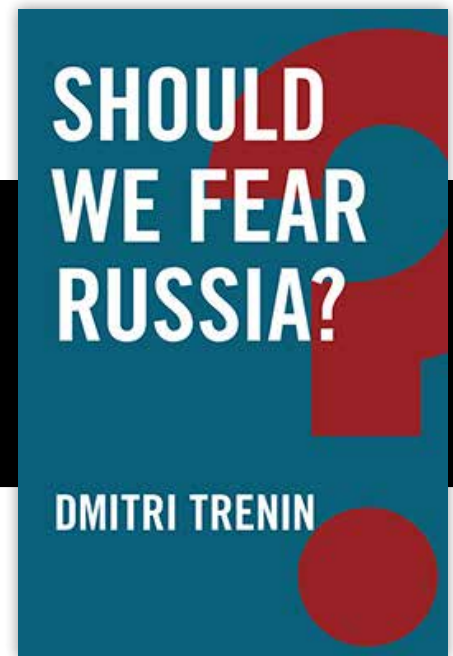
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DMITRI TRENIN, director of the Carnegie Moscow Center, has been with the center since its inception. He also chairs the research council and the Foreign and Security Policy Program.

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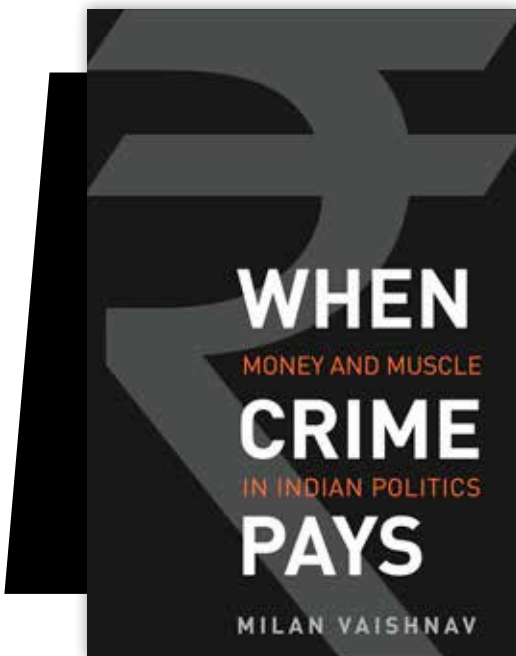
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MILAN VAISHNAV is a senior fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington, DC. He was previously a fellow at the Center for Global Development and has taught at Columbia, George Washington, and Georgetown Universities.

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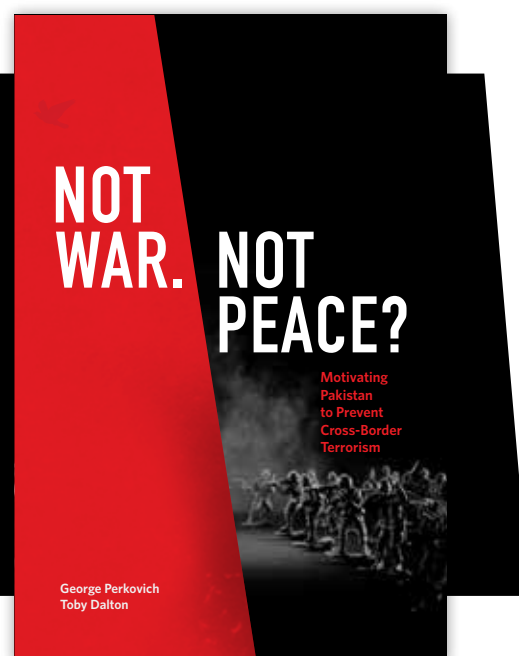
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GEORGE PERKOVICH is vice president for studies at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He works primarily on nuclear strategy and nonproliferation issues, and on South Asian security.

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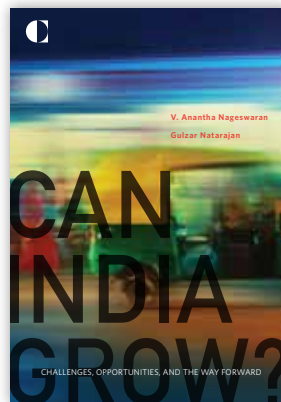
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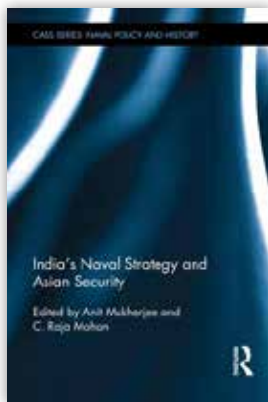
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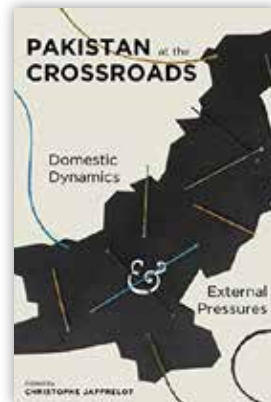
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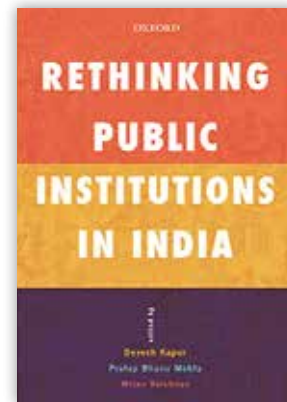
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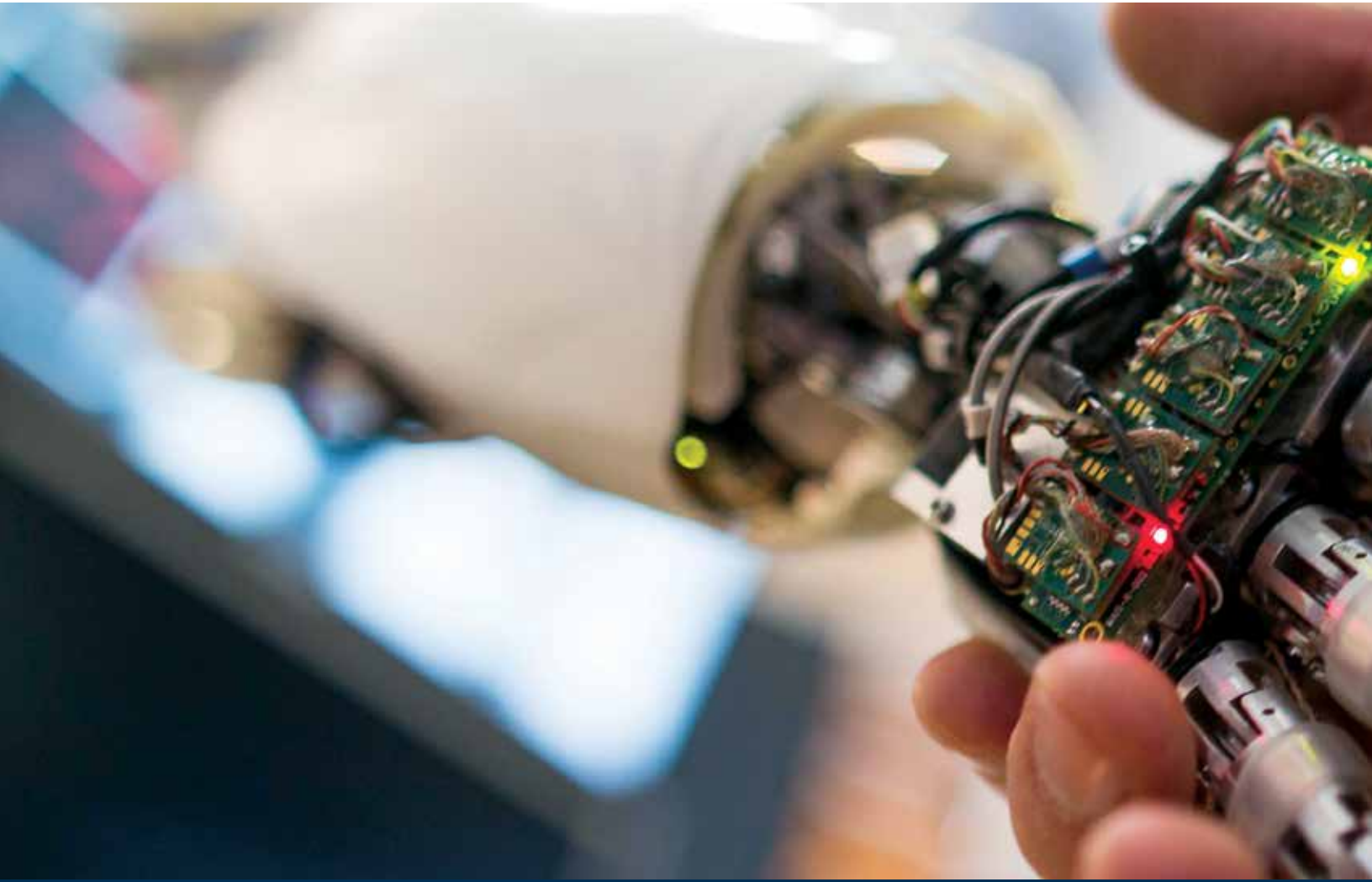
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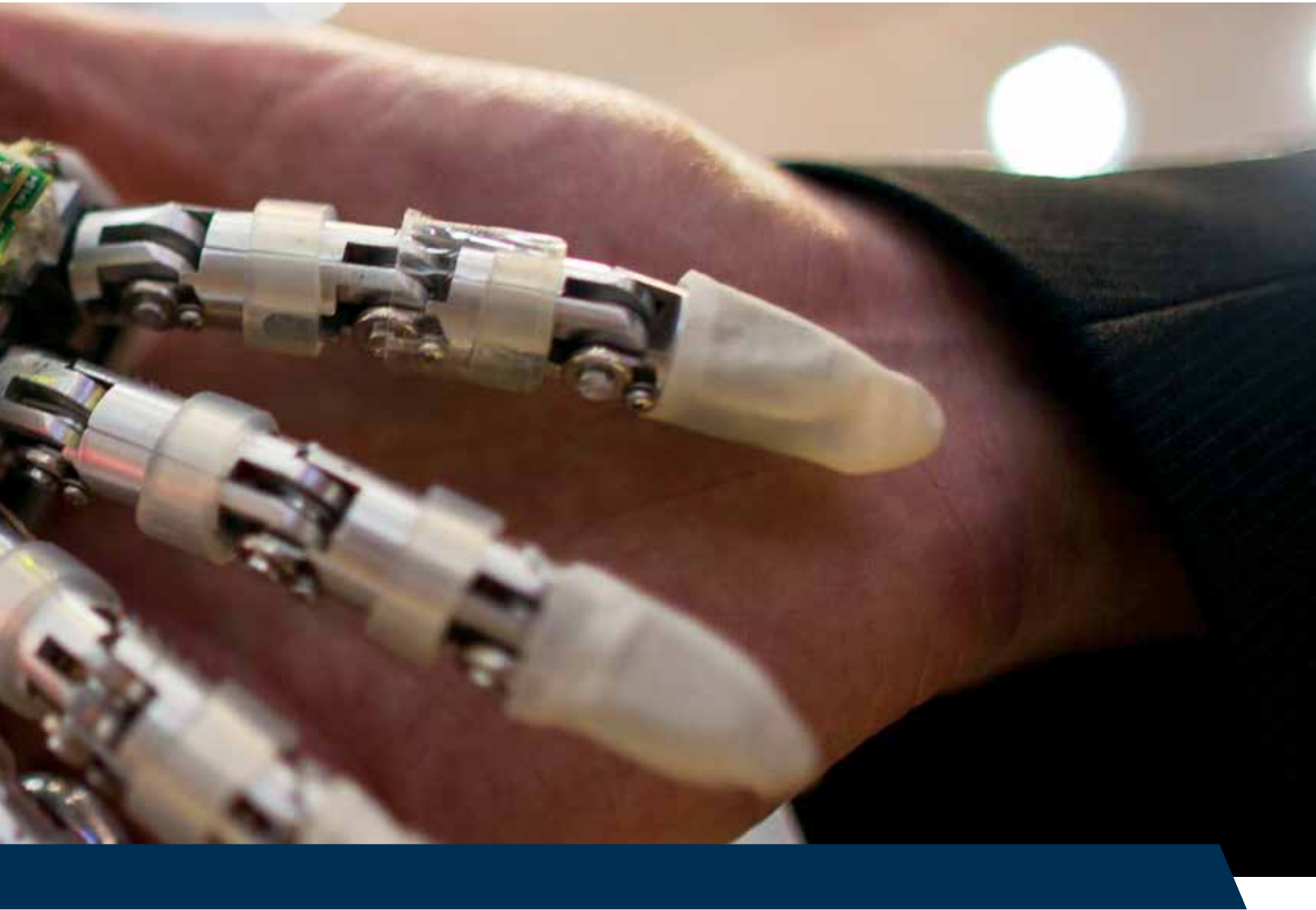
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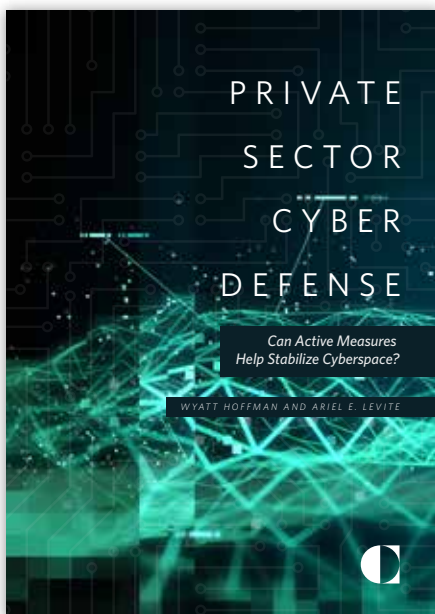
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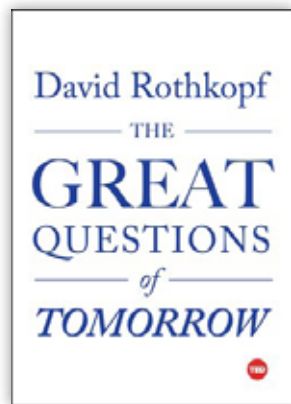
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