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THE FIELD OF
POLITICAL SCIENCE
ONE BOOK AT A TIME

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Cornell University Press

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Mixed in with the book descriptions are articles written by some of our authors and question-and-answer sessions with some, too. The point of these pieces of content is to give you a little more sense of who our authors are and what makes their books fascinating. It's all part of the experience of being part of CUP family.

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IN POLITICAL SCIENCE



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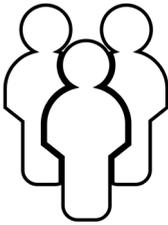
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Cornell University Press is connecting our authors with academics and students in their disciplines. Authors who are participating in this initiative have indicated their willingness to speak to a class on the subject covered in their book (or something else that is relevant). These presentations will be conducted via an online meeting application.

Listed below are our authors in the field of political science who have graciously offered their time should you wish them to speak to your class.

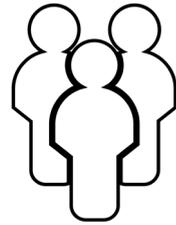
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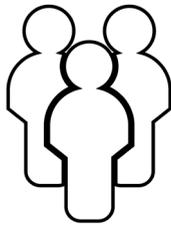
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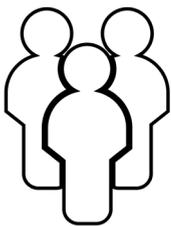
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American Catholic

The Politics of Faith During the Cold War

D. G. HART

American Catholic places the rise of the United States' political conservatism in the context of ferment within the Roman Catholic Church. How did Roman Catholics go from being perceived as un-American to becoming the most vocal defenders of the United States as the standard bearer in world history for political liberty and economic prosperity? D. G. Hart charts the development of the complex relationship between Roman Catholicism and American conservatism, and shows how these two seemingly antagonistic ideological groups became so intertwined in advancing a certain brand of domestic and international politics.

Roman Catholics, contrary to the standard narrative, were some of the most assertive political conservatives directly after World War II, and their brand of politics was one of the most influential means by which Roman Catholicism came to terms with American secular society. They did so at precisely the same time that bishops determined the church needed to update its teaching about its place in the modern world. Catholics grappled with political conservatism long before supposed rightward turn at the time of the *Roe v. Wade* decision of 1973.

Hart follows the course of political conservatism from John F. Kennedy, the first and only Roman Catholic President of the United States, to George W. Bush, and describes the evolution of the Church and its influence on American politics. By tracing the roots of Roman Catholic politicization in American culture, *American Catholic* argues that Roman Catholicism's adaptation to the modern world, whether in the United States or worldwide, was as remarkable as its achievement is uncertain. In the case of Roman Catholicism, the effects of the religion on American politics and political conservatism are indisputable.

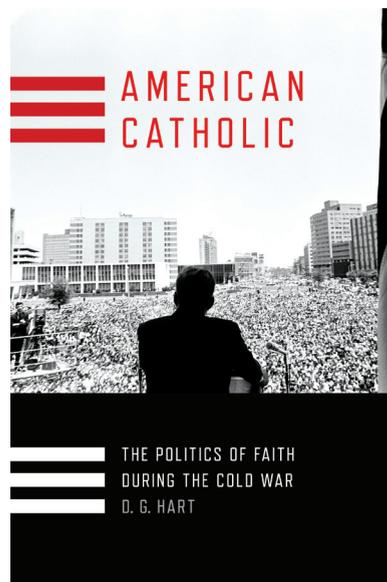
D. G. HART is Associate Professor of History at Hillsdale College. He is author of *Damning Worlds and Calvinism*. Follow him on Twitter @Oldlife.



RELIGION AND AMERICAN PUBLIC LIFE

\$29.95 hardcover | \$14.99 ebook

280 pages, 6 x 9



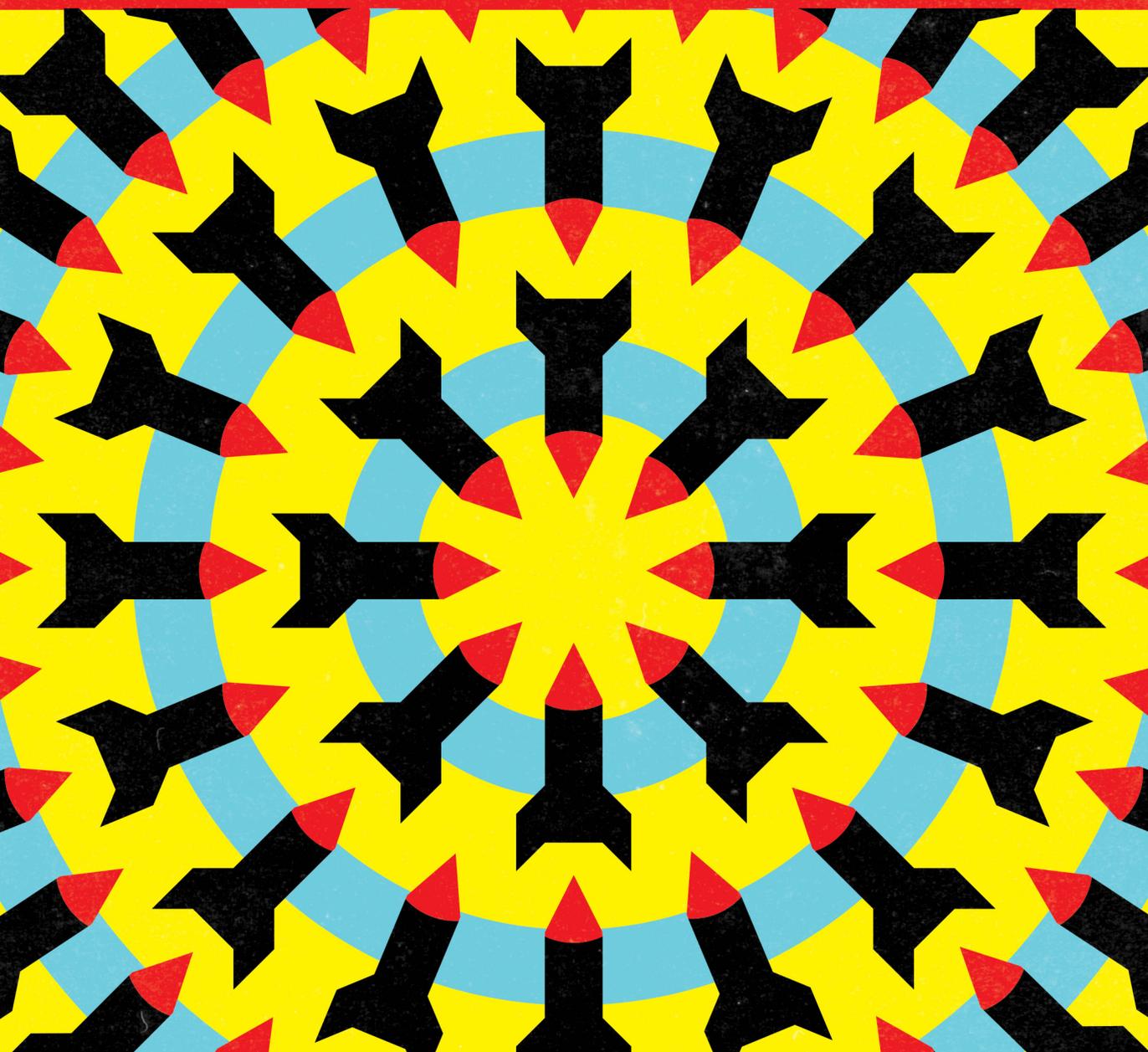
"American Catholic explores in greater depth how the Catholic and political strands of history are intertwined, and I think it is especially important and notable that D.G. Hart, a historian who is not among the 'usual suspects' working on US Catholic history, takes on this task."—James McCartin, author of *Prayers of the Faithful*

*"The story of mid-century American political life is to a surprising extent the story—rather the stories— of a handful of brilliantly original Catholic writers and thinkers. They're all vibrantly present in D. G. Hart's important and illuminating book, and so are the arguments, debates, and quarrels that continue to shape our country's clash of ideologies and faiths."—Sam Tanenhaus, author of *Death of Conservatism**

KEIR A. LIEBER AND DARYL G. PRESS

THE MYTH OF THE
NUCLEAR REVOLUTION

POWER POLITICS
IN THE ATOMIC AGE



Engaging the Evil Empire

Washington, Moscow, and the Beginning of the End of the Cold War

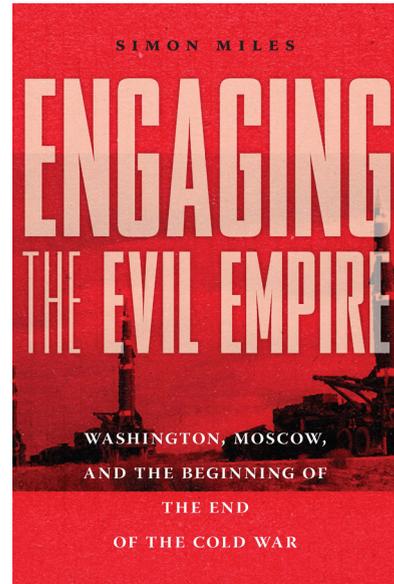
SIMON MILES

In a narrative-redefining approach, *Engaging the Evil Empire* dramatically alters how we look at the beginning of the end of the Cold War. Tracking key events in US-Soviet relations across the years between 1980 and 1985, Simon Miles shows that covert engagement gave way to overt conversation as both superpowers determined that open diplomacy was the best means of furthering their own, primarily competitive, goals. Miles narrates the history of these dramatic years, as President Ronald Reagan consistently applied a disciplined carrot-and-stick approach, reaching out to Moscow while at the same time excoriating the Soviet system and building up US military capabilities.

The received wisdom in diplomatic circles is that the beginning of the end of the Cold War came from changing policy preferences and that President Reagan in particular opted for a more conciliatory and less bellicose diplomatic approach. In reality, Miles clearly demonstrates, Reagan and ranking officials in the National Security Council had determined that the United States enjoyed a strategic margin of error that permitted it to engage Moscow overtly.

As US grand strategy developed, so did that of the Soviet Union. *Engaging the Evil Empire* covers five critical years of Cold War history when Soviet leaders tried to reduce tensions between the two nations in order to gain economic breathing room and, to ensure domestic political stability, prioritize expenditures on butter over those on guns. Miles's bold narrative shifts the focus of Cold War historians away from exclusive attention on Washington by focusing on the years of back-channel communiqués and internal strategy debates in Moscow as well as Prague and East Berlin.

SIMON MILES is Assistant Professor in the Sanford School of Public Policy at Duke University.



“Engaging the Evil Empire is well researched and brings out the complexities of US foreign-policymaking in an era that has customarily been considered under such simplistic labels as the ‘Second Cold War’.”—Jussi Hanhimäki, Graduate Institute, Geneva, author of *The Flawed Architect*

\$34.95 hardcover | \$16.99 ebook
248 pages, 6 x 9

Principles in Power

Latin America and the Politics of US Human Rights Diplomacy

VANESSA WALKER

Vanessa Walker's *Principles in Power* explores the relationship between policymakers and non-government advocates in Latin America and the United States government in order to explain the rise of anti-interventionist human rights policies uniquely critical of US power during the Cold War. In the 1970s, human rights advocates and the US government officials co-operated to establish a human rights agenda meant to challenge the foundations of US Cold War foreign policy, particularly alliances with repressive, anticommunist regimes. Walker shows that these new human rights policies were based on a complex dynamic of domestic and foreign considerations that was rife with tensions between the seats of power in the US, Latin America, and the growing activist movement that sought to reform them.

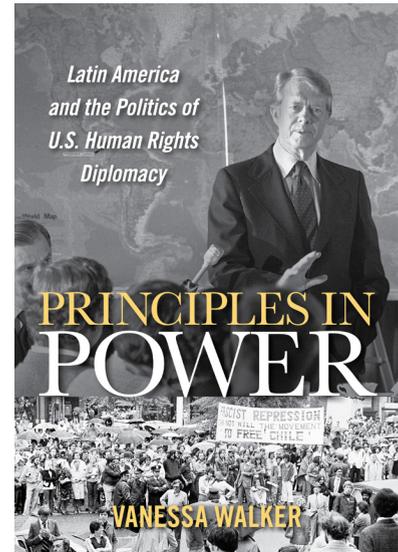
By addressing the development of US diplomacy and politics alongside that of activist networks, especially in Chile and Argentina, Walker shows that Latin America was central to the policy assumptions that shaped the Carter administration's foreign policy agenda. The coup that ousted the socialist President of Chile, Salvador Allende, sparked new human rights advocacy directly against US policies that supported authoritarian regimes in the name of Cold War security interests. From 1973 onward, the attention of Washington and capitals around the globe was on Latin America as the testing ground for the viability of a new paradigm for US power committed to fostering national interests, basic welfare, and democratic values.

This approach, oriented around human rights, required collaboration among activists and state officials in places as diverse as Buenos Aires, Santiago, and Washington. *Principles in Power* tells the complicated story of the potentials and limits of partnership among government and non-government actors. Analyzing how different groups deployed human rights language to reform domestic and international power, Walker explores the multiple and often conflicting purposes of US human rights policy.

VANESSA WALKER is the Morgan Assistant Professor of Diplomatic History at Amherst College.

THE UNITED STATES IN THE WORLD

\$45.00 hardcover | \$21.99 ebook
360 pages, 6 x 9, 12 b&w halftones



"Principles in Power advances our understanding of human rights and US foreign relations in the late Cold War. Weaving together a broad cast of characters, including policymakers, diplomats, and transnational advocates, Vanessa Walker's insight illuminates the struggle between efforts to reform Cold War policies at home and improve human rights conditions abroad."—William Schmidli, Leiden University, author of *The Fate of Freedom Elsewhere*

Reagan's Gun-Toting Nuns

The Catholic Conflict over Cold War Human Rights Policy in Central America

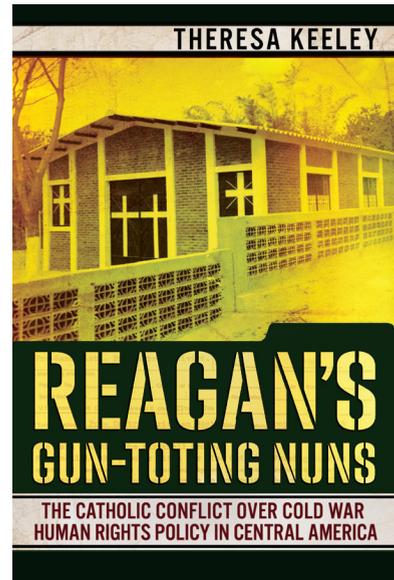
Theresa Keeley

In *Reagan's Gun-Toting Nuns*, Theresa Keeley analyzes the role of intra-Catholic conflict within the framework of US foreign policy formulation and execution during the Reagan Administration. She challenges the preponderance of scholarship on the administration that stresses the influence of evangelical Protestants on foreign policy toward Latin America. Especially in the case of US engagement in El Salvador and Nicaragua, Keeley argues, the bitter debate among US and Central American Catholics over the direction of the Catholic Church shaped President Ronald Reagan's foreign policy.

The flash-point for these intra-Catholic disputes was the December 1980 political murder of four American Catholic missionaries in El Salvador: Maryknoll Sisters Maura Clarke and Ita Ford, Ursuline Dorothy Kazel, and lay missionary Jean Donovan. Liberal Catholics described nuns and priests in Central America who worked to combat structural inequality as human rights advocates living out the Gospel's spirit. Conservative Catholics, by contrast, saw them as agents of class conflict who furthered the so-called Gospel according to Karl Marx. The debate was an old one among Catholics, especially after Vatican II and liberation theology's growth. But, as *Reagan's Gun-Toting Nuns* contends, the intra-Catholic debate intensified as conservative, anticommunist Catholics played instrumental roles in crafting US policy to fund the Salvadoran government and the Nicaraguan contras.

Reagan's Gun-Toting Nuns describes the religious actors as human rights advocates and, against prevailing understandings of the fundamentally secular activism related to human rights, highlighting religious-inspired activism during the Cold War. In charting of the rightward development of American Catholicism, Keeley provides a new chapter in the history of US diplomacy and shows how domestic issues such as contraception and abortion joined with foreign policy matters to shift Catholic laity toward Republican policies at home and abroad.

\$49.95 hardcover | \$24.99 ebook
352 pages, 6 x 9, 4 b&w halftones



"I'd been waiting years for a book like this. In *Reagan's Gun-Toting Nuns* Theresa Keeley provides an enormously important take on the Central American conflict and its impact. Her precise snapshots of what socially engaged Christianity really looked like in the 1970s and 1980s are invaluable."—Virginia Garrard, University of Texas, co-author of *Latin America and the Modern World*

"In an innovative analysis that integrates US foreign relations, religion, gender, and competing ideas about development, *Reagan's Gun-Toting Nuns* convincingly demonstrates the centrality of intra-Catholic debates in shaping US policy toward Central America during the Cold War."—William Michael Schmidli, Leiden University, author of *The Fate of Freedom Elsewhere*

Theresa Keeley is Assistant Professor of US and the World at the University of Louisville.



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The Politics of Veteran Benefits in the Twentieth Century

A Comparative History

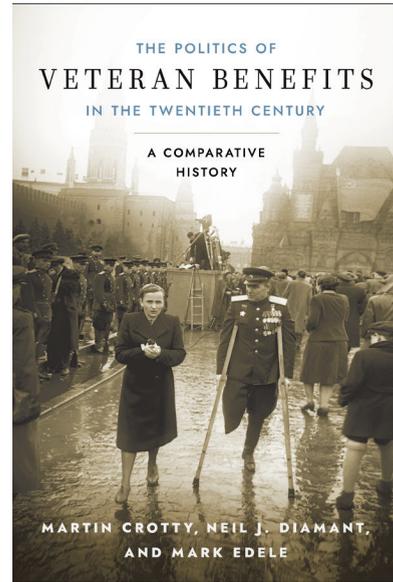
MARTIN CROTTY, NEIL J. DIAMANT, AND MARK EDELE

What happened to veterans of the nations involved in the world wars? How did they fare when they returned home and needed benefits? How were they recognized (or not) by their governments and fellow citizens? Where, and under what circumstances, did they obtain an elevated post-war status?

In this sophisticated comparative history of government policies regarding veterans, Martin Crotty, Neil J. Diamant, and Mark Edele examine veterans' struggles for entitlements and benefits in the United States, the United Kingdom, Japan, Taiwan, the Soviet Union, China, Germany, and Australia after both global conflicts. They illuminate how veterans' success or failure in winning benefits were shaped by a range of factors which shaped their ability to exert political influence. Some veterans' groups fought politicians for improvements to their post-war lives; this lobbying, the authors show, could set the foundation for beneficial veteran treatment regimes or it could weaken the political forces proposing unfavourable policies.

The authors highlight cases of veterans who secured (and in some cases failed to secure) benefits and status after wars both won and lost; within both democratic and authoritarian polities; under liberal, conservative, and even Leninist governments; after wars fought by volunteers or conscripts, at home or abroad, and for legitimate or subsequently discredited causes. Veterans who succeeded did so, for the most part, by forcing their agendas through lobbying, protesting, and mobilizing public support. *The Politics of Veterans Benefits in the Twentieth Century* provides a largescale map for a research field with a future: comparative veteran studies.

MARTIN CROTTY is Associate Professor of History at the University of Queensland and author of *Making the Australian Male*.



"An exceptionally valuable collaborative book—practically a first. Until now, the field has invariably been conducted through a national lens. If readers wait for a bigger, better book to cover everything, they will be waiting a very long time."—Peter Stanley, University of New South Wales, author of *Die in Battle, Do Not Despair*

"*The Politics of Veteran Benefits in the Twentieth Century* is ambitious in scope, providing analysis of an impressively diverse array of country case studies, and with conclusions of interest to the wider policy community."—Thomas Davies, City, University of London, author of *Routledge Handbook of NGOs and International Relations*

\$35.95 hardcover | \$17.99 ebook
240 pages, 6 x 9



WARLORD SURVIVAL

THE DELUSION OF STATE BUILDING IN AFGHANISTAN

ROMAIN MALEJACQ

Fulfilling the Sacred Trust

The UN Campaign for International Accountability for Dependent Territories in the Era of Decolonization

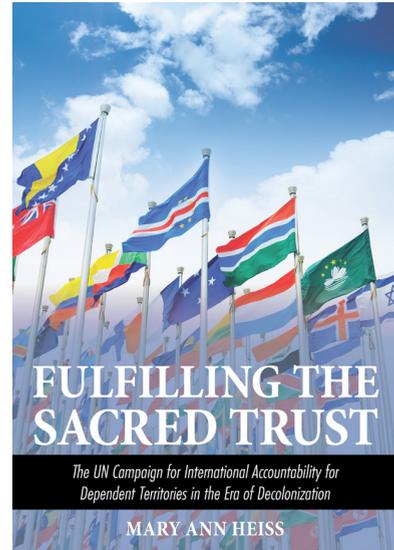
MARY ANN HEISS

Fulfilling the Sacred Trust explores the implementation of international accountability for dependent territories under the United Nations during the early Cold War era. Although the Western nations that drafted the UN Charter saw the organization as a means of maintaining the international status quo they controlled, newly independent nations saw the UN as an instrument of decolonization and an agent of change disrupting global political norms. Mary Ann Heiss documents the unprecedented process through which these new nations came to wrest control of the United Nations from the World War II victors that founded it, allowing the UN to become a vehicle for global reform.

Heiss examines the consequences of these early changes on the global political landscape in the midst of heightened international tensions playing out in Europe, the developing world, and amidst the UN General Assembly. She puts this anti-colonial advocacy for accountability into perspective by making connections between the campaign for international accountability in the United Nations and other postwar international reform efforts such as the anti-apartheid movement, Pan-Africanism, the Non-Aligned Movement, and the drive for global human rights.

Chronicling the combative history of this campaign, *Fulfilling the Sacred Trust* details the global impact of the larger UN reformist effort. Heiss demonstrates the unintended impact of decolonization of the United Nations and its agenda, as well as the shift in global influence from the developed to the developing world.

MARY ANN HEISS is Associate Professor at Kent State University. She is author of *Empire and Nationhood*.



"Fulfilling the Sacred Trust constitutes a precise, serious, and rigorous intervention in a very prominent field of inquiry at present, the history of international organizations and global governance. I can't think of a better portrayal of what actually happens on the UN's higher levels of debate and diplomacy."—Jeffrey Byrne, University of British Columbia, author of *Mecca of Revolution*

\$49.95 hardcover | \$24.99 ebook
312 pages, 6 x 9

War and Genocide in South Sudan

CLÉMENCE PINAUD

Using more than a decade's worth of fieldwork in South Sudan, Clémence Pinaud here explores the relationship between predatory wealth accumulation, state formation, and a form of racism—extreme ethnic group entitlement—that has the potential to result in genocide.

War and Genocide in South Sudan traces the rise of a predatory state during civil war in southern Sudan and its transformation into a violent Dinka ethnocracy after the region's formal independence. That new state, Pinaud argues, waged genocide against non-Dinka civilians in 2013-2017.

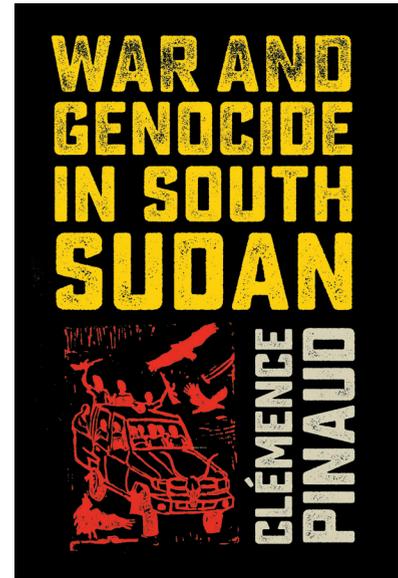
During a civil war that wrecked the region between 1983 and 2005, the predominantly Dinka Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) practiced ethnically exclusive and predatory wealth accumulation. Its actions fostered extreme group entitlement and profoundly shaped the rebel state. Ethnic group entitlement eventually grew into an ideology of ethnic supremacy.

After that war ended, the semi-autonomous state turned into a violent and predatory ethnocracy—a process accelerated by independence in 2011. The rise of exclusionary nationalism, a new security landscape, and inter-ethnic political competition contributed to the start of a new round of civil war in 2013, in which the recently founded state unleashed violence against nearly all non-Dinka ethnic groups. Pinaud investigates three campaigns waged by the South Sudan government in 2013–2017 and concludes they were genocidal—they sought to destroy non-Dinka target groups. She demonstrates how the perpetrators' sense of group entitlement culminated in land-grabs that amounted to a genocidal conquest echoing the imperialist origins of modern genocides.

Thanks to generous funding from TOME, the ebook editions of this book are available as Open Access volumes from Cornell Open (cornellopen.org) and other repositories.

CLÉMENCE PINAUD is Assistant Professor at Indiana University. Follow her on Twitter @ClemencePinaud.

\$19.95 paperback | \$0.00 ebook
336 pages, 6 x 9, 6 b&w halftones, 1 b&w line drawing, 3 maps



"War and Genocide in South Sudan is a deeply researched, rich and fascinating book about a troubling subject, and makes significant contributions to the field."—Will Reno, Northwestern University, author of *Warlord Politics and African States*

"Pinaud does an excellent job at documenting the violence on South Sudan and casting such a critical eye on the SPLA, especially from the ground up. War and Genocide in South Sudan is full of original and unique material that is powerful and compelling."—Scott Straus, University of Wisconsin, Madison, author of *Making and Unmaking Nations*

GREAT FOR CLASSROOM USE

Recent Political Science Bestsellers

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- *Warlord Survival*, by Romain Malejacq
- *Reimagining Democracy*, by David M. Farrell & Jane Suiter

Why Noncompliance

The Politics of Law in the European Union

TANJA A. BÖRZEL

Why Noncompliance traces the history of noncompliance within the European Union (EU), focusing on which states continuously do or do not follow EU Law, why, and how that affects the governance in the EU and beyond.

In exploring the EU's long and varied history of noncompliance, Tanja A. Börzel takes a close look at the diverse groups of noncompliant states throughout the EU's existence. Why do states that are vocally critical of the EU have a better record of compliance than those that support the EU? Why has noncompliance been declining since the 1990s, even though the EU was adding member-states and numerous laws? Börzel debunks conventional wisdoms in EU compliance research, showing that noncompliance in the EU is not caused by the new Central and Eastern European member states, nor by the Eurosceptic member states. So why do these states take the brunt of Europe's misplaced ire?

Why Noncompliance introduces politicization as an explanatory factor that has been long overlooked in the literature and scholarship surrounding the European Union. Börzel argues that political controversy combined with voting power and administrative capacity, explains why noncompliance with EU law has been declining since the completion of the Single Market, cannot be blamed on the EU's Central and Eastern European member states, and is concentrated in areas where EU seeks to protect citizen rights.

Thanks to generous funding from Freie Universität Berlin, the ebook editions of this book are available as Open Access volumes from Cornell Open (cornellopen.org) and other repositories.

TANJA A. BÖRZEL is professor of political science and holds the Chair for European Integration at Freie Universität Berlin. She is author of *Effective Governance under Anarchy* and *Environmental Leaders and Laggards in Europe*.

\$19.95 paperback | \$0.00 ebook
282 pages, 6 x 9, 2 b&w line drawings, 22 charts

GREAT FOR CLASSROOM USE

The Justice Dilemma

Leaders and Exile in an Era of Accountability

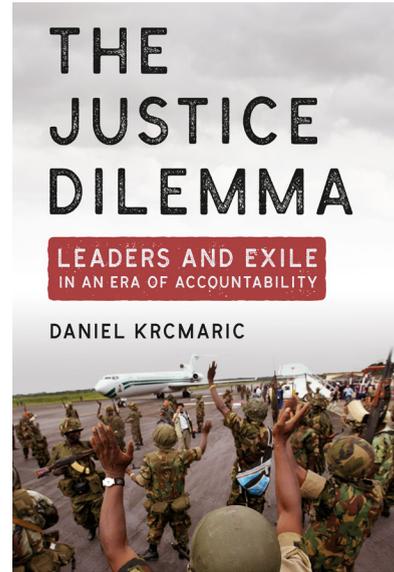
DANIEL KRCMARIC

Abusive leaders are now held accountable for their crimes in a way that was unimaginable just a few decades ago. What are the consequences of this recent push for international justice? In *The Justice Dilemma*, Daniel Krcmaric explains why the "golden parachute" of exile is no longer an attractive retirement option for oppressive rulers. He argues that this is both a blessing and a curse: leaders culpable for atrocity crimes fight longer civil wars because they lack good exit options, but the threat of international prosecution deters some leaders from committing atrocities in the first place. *The Justice Dilemma* therefore diagnoses an inherent tension between conflict resolution and atrocity prevention, two of the signature goals of the international community.

Krcmaric also sheds light on several important puzzles in world politics. Why do some rulers choose to fight until they are killed or captured? Why not simply save oneself by going into exile? Why do some civil conflicts last so much longer than others? Why has state-sponsored violence against civilians fallen in recent years?

While exploring these questions, Krcmaric marshals statistical evidence on patterns of exile, civil war duration, and mass atrocity onset. He also reconstructs the decision-making processes of embattled leaders—including Muammar Gaddafi of Libya, Charles Taylor of Liberia, and Blaise Compaore of Burkina Faso—to show how contemporary international justice both deters atrocities and prolongs conflicts.

DANIEL KRCMARIC is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Northwestern University. Follow him on Twitter @DanKrcmaric.



"While other authors have written about this conundrum, no one has posed the logic of the situation so clearly, nor illuminated the answer with evidence that is so precisely targeted. *The Justice Dilemma* is the kind of work that will have a big impact on the debate."—Jack Snyder, Columbia University, co-author of *Electing to Fight*

CORNELL STUDIES IN SECURITY AFFAIRS

\$39.95 hardcover | \$19.99 ebook

240 pages, 6 x 9, 5 charts

Feeding the Hungry

Advocacy and Blame in the Global Fight against Hunger

MICHELLE JURKOVICH

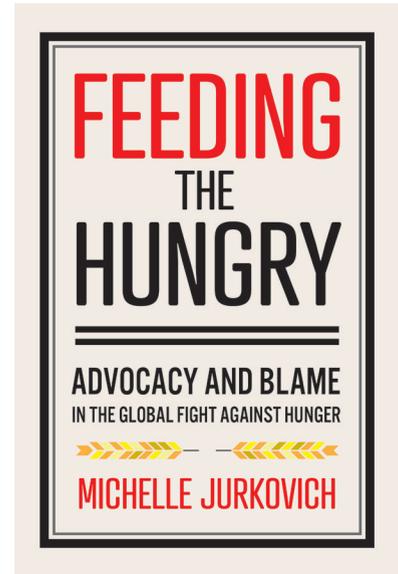
Food insecurity poses one of the world's most pressing development and human security challenges. In *Feeding the Hungry*, Michelle Jurkovich examines the social and normative environment in which international anti-hunger organizations are working and argues that despite international law ascribing responsibility to national governments to ensure the right to food of their citizens, the hunger issue area lacks a shared social consensus on who ought to do what to solve the hunger problem. Drawing on interviews with staff at top international anti-hunger organizations as well as archival research at the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, the United States and United Kingdom National Archives, Jurkovich provides a new analytic model of transnational advocacy.

In investigating advocacy around a critical economic and social right—the right to food—Jurkovich challenges existing understandings of the relationships among human rights, norms, and laws. Most important, *Feeding the Hungry* provides an expanded conceptual toolkit with which we can examine and understand the social and moral forces at play in rights advocacy.

MICHELLE JURKOVICH is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Massachusetts Boston.



\$21.95 paperback | \$10.99 ebook
186 pages, 6 x 9, 3 b&w halftones, 1 figure, 5 charts



"Michelle Jurkovich has produced a rich, probing analysis of advocacy in the absence of a settled norm. *Feeding the Hungry* pushes us to re-think what we thought we knew about human rights, norms, law, and the hard work of bringing about change in the world."—Wayne Sandholtz, University of Southern California

"*Feeding the Hungry* is a fantastically engaging, refreshingly well-written, and thought-provoking piece of scholarship. Jurkovich offers a sophisticated argument that complicates many of the assumptions of human rights and transnational advocacy work and challenges existing human rights scholarship."—John T. Lang, Occidental College, author of *What's So Controversial about Genetically Modified Food?*

"*Feeding the Hungry* is a well-written book that offers a new and important theoretical argument on how human-rights advocacy works. By exploring advocacy around economic and social rights, Jurkovich gives us a new analytic framing for thinking about advocacy."—Jeffrey T. Checkel, Chair in International Relations, European University Institute

GREAT FOR CLASSROOM USE

Desertion

Trust and Mistrust in Civil Wars

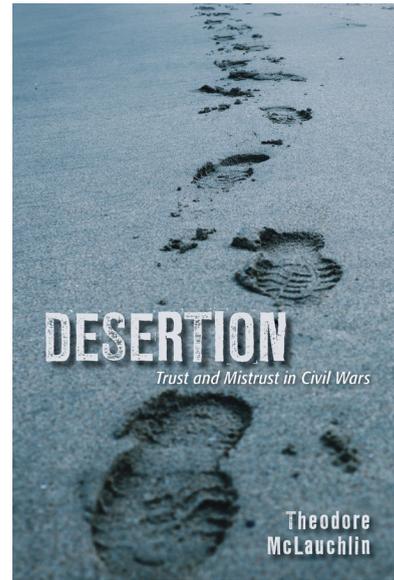
THEODORE MCLAUHLIN

Theodore McLauchlin's *Desertion* examines the personal and political factors behind soldiers' choices to stay in their unit or abandon their cause. He explores what might spur widespread desertion in a given group, how some armed groups manage to keep their soldiers fighting over long periods, and how committed soldiers are to their causes and their comrades.

To answer these questions, McLauchlin focuses on combatants in military units during the Spanish Civil War. He pushes against the preconception that individual soldiers' motivations are either personal or political, either selfish or ideological. Instead, he draws together the personal and the political, showing how soldiers come to trust each other—or not. *Desertion* demonstrates how the armed groups that hold together and survive are those that foster interpersonal connections, allowing soldiers the opportunity to prove their commitment to the fight.

McLauchlin argues that trust keeps soldiers in the fray, trust pushes them to leave, and political beliefs and military practices shape both. *Desertion* both brings the reader into the world of soldiers and rigorously tests the factors underlying desertion. It asks, honestly and without judgment, what would you do in an army in a civil war? Would you stand and fight; would you try to run away? And what if you found yourself fighting for a cause you no longer believe in, or never did in the first place?

THEODORE MCLAUHLIN is Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science, and Director of the Center for International Peace and Security Studies, at Université de Montréal.



"In this well-argued book, McLauchlin makes an original and significant contribution to the literature of civil wars, especially the Spanish conflict."—Michael Seidman, University of North Carolina Wilmington, author of *Transatlantic Antifascisms from the Spanish Civil War to the end of World War II*

"*Desertion* is well-written and provides an important new argument about desertion in civil war, presenting impressive original research on the Spanish Civil War in particular."—Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham, University of Maryland, College Park, associate editor of the *Journal of Peace Research*

\$49.95 hardcover | \$24.99 ebook
280 pages, 6 x 9, 1 map, 7 charts



WE DON'T FOLLOW THE HERD.

OUR SOCIAL MEDIA
CUTS THROUGH THE CROWD.

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How to Prevent Coups d'État

Counterbalancing and Regime Survival

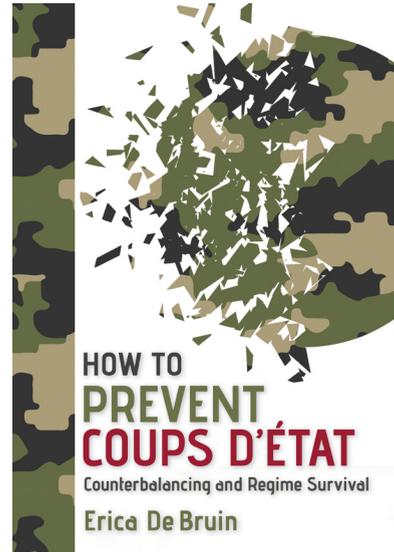
ERICA DE BRUIN

In this lively and provocative book, Erica De Bruin looks at the threats that rulers face from their own armed forces. Can rulers make their regimes coup-proof?

How to Prevent Coups d'État shows that how rulers organize their coercive institutions has a profound effect on the survival of their regimes. Where rulers use presidential guards, militarized police, and militia to counterbalance the regular military, efforts to oust them from power via coups d'état are less likely to succeed. Even as counterbalancing helps to prevent successful interventions, however, the resentment that it generates within the regular military can provoke new coup attempts. And because counterbalancing changes how soldiers and police perceive the costs and benefits of a successful coup, it can create incentives for protracted fighting that result in the escalation of coups into full-blown civil war.

Drawing on an original dataset of state security forces in 110 countries over a span of fifty years, as well as case studies of coup attempts in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East, De Bruin sheds light on how counterbalancing affects regime survival. Understanding the dynamics of counterbalancing, she shows, can help analysts predict when coups will occur, whether they will succeed, and how violent they are likely to be. The arguments and evidence in this book suggest that while counterbalancing may prevent successful coups, it is a risky strategy to pursue—and one that may weaken regimes in the long term.

ERICA DE BRUIN is Assistant Professor of Government at Hamilton College. Her work has been published in *Journal of Peace Research*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, and *Foreign Affairs*. Follow her on Twitter @esdebruin.



\$46.95 hardcover | \$22.99 ebook
216 pages, 6 x 9, 1 map, 6 charts



Catching up with Andrew Demshuk

“Thousands of local residents contributed thousands of hours of free labor to build a palatial bowling alley and recreational center.”

What’s your favorite anecdote from your research for this book?

Just two years before Leipzig sparked the 1989 Revolution that ended communism in East Germany, thousands of local residents contributed thousands of hours of free labor to build a palatial bowling alley and recreational center their local communist authorities had planned as “proof” that communism was working. The story of why they took part in this local building project, and why local communist authorities built it without permission from the central government, tells us about what motivated ordinary people to take action in the last years of communism, and what motivated them to turn against communism two years later.

What do you wish you had known when you started writing your book, that you know now?

When I started this project, I wanted to know the story of this dramatically ruined edifice in the center of Leipzig, which came to light as I explored its story—“bowling” was a sign of success under communism, and then just ten years later in 1997 capitalists failed to make a successful venture out of it, and

the structure became a ruin.

How do you wish you could change the field?

I want to change the field of Political Science to take greater account of historical context. It is crucial to undertake archival research, interviews, and analysis of preceding historical literature to make big political claims.

Bowling for Communism

Urban Ingenuity at the End of East Germany

ANDREW DEMSHUK

Bowling for Communism illuminates how civic life functioned in Leipzig, East Germany's second-largest city, on the eve of the 1989 Revolution by exploring acts of "urban ingenuity" amidst catastrophic urban decay. Andrew Demshuk profiles the creative activism of local communist officials who, with the help of scores of volunteers, constructed a palatial bowling alley without Berlin's knowledge or approval. In a city mired in disrepair, civic pride overcame resentment against a regime loathed for corruption, Stasi spies, and the Berlin wall.

Reconstructing such episodes through interviews and obscure archival materials, Demshuk shows how the public sphere functioned in Leipzig before the fall of communism. Hardly detached or inept, local officials worked around centralized failings to build a more humane city. And hardly disengaged, residents engaged in black market construction to patch up their surroundings.

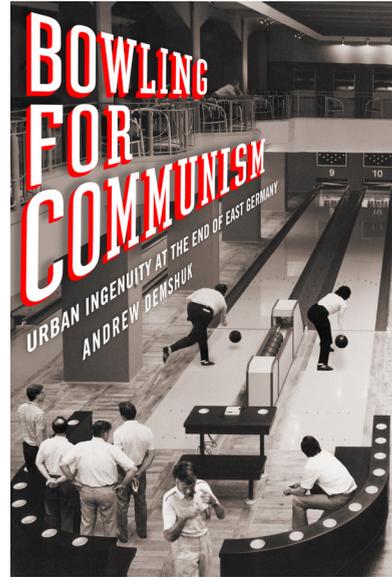
Because such "urban ingenuity" was premised on weakness in the centralized regime, the dystopian cityscape evolved from being merely a quotidian grievance to the backdrop for revolution. If, by their actions, officials were demonstrating that the regime was irrelevant, and if, in their own experiences, locals only attained basic repairs outside official channels, why should anyone have mourned the system when it was overthrown?

ANDREW DEMSHUK is Associate Professor of History at American University. He is author of *Demolition on Karl Marx Square* and *The Lost German East*.



\$39.95 hardcover | \$19.99 ebook

272 pages, 6 x 9, 490 b&w halftones, 1 map



"Demshuk makes a convincing case for the importance of local actors and local issues, beyond Berlin, showing how politicized city planning was within the faltering political and economic situation in the GDR."—Jennifer V. Evans, Carleton University, author of *Life Among the Ruins*

"*Bowling for Communism* is an absorbing, even exciting, read – from the first to the last page."—Arnold Bartetzky, University of Leipzig, critic for the Frankfurt *Allgemeine Zeitung*

God, Tsar, and People

The Political Culture of Early Modern Russia

DANIEL B. ROWLAND

God, Tsar, and People brings together in one volume essays written over a period of fifty years, using a wide variety of evidence—texts, icons, architecture, and ritual—to reveal how early modern Russians (1450–1700) imagined their rapidly changing political world.

This volume presents a more nuanced picture of Russian political thought during the two centuries before Peter the Great came to power than is typically available. The state was expanding at a dizzying rate, and atop Russia's traditional political structure sat a ruler who supposedly reflected God's will. The problem facing Russians was that actual rulers seldom—or never—exhibited the required perfection. Daniel Rowland argues that this contradictory set of ideas was far less autocratic in both theory and practice than modern stereotypes would have us believe. In comparing and contrasting Russian history with that of Western European states, Rowland is also questioning the notion that Russia has always been, and always viewed itself as, an authoritarian country. *God, Tsar, and People* explores how the Russian state in this period kept its vast lands and diverse subjects united in a common view of a Christian polity, defending its long frontier against powerful enemies from the East and from the West.

DANIEL B. ROWLAND is Professor at the University of Kentucky. He is author of *Mannerism, Style and Mood*.

“Daniel Rowland is a major interpreter of Muscovite political history. An early proponent of the importance of cultural history, he continues to demonstrate the ways in which Orthodoxy permeates all of early modern Russian culture and the creative ways in which Muscovite texts and visual representations repeatedly used biblical references to make arguments that need to be decoded in order to understand Muscovy's political culture. And Rowland is the master decoder.”—Christine D. Worobec, Northern Illinois University, author of *Possessed and Peasant Russia*

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GREAT FOR CLASSROOM USE

When Blame Backfires

Syrian Refugees and Citizen Grievances in Jordan and Lebanon

ANNE MARIE BAYLOUNY

The recent influx of Syrian refugees has stimulated domestic political action against the Jordanian and Lebanese governments. That is the dramatic argument at the heart of Anne Marie Baylouny's *When Blame Backfires*.

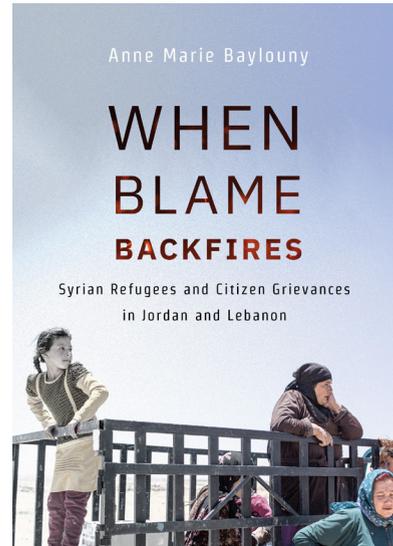
Baylouny examines the effects on Jordan and Lebanon of hosting huge numbers of Syrian refugees. How has the populace reacted to the real and perceived negative effects of the refugees? In thought-provoking analysis, she shows how the demographic changes that result from mass immigration press on existing faults in Jordan and Lebanon, worsening them to the point of affecting daily lives. One might expect that as a result, refugees and minorities would become the focus of citizen anger. But as *When Blame Backfires* demonstrates, that is not always the case.

What Baylouny exposes, instead, is that many of the problems that might be associated with refugees are in fact endemic to the normal routine of citizens' lives. The refugee crisis exacerbated an already-dire situation rather than creating it, and Jordanians and Lebanese started to protest not only against the presence of refugees but against the incompetence and corruption of their own governments as well.

From small-scale protests about goods and public services, citizens progressed to organized and formal national movements calling for economic change and rights to public services not previously provided. This dramatic shift in protest and political discontent was, Baylouny shows, the direct result of the arrival of Syrian refugees.

ANNE MARIE BAYLOUNY is Associate Professor in the National Security Affairs Department at the Naval Postgraduate School. She is author of *Privatizing Welfare in the Middle East*. Follow her on Twitter @ambaylouny.

\$39.95 hardcover | \$19.99 ebook
264 pages, 6 x 9



"When Blame Backfires makes a significant contribution to literature on the comparative politics of the Middle East. The argument that Baylouny advances is important—her focus on local responses to refugees in Lebanon and Jordan is timely and significant."—Steven Heydemann, Smith College, editor of *War Institutions and Social Change in the Middle East*

"I am extremely impressed with the nuance, detail, and substantial original material in *When Blame Backfires*. It makes a significant contribution empirically and provides a compelling theoretical framework for understanding the material."—Jillian Schwedler, Hunter College, author of *Faith in Moderation*

Lawmaking under Pressure

International Humanitarian Law and Internal Armed Conflict

GIOVANNI MANTILLA

In *Lawmaking under Pressure*, Giovanni Mantilla analyzes the origins and development of the international humanitarian treaty rules that now exist to regulate internal armed conflict. Until well into the twentieth century, states allowed atrocious violence as an acceptable product of internal conflict. Why have states created *international* laws to control *internal* armed conflict? Why did states compromise their national security by accepting these international humanitarian constraints? Why did they create these rules at improbable moments, as European empires cracked, freedom fighters emerged, and fears of communist rebellion spread? Mantilla explores the global politics and diplomatic dynamics that led to the creation of such laws in 1949 and in the 1970s.

By the 1949 Diplomatic Conference that revised the Geneva Conventions, most countries supported legislation committing states and rebels to humane principles of wartime behavior and to the avoidance of abhorrent atrocities, including torture and the murder of non-combatants. However, for decades, states had long refused to codify similar regulations concerning violence within their own borders. Diplomatic conferences in Geneva twice channeled humanitarian attitudes alongside Cold War and decolonization politics, even compelling reluctant European empires Britain and France to accept them. *Lawmaking under Pressure* documents the tense politics behind the making of humanitarian laws that have become touchstones of the contemporary international normative order.

Mantilla not only explains the pressures that resulted in constraints on national sovereignty but also uncovers the fascinating international politics of shame, status, and hypocrisy that helped to produce the humanitarian rules now governing internal conflict.

GIOVANNI MANTILLA is a university lecturer at Cambridge University and a Fellow of Christ's College. Follow him on Twitter @giofabman.

\$42.95 hardcover | \$20.99 ebook
264 pages, 6 x 9

"Lawmaking under Pressure is a highly original, utterly fascinating book. Giovanni Mantilla demonstrates through rich, hitherto unpublished and unplumbed, archival research the social politics of the development of international humanitarian law and, in so doing, expands our understanding of international law, international relations, and relations of power."*—Helen M. Kinsella, University of Wisconsin, Madison, author of The Image before the Weapon*

"Lawmaking under Pressure is exceptionally robust work that takes empirics and theory seriously. Giovanni Mantilla draws on archival sources to support his argument in a way I have rarely encountered in the discipline. It is also gracefully written."*—Ward Thomas, College of the Holy Cross, author of The Ethics of Destruction*

Uneasy Military Encounters

The Imperial Politics of Counterinsurgency in Southern Thailand

RUTH STREICHER

Uneasy Military Encounters presents a historically and theoretically grounded political ethnography of the Thai military's counterinsurgency practices in the southern borderland, home to the greater part of the "Malay-Muslim minority." Ruth Streicher argues that counterinsurgency practices mark the southern population as the racialized, religious, and gendered "other" of the Thai, which contributes to producing Thailand as an imperial formation: a state formation based on essentialized difference between the Thai and their "others."

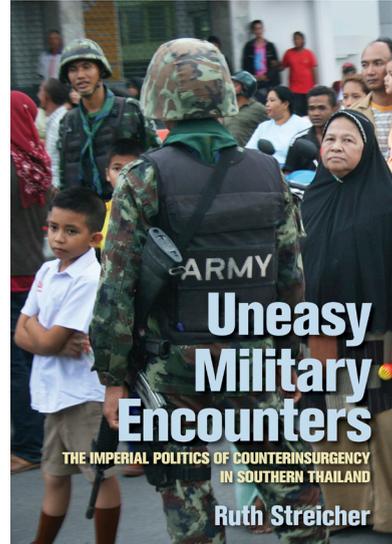
Through a genealogical approach, *Uneasy Military Encounters* addresses broad conceptual questions of imperial politics in a non-Western context: How can we understand imperial policing in a country that was never colonized? How is "Islam" constructed in a state that is officially secular and promotes Buddhist tolerance? What are the (historical) dynamics of imperial patriarchy in a context internationally known for its gender pluralism? The resulting ethnography excavates the imperial politics of concrete encounters between the military and the southern population in the ongoing conflict in southern Thailand.

RUTH STREICHER is a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Heidelberg.



SOUTHEAST ASIA PROGRAM PUBLICATIONS

\$25.95 paperback | \$12.99 ebook
186 pages, 7 x 10, 9 b&w halftones



"*Uneasy Military Encounters* is a strong, innovative, and valuable book. It offers many important contributions to the study of Thailand's southern insurgency. Streicher's arguments are persuasive and well supported. She deftly conveys the complex—and often tragic—consequences of this conflict."—Richard A. Ruth, US Naval Academy, author of *In Buddha's Company*

"Ruth Streicher has provided an incredibly rich ethnography, weaving together gender, race, and military activities to expose different layers of Thai/Siamese imperialism. *Uneasy Military Encounters* is an impressive book that possess exceptional merit."—Michael Jerryson, Youngstown State, author of *Buddhist Fury*

GREAT FOR CLASSROOM USE

The Truth Society

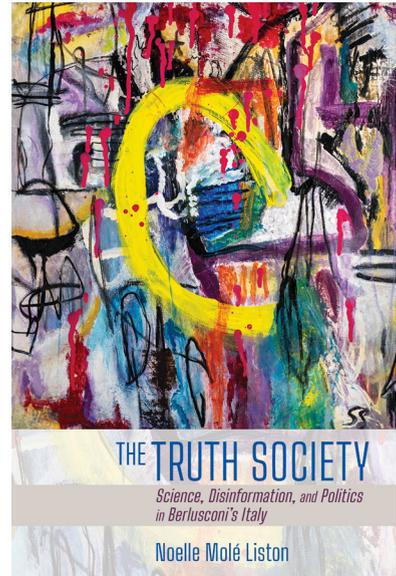
Science, Disinformation, and Politics in Berlusconi's Italy

NOELLE MOLÉ LISTON

Noelle Molé Liston's *The Truth Society* seeks to understand how a period of Italian political spectacle, which regularly blurred fact and fiction, has shaped how people understand truth, mass mediated information, scientific knowledge, and forms of governance. Liston scrutinizes Italy's late twentieth century political culture, particularly the impact of former Prime Minister and media mogul Silvio Berlusconi. By doing so, she examines how this truth-bending political era made science, logic, and rationality ideas that needed saving.

With the prevalence of fake news and our seeming lack of shared reality in the "post-truth" world, many people struggle to figure out where this new normal came from. Liston argues that seemingly disparate events and practices that have unfolded in Italy are historical reactions to mediatized political forms and particular, cultivated ways of knowing. Politics, then, is always sutured to how knowledge is structured, circulated, and processed. *The Truth Society* offers Italy as a case study to understand the remaking of politics in an era of disinformation.

NOELLE MOLÉ LISTON is a Senior Lecturer at New York University. She is the author of *Labor Disorders in Neoliberal Italy*. Follow her on Instagram @noellemole.



"By weaving together only seemingly disparate concepts and ethnographic scenarios, Molé's *The Truth Society* provides a brilliant exploration of how contemporary Italian publics negotiate truth in political discourse, science, and the media."—Emanuela Guano, Georgia State University, author of *Creative Urbanity*

"*The Truth Society* eloquently synthesizes complex literatures on climate change and the climate of truth-making to generate the perfect milieu for understanding the Aquila trial (figured as an act of war against science), pro-science activism, and contemporary Italian populist politics."—Jason Pine, Purchase College, State University of New York, author of *A Decomposition*

EXPERTISE: CULTURES AND TECHNOLOGIES OF KNOWLEDGE

\$25.95 paperback | \$12.99 ebook
240 pages, 6 x 9, 14 b&w halftones

GREAT FOR CLASSROOM USE

Anti-Christian Violence in India

CHAD M. BAUMAN

Does religion cause violent conflict, asks Chad M. Bauman, and if so, does it cause conflict more than other social identities? Through an extended history of Christian-Hindu relations, with particular attention to the 2007–2008 riots in Kandhamal, Odisha, *Anti-Christian Violence in India* examines religious violence and how it pertains to broader aspects of humanity. Is "religious" conflict sui generis, or is it merely one species of intergroup conflict? Why and how might violence become an attractive option for religious actors? What explains the increase in religious violence over the last twenty to thirty years?

Integrating theories of anti-Christian violence focused on politics, economics, and proselytization, *Anti-Christian Violence in India* additionally weaves in recent theory about globalization and, in particular, the forms of resistance against Western secular modernity that globalization periodically helps to provoke. With such theories in mind, Bauman explores the nature of anti-Christian violence in India, contending that resistance to secular modernities is, in fact, an important but often overlooked reason behind Hindu attacks on Christians.

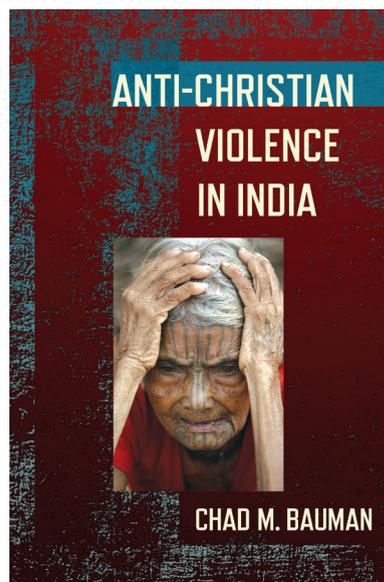
Intensifying the widespread Hindu tendency to think of religion in ethnic rather than universal terms, the ideology of *Hindutva*, or "Hinduness," explicitly rejects both the secular privatization of religion and the separability of religions from the communities that incubate them. And so, with provocative and original analysis, Bauman questions whether anti-Christian violence in contemporary India is really about religion, in the narrowest sense, or rather a manifestation of broader concerns among some Hindus about the Western sociopolitical order with which they associate global Christianity.

CHAD M. BAUMAN is Professor of Religion at Butler University. He is the author of *Christian Identity and Dalit Religion in Hindu India* and the co-editor of *Constructing Indian Christianities*. Follow him on Twitter @dharmabaum.

RELIGION AND CONFLICT

\$34.95 hardcover | \$16.99 ebook

320 pages, 6 x 9, 6 b&w halftones, 4 maps, 1 chart



"*Anti-Christian Violence in India* runs the gamut of the Christian/anti-Christian experience in India. Well-written and thoughtful, it stands out when describing and analyzing Hindu-Christian relations."—Neil DeVotta, Wake Forest University, editor of *Understanding Contemporary India*

"I am simply blown away by this book. Bauman's voice is judicious and magisterial. He is a careful analyst and thorough investigator. This generates an extraordinarily instructive and illuminating book that manages to be simultaneously balanced and hard-hitting."—Timothy Samuel Shah, Vice-President for Strategy & International Research of the Religious Freedom Institute and co-editor, *Under Caesar's Sword*

"This is a book that was waiting to be written and there may be no one better qualified to write it than Chad Bauman. One hopes that this would encourage more attention to this oft ignored facet of contemporary India which is currently being torn apart on issues of identity and belongingness."—Rev. Vijayesh Lal, General Secretary, Evangelical Fellowship of India

Wars of Law

Unintended Consequences in the Regulation of Armed Conflict

TANISHA M. FAZAL

WINNER OF THE INTERNATIONAL LAW SECTION ANNUAL BOOK AWARD OF THE INTERNATIONAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION
WINNER OF THE INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION SECTION BOOK AWARD OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

In *Wars of Law*, Tanisha M. Fazal assesses the unintended consequences of the proliferation of the laws of war for the commencement, conduct, and conclusion of wars over the course of the past one hundred fifty years.

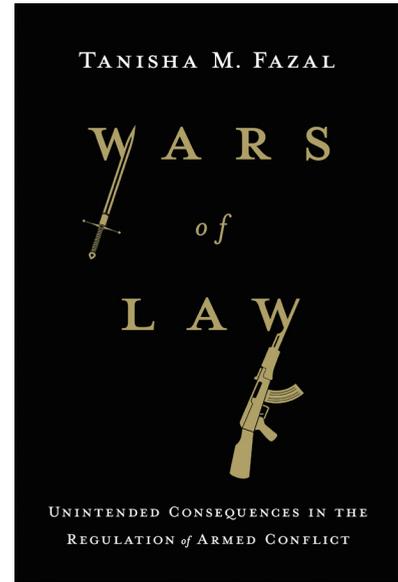
Fazal outlines three main arguments: early laws of war favored belligerents, but more recent additions have constrained them; this shift may be attributable to a growing divide between lawmakers and those who must comply with international humanitarian law; and lawmakers have been consistently inattentive to how rebel groups might receive these laws. By using the laws of war strategically, Fazal suggests, belligerents in both interstate and civil wars relate those laws to their big-picture goals.

Why have states stopped issuing formal declarations of war? Why have states stopped concluding formal peace treaties? Why are civil wars especially likely to end in peace treaties today? In addressing such questions, Fazal provides a lively and intriguing account of the implications of the laws of war.

TANISHA M. FAZAL is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Minnesota. She is the author of *STATE DEATH*, winner of the Best Book Award of the APSA Conflict Processes Section.



\$24.95 paperback | \$11.99 ebook
342 pages, 6 x 9, 1 figure, 16 graphs



"You know what states rarely do nowadays? Issue formal declarations of war. You know why? Of course you don't, because you're not Tanisha Fazal, who knows more about the laws of war than you do. So you should read her book."—*The Washington Post*

"Intriguing. . . . Skillfully blends quantitative and qualitative methods to produce something genuinely original."—*Foreign Affairs*

"[Fazal] brings this analysis to bear on contemporary IHL [International Humanitarian Law] policy issues and vexing questions, such as those about autonomous weapons, cyberwar, and rebel behavior in civil conflicts. Highly recommended for university libraries and collections specializing in international law and politics, security, peace and conflict studies, and defense policy."—*Choice*

GREAT FOR CLASSROOM USE

Bestseller

The Myth of the Nuclear Revolution

Power Politics in the Atomic Age

KEIR A. LIEBER AND DARYL G. PRESS

Leading analysts have predicted for decades that nuclear weapons would help pacify international politics. The core notion is that countries protected by these fearsome weapons can stop competing so intensely with their adversaries: they can end their arms races, scale back their alliances, and stop jockeying for strategic territory. But rarely have theory and practice been so opposed. Why do international relations in the nuclear age remain so competitive? Indeed, why are today's major geopolitical rivalries intensifying?

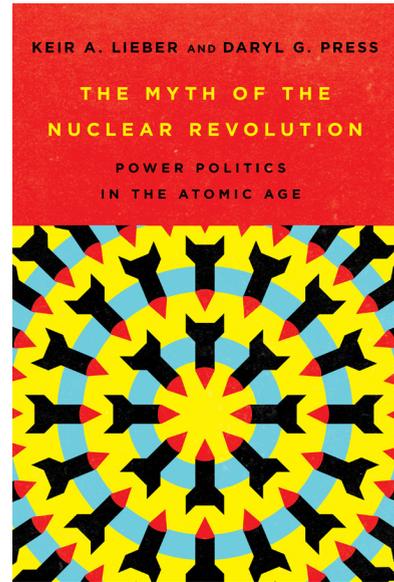
In *The Myth of the Nuclear Revolution*, Keir A. Lieber and Daryl G. Press tackle the central puzzle of the nuclear age: the persistence of intense geopolitical competition in the shadow of nuclear weapons. They explain why the Cold War superpowers raced so feverishly against each other; why the creation of "mutual assured destruction" does not ensure peace; and why the rapid technological changes of the 21st century will weaken deterrence in critical hotspots around the world.

By explaining how the nuclear revolution falls short, Lieber and Press discover answers to the most pressing questions about deterrence in the coming decades: how much capability is required for a reliable nuclear deterrent, how conventional conflicts may become nuclear wars, and how great care is required now to prevent new technology from ushering in an age of nuclear instability.

KEIR A. LIEBER is Director of the Center for Security Studies and Security Studies Program and Associate Professor in the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service and Department of Government at Georgetown University. He is the author of *War and the Engineers*. DARYL G. PRESS is Associate Professor in the Department of Government at Dartmouth College. He is the author of *Calculating Credibility*.

CORNELL STUDIES IN SECURITY AFFAIRS

\$29.95 hardcover | \$14.99 ebook
180 pages, 6 x 9, 3 maps, 5 charts



"With a provocative argument and careful evidence, *The Myth of the Nuclear Revolution* questions decades of received wisdom on the role of nuclear weapons. A must-read."—Nuno Monteiro, Yale University

"This is the most important book written about nuclear strategy since the Cold War. Lieber and Press offer a powerful and compelling challenge to the widely held belief that nuclear weapons have revolutionized world politics. It is a must read for students of international security."—John J. Mearsheimer, University of Chicago, author of *The Great Delusion*

"Albert Einstein famously quipped that the atomic bomb 'has changed everything except our way of thinking.' Seven decades later, Lieber and Press invite us to consider how little has changed in the behavior of states. With fresh and compelling analysis, they argue that the persistence of strategic competition among states armed with the ultimate means of self defense calls into question the purported nuclear revolution in world politics."—Brad Roberts, Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense

Confessions of a Free Speech Lawyer

Charlottesville and the Politics of Hate

RODNEY A. SMOLLA

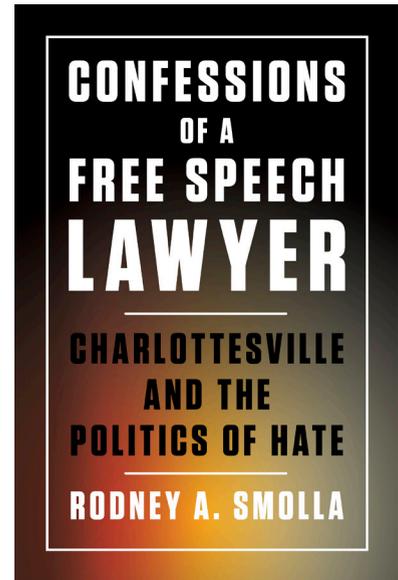
In the personal and frank *Confessions of a Free Speech Lawyer*, Rodney A. Smolla offers an insider's view on the violent confrontations in Charlottesville during the "summer of hate." Blending memoir, courtroom drama, and a consideration of the unhealed wound of racism in our society, he shines a light on the conflict between the value of free speech and the protection of civil rights.

Smolla has spent his career in the thick of these tempestuous and fraught issues, from acting as lead counsel in a famous Supreme Court decision challenging Virginia's law against burning crosses, to serving as co-counsel in a libel suit brought by a fraternity against *Rolling Stone* magazine for publishing an article alleging that one of the fraternity's initiation rituals included gang rape. Smolla has also been active as a university leader, serving as dean of three law schools and president of one and railing against hate speech and sexual assault on US campuses.

Well before the tiki torches cast their ominous shadows across the nation, the city of Charlottesville sought to relocate the Unite the Right rally; Smolla was approached to represent the alt-right groups. Though he declined, he came to wonder what his history of advocacy had wrought. Feeling unsettlingly complicit, he joined the Charlottesville Task Force, and he realized that the events that transpired there had meaning and resonance far beyond a singular time and place. Why, he wonders, has one of our foundational rights created a land in which such tragic clashes happen all too frequently?

RODNEY A. SMOLLA is Dean and Professor of Law at the Delaware Law School of Widener University and is the author of numerous books, including *The Constitution Goes to College*, *Deliberate Intent*, and *Jerry Falwell v. Larry Flynt*. He is a nationally known scholar and writer and has presented oral argument in state and federal courts across the country.

\$28.95 hardcover | \$13.99 ebook
360 pages, 6 x 9



"It's hard to imagine a mayor or police chief who—in planning for the arrival of controversial figures—wouldn't profit from Smolla's account of the cascade of missteps in Charlottesville."—*Kirkus Reviews*

"This book is dazzling in its interweaving of such a rich tapestry of information and analysis, told in the form of mesmerizing stories. This book should be read by everyone from Supreme Court Justices to high school students."—Nadine Strossen, Former President, American Civil Liberties Union, author of *HATE*

"Rod Smolla is a wonderful story-teller who brings alive the important history of legal and cultural wars over the meaning of free speech, especially during periods of divisive hatred in America. His 'confessions' are a compellingly readable blend of personal memoir, history, and legal thought."—Alan Dershowitz, author of *Guilt by Accusation*

FREE SPEECH AND PANDEMIC PROTESTS

Rodney A. Smolla

Coincident with the publication of my new book, *Confessions of a Free Speech Lawyer: Charlottesville and the Politics of Hate*, pandemic protests began to surface across the United States, as crowds gathered in defiance of social distancing orders, often without wearing masks. This proved to be a teaching moment. One of my law students put the issue bluntly, asking this question: “I know Americans have a right to protest, however, is there any way to limit this freedom for the safety of others as this virus has proven to be a serious threat to life?”

Here is how I replied:

Government rules imposing requirements such as social distancing, restrictions on out-of-home travel, limits on the sizes of gatherings, or requirements that persons wear masks plainly burden numerous constitutional rights, including the right to travel, the right to peaceably assemble, freedom of association, freedom of speech, the right to petition the government for a redress of grievances, and perhaps (as applied to worship), the free exercise of religion.

Yet none of these rights are absolute. In this blog post I address the free speech issues.

This much is clear: The government may not punish expressions of opinion criticizing the social distancing rules, questioning their legality, or calling for them to end. If the protesters are not violating the social distancing rules themselves in expressing their contempt for them, such as through posts on Facebook, or signs erected on property, modern First Amendment principles plainly bar punishment for their expression alone. Thus, New York could not punish citizens who argue that New Yorkers should take to the streets without masks and open their businesses, on the theory that the mere expression of these views is a threat to public health, in that it encourages citizens to take actions that will spread the contagion. To be sure, such expressions of opinion might well have a tendency to influence and embolden some to violate the restrictions. Yet under modern First Amendment principles, such a “bad tendency” would be treated as mere “abstract advocacy” of breaking the law. As most famously articulated in the

Supreme Court’s 1969 opinion in *Brandenburg v. Ohio*, such abstract advocacy is constitutionally protected.

Brandenburg involved the racist speech of the Ku Klux Klan at a cross-burning ceremony. The ugly racist speech of the Klan surely had a “bad tendency.” Yet the Supreme Court held the Klan’s views were only abstract advocacy. The Court imposed a strict test protecting such expression unless it is directed to the incitement of imminent lawless action and likely to produce such action.

As a lawyer I argued a similar case in the US Supreme Court, decided in 2003, *Virginia v. Black*, in which I had the unsavory task of defending the Ku Klux Klan and cross-burners, arguing that the First Amendment prohibited states from treating all cross-burnings as “threats” to engage in violence. The Supreme Court agreed with my position, holding that the First Amendment required the government to prove an actual “true threat” to engage in violence before it could punish those who brandish offensive symbols, such as a burning cross.

But what if protesters used social media to plan, organize, and incite a massive rally in which citizens were urged to assemble in two days in Central Park in New York, to occupy the Park in defiance of distancing restrictions, and to leave their masks at home. Could the government punish those rally organizers, consistent with the First Amendment? In my view, the answer is yes. The distancing and mask-wearing rules do not punish violators because of the content of their message, or the purpose of the gathering, but rather limit activity across-the-board, to protect public health. Assuming the government could prove that the organizers’ messages were directed to inciting imminent violation of those rules and likely to produce such violations, their free speech protections would be lost.

AMERICAN CONSERVATISM

Catching up with Paul Gottfried

“Playing with numbers is not enough to give an academic activity scientific legitimacy.”

What do you wish you had known when you started writing your book, that you know now?

Something I began noticing as I was putting together our anthology *The Vanishing Tradition* were the complaints issuing from the conservative establishment about being de-platformed while standing up for freedom of inquiry. Those who complain about the Left “cancelling” them have worked strenuously to silence others on the Right. This has been going on for decades, and I have kept records of what conservative celebrities and sponsors have done to ruin the careers of those who failed to conform to their changing party lines. It has dawned on me that the establishment Left, and establishment Right have equally deplorable records, when it comes to open debate, especially with those outside of their authorized political conversation. I debated this point for many years with a now deceased colleague, who properly lamented the lack of “conservative” colleagues at a college where we taught. But when I cited the exceedingly unkind treatment that his movement inflicted on those who were rightly or wrongly accused of right-wing deviation, my colleague would assure me “you can’t compare the two.” As a person

on the Right who has suffered much more from “conservative” than “liberal” intolerance, I had and have every right to make comparisons.

How do you wish you could change the field?

I’m not sure what I would do to improve “political science,” other than challenge its dubious claim to be a science. Playing with numbers is not enough to give an academic activity scientific legitimacy.

Bestseller

The Vanishing Tradition

Perspectives on American Conservatism

EDITED BY PAUL GOTTFRIED

This anthology provides a timely critical overview of the American conservative movement. The contributors take on subjects that other commentators have either not noticed or have been fearful to discuss. In particular, this collection of searing essays hits hard at blatant cult of celebrity and intolerance of dissent that has come to characterize the conservative movement in this country.

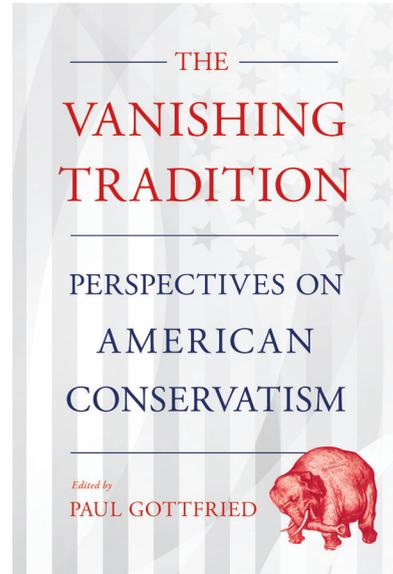
As *The Vanishing Tradition* shows, the conservative movement has not often retrieved its wounded, instead dispatching them in order to please its friendly opposition and to prove its "moderateness." The movement has also been open to the influence of demanding sponsors who have pushed it in sometimes bizarre directions. Finally, the essayists here, highlight the movement's appeal to "permanent values" as a truly risible gesture, given how arduously its celebrities have worked to catch up with the Left on social issues. This no-holds-barred critical examination of American conservatism opens debates and seeks controversy.

PAUL GOTTFRIED is Raffensperger Professor of Humanities Emeritus at Elizabethtown College. He is the author of thirteen books, most recently *Fascism*.

Contributors: Boyd Cathey; Joseph F. Cotto; Nicholas Drummond; Grant Havers, Trinity Western University; George Hawley, University of Alabama; Marjorie Jeffrey, Clemson University; John Kerwick; Richard T. Marcy; Keith Preston; Jesse Russell, Georgia Southwestern University

NORTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY PRESS

\$22.95 paperback | \$10.99 ebook
240 pages, 6 x 9



"*The Vanishing Tradition* is a must-read for anyone wishing to understand how conservatives got neoconed into supporting a futile crusade for global democracy abroad and a 'conservative' welfare state at home."—Ron Paul, former Texas Congressman and Presidential candidate

"Paul Gottfried and his team of top-ranking scholars have produced a magnificent anthology that tells us how the statist and warmongering neocons supplanted the Old Right. If you are 'against the left,' you must read this book."—Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr., Founder and Chairman, Mises Institute

"This work provides a unique—and sorely lacking—voice on the shortcomings of mainstream conservatism. To my knowledge, no book rivals this volume in collecting authors with such a commanding authority on the history and trajectory of American conservatism."—Jesse Merriam, Loyola University Maryland

GREAT FOR CLASSROOM USE



Violating Peace

Sex, Aid, and Peacekeeping

JASMINE-KIM WESTENDORF

Jasmine-Kim Westendorf's discomfoting book investigates sexual misconduct by military peacekeepers and abuses perpetrated by civilian peacekeepers and non-UN civilian interveners. Based on extensive field research in Bosnia, Timor-Leste, and with the UN and humanitarian communities, *Violating Peace* uncovers a brutal truth about peacebuilding as Westendorf investigates how such behaviors affect the capacity of the international community to achieve its goals related to stability and peacebuilding, and its legitimacy in the eyes of local and global populations.

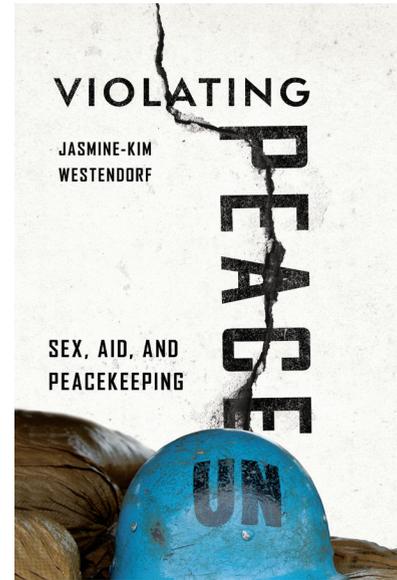
As *Violating Peace* shows, when interveners perpetrate sexual exploitation and abuse, they undermine the operational capacity of the international community to effectively build peace after civil wars and to alleviate human suffering in crises. Furthermore, sexual misconduct by interveners poses a significant risk to the perceived legitimacy of the multilateral peacekeeping project, and the UN more generally, with ramifications for the nature and dynamics of UN in future peace operations.

Westendorf illustrates how sexual exploitation and abuse relates to other challenges facing UN peacekeeping, and shows how such misconduct is deeply linked to the broader cultures and structures within which peacekeepers work, and which shape their perceptions of and interactions with local communities. Effectively preventing such behaviors is crucial to global peace, order, and justice. *Violating Peace* thus identifies how policies might be improved in the future, based on an account of why they have failed to date.

JASMINE-KIM WESTENDORF is Senior Lecturer in International Relations at La Trobe University, Australia, and a Research Associate at the Developmental Leadership Program. She is author of *Why Peace Processes Fail*. Follow her on Twitter @jasminekimw.



\$29.95 hardcover | \$14.99 ebook
232 pages, 6 x 9



"Westendorf tackles an important subject in the world of peace operations and has managed to identify a missing angle in the growing literature about sexual exploitation and abuse. Her insightful book makes an important intellectual and practical contribution."—Paul D. Williams, George Washington University, author of *Fighting for Peace in Somalia*

"*Violating Peace* is a richly detailed and fascinating read full of hard truths about the nature of peacekeeping and peacebuilding. An absolute must-read for scholars, practitioners and policymakers, this book will be central to debates about sexual exploitation and abuse—and how to prevent it—for years to come."—Dara Kay Cohen, Harvard Kennedy School, author of *Rape During Civil War*

"A UN Secretary-General defines sexual exploitation and abuse by peacekeepers as 'a cancer on our system.' Westendorf probes further—Has it spread? Is it fatal?—and offers a holistic treatment plan to encourage and inspire all who believe that UN peacekeeping is well worth saving."—Paula Donovan, Code Blue Campaign

On an Empty Stomach

Two Hundred Years of Hunger Relief

TOM SCOTT-SMITH

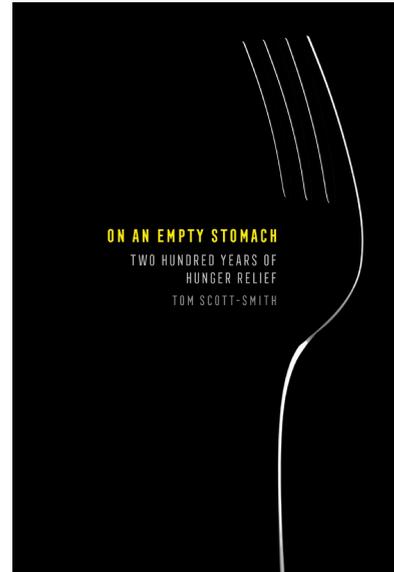
On an Empty Stomach examines the practical techniques humanitarians have used to manage and measure starvation, from Victorian "scientific" soup kitchens to space-age, high-protein foods. Tracing the evolution of these techniques since the start of the nineteenth century, Tom Scott-Smith argues that humanitarianism is not a simple story of progress and improvement, but rather is profoundly shaped by sociopolitical conditions. Aid is often presented as an apolitical and technical project, but the way humanitarians conceive and tackle human needs has always been deeply influenced by culture, politics, and society. These influences extend down to the most detailed mechanisms for measuring malnutrition and providing sustenance.

As Scott-Smith shows, over the past century, the humanitarian approach to hunger has redefined food as nutrients and hunger as a medical condition. Aid has become more individualized, medicalized, and rationalized, shaped by modernism in bureaucracy, commerce, and food technology. *On an Empty Stomach* focuses on the gains and losses that result, examining the complex compromises that arise between efficiency of distribution and quality of care. Scott-Smith concludes that humanitarian groups have developed an approach to the empty stomach that is dependent on compact, commercially produced devices and is often paternalistic and culturally insensitive.

TOM SCOTT-SMITH is Associate Professor of Refugee Studies and Forced Migration at the Department of International Development, University of Oxford. He previously worked as a professional in humanitarian and development organizations. Follow him on Twitter @tomscottsmith.



\$35.00 hardcover | \$16.99 ebook
288 pages, 6 x 9, 13 b&w halftones



"*On an Empty Stomach* is a highly engaging and well-written account of the shifts in conceptions of hunger and humanitarian responses to it over time. Scott-Smith's analysis paints a fascinating and complex picture of the ways in which changing social conditions have shaped the dilemmas facing humanitarians in different historical eras."—Jennifer Clapp, University of Waterloo, author of *Hunger in the Balance and Food*

"In a compelling, well-written, and engaging account, Scott-Smith shows how the historical moment guides aid workers toward a standardized intervention that conveniently ignores how local cultures think about and treat hunger. An important contribution to medical anthropology and humanitarian studies."—Michael Barnett, George Washington University, author of *Empire of Humanity*

"Richly detailed, engagingly told and always insightful, Tom Scott-Smith's genealogy redefines humanitarian history from the belly up. *On an Empty Stomach* leaves its reader with a very full mind."—Peter Redfield, author of *Life in Crisis*

Kissinger and Latin America

Intervention, Human Rights, and Diplomacy

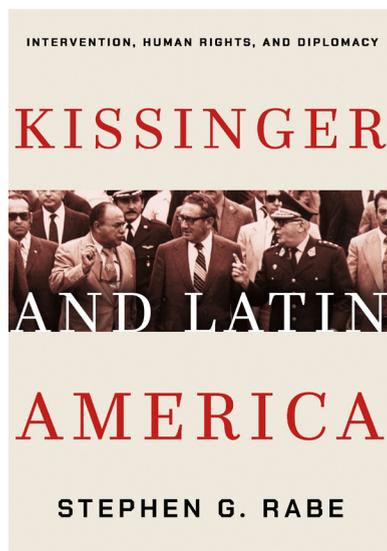
STEPHEN G. RABE

In *Kissinger and Latin America*, Stephen G. Rabe analyzes US policies toward Latin America during a critical period of the Cold War. Except for the issue of Chile under Salvador Allende, historians have largely ignored inter-American relations during the presidencies of Richard M. Nixon and Gerald R. Ford. Rabe also offers a way of adding to and challenging the prevailing historiography on one of the most preeminent policymakers in the history of US foreign relations. Scholarly studies on Henry Kissinger and his policies between 1969 and 1977 have tended to survey Kissinger's approach to the world, with an emphasis on initiatives toward the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China and the struggle to extricate the United States from the Vietnam conflict. *Kissinger and Latin America* offers something new—analyzing US policies toward a distinct region of the world during Kissinger's career as national security adviser and secretary of state.

Rabe further challenges the notion that Henry Kissinger dismissed relations with the southern neighbors. The energetic Kissinger devoted more time and effort to Latin America than any of his predecessors—or successors—who served as the national security adviser or secretary of state during the Cold War era. He waged war against Salvador Allende and successfully destabilized a government in Bolivia. He resolved nettlesome issues with Mexico, Peru, Ecuador, and Venezuela. He launched critical initiatives with Panama and Cuba. Kissinger also bolstered and coddled murderous military dictators who trampled on basic human rights. South American military dictators whom Kissinger favored committed international terrorism in Europe and the Western Hemisphere.

STEPHEN G. RABE is Ashbel Smith Professor of History emeritus at the University of Texas at Dallas. He has written or edited twelve books, including *The Killing Zone*, *John F. Kennedy*, and *US Intervention in British Guiana*.

\$41.95 hardcover | \$20.99 ebook
330 pages, 6 x 9, 15 b&w halftones



"By incorporating new archival materials, *Kissinger and Latin America* deepens our understanding of US-Latin American relations during the Nixon and Ford Administrations."—William Michael Schmidli, Leiden University, author of *The Fate of Freedom Elsewhere*

"In *Kissinger and Latin America*, Stephen G. Rabe proves tough but fair. He pulls no punches against Kissinger's vicious support for dictators. Yet Rabe also appreciates the former Secretary of State's open-mindedness on issues ranging from economics to the Panama Canal."—Alan McPherson, Temple University, author of *Ghosts of Sheridan Circle*

"This wide-ranging book from Stephen G. Rabe reveals Kissinger's centrality to US-Latin American relations during a critical moment in the Western Hemisphere. Rabe convincingly argues that Kissinger was invested in developing and implementing US diplomacy in the region, and he casts new light on the lasting consequences of Kissinger's interventions."—Vanessa Walker, Amherst College



Catching up with Stephen G. Rabe

What's your favorite anecdote from your research for this book?

In February 1976 while in Lima, Peru, Henry Kissinger toasted US-Peruvian friendship with President and General Francisco Morales Bermúdez by drinking a glass of pure pisco, a powerful alcoholic drink. Always wanting the last word and ever the comedian, Kissinger remarked to the general, "After this I will agree to everything you ask." I cite this anecdote to demonstrate that Kissinger used his personality to dominate conversations with Latin American officials. Kissinger used his intelligence, self-deprecating humor, and liveliness to make himself and his foreign policies the center of attention. It was an effective tactic.

What do you wish you had known when you started writing your book, that you know now?

I have been an academic historian for more than four decades. This study of Henry Kissinger and Latin America represents my twelfth scholarly book. As such, I was knowledgeable about primary and secondary sources and the writing process. What surprised me in the research and writing process was

the subject himself. Henry Kissinger was thought to be disinterested in Latin America. I was surprised to find that Kissinger dominated the making of foreign policy toward Latin America and devoted an enormous amount of energy, thought, and time to Latin American issues.

How do you wish you could change the field?

The teaching and study of history are in crisis. At colleges and universities throughout the United States, we have witnessed a precipitous decline in history majors. There is extreme factionalism between scholars who emphasize political, economic, and international history and those who focus on issues of race, gender, and class, and on cultural developments. My desire is for scholars to cease their bickering, remain united, and accept all approaches to history as valid. Factionalism is contributing to the decline in the study of history in higher education. The educated public buys books on history. History still matters.

“Kissinger used his intelligence, self-deprecating humor, and liveliness to make himself and his foreign policies the center of attention.”

Bestseller

Reimagining Democracy

Lessons in Deliberative Democracy from the Irish Front Line

DAVID M. FARRELL AND JANE SUITER

The Lawrence and Lynne Brown Democracy Medal, presented by the McCourtney Institute for Democracy at Penn State, recognizes outstanding individuals, groups, and organizations that produce innovations to further democracy in the United States or around the world.

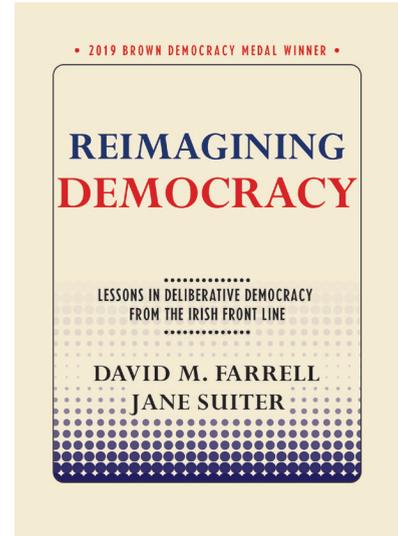
2019 Brown Democracy Medal winners David M. Farrell and Jane Suiter are co-leads on the Irish Citizens' Assembly Project, which has transformed Irish politics over the past decade. The project started in 2011 and led to a series of significant policy decisions, including successful referenda on abortion and marriage equality.

Thanks to generous funding from The Pennsylvania State University, the ebook editions of this book are available as Open Access (OA) volumes, available from Cornell Open (cornellopen.org) and other Open Access repositories.

DAVID M. FARRELL is Head of Politics and International Relations at University College Dublin. He has held visiting positions at the Australian National University, Harvard, Mannheim, and the University of California, Irvine. A specialist in the study of representation, elections, and parties, he has published nineteen books and more than one hundred articles and book chapters. **JANE SUITER** is Director of the Institute for Future Media and Journalism and an Associate Professor in the School of Communications at Dublin City University. She studies participation and political engagement in the public sphere, including direct democracy and other modes of engaging the public in decision-making processes such as citizens' assemblies and journalism.

BROWN DEMOCRACY MEDAL

\$4.99 paperback | \$0.00 ebook
72 pages, 5 x 7



GREAT FOR CLASSROOM USE

The background of the entire image is a dense grid of small, square tiles. Each tile has a unique, iridescent, and textured appearance, resembling a microscopic view of a material or a piece of thin film. The colors are vibrant and varied, including shades of blue, green, yellow, orange, red, and purple, often with a shimmering or metallic quality. The tiles are arranged in a regular pattern, creating a complex, multi-colored mosaic.

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Playing Politics with Natural Disaster

Hurricane Agnes, the 1972 Election, and the Origins of FEMA

TIMOTHY W. KNEELAND

Hurricane Agnes struck the United States in June of 1972, just months before a pivotal election and at the dawn of the deindustrialization period across the Northeast. The response by local, state, and national officials had long-term consequences for all Americans. President Richard Nixon used the tragedy for political gain by delivering a generous relief package to the key states of New York and Pennsylvania in a bid to win over voters. After his landslide reelection in 1972, Nixon cut benefits for disaster victims and then passed legislation to push responsibility for disaster preparation and mitigation onto states and localities. The impact led to the rise of emergency management and inspired the development of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA).

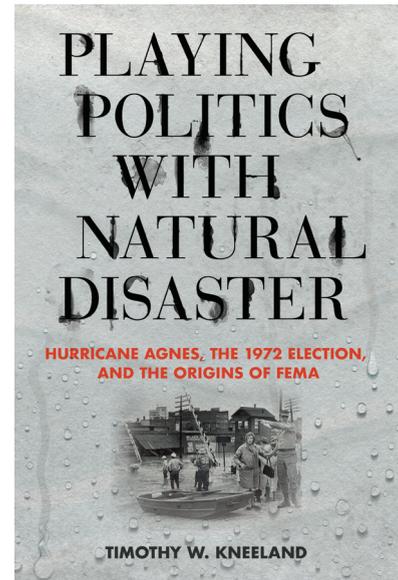
With a particular focus on events in New York and Pennsylvania, Timothy W. Kneeland narrates how local, state, and federal authorities responded to the immediate crisis of Hurricane Agnes and managed the long-term recovery. The impact of Agnes was horrific, as the storm left 122 people dead, forced tens of thousands into homelessness, and caused billions of dollars in damage from Florida to New York. In its aftermath, local officials and leaders directed disaster relief funds to rebuild their shattered cities and reshaped future disaster policies.

Playing Politics with Natural Disaster explains how the political decisions by local, state, and federal officials shaped state and national disaster policy and continues to influence emergency preparedness and response to this day.

TIMOTHY W. KNEELAND is Professor and Chair of History and Political Science at Nazareth College in Rochester, New York, and the author of several other books, including *Pushbutton Psychiatry*, *Today's Social Issues*, and *Buffalo Blizzard of 1977*. Follow him on Twitter @CPH_Naz.



\$36.95 hardcover | \$17.99 ebook
248 pages, 6 x 9, 24 b&w halftones



"Playing Politics with Natural Disaster shows why Hurricane Agnes was a turning point from an era of ad hoc disaster response to an increasingly professionalized and bureaucratized endeavor."—Patrick Roberts, Virginia Tech, and author of *Disasters and the American State*

"This outstanding book shows that debates over the nature of disaster relief and the role of the federal government are not new. Timothy W. Kneeland's painstaking retelling of the effects of Hurricane Agnes is a significant contribution to understanding how disasters can yield policy changes."—Thomas Birkland, North Carolina State University, author of *After Disaster* and *Lessons of Disaster*

"Timothy W. Kneeland's Playing Politics with Natural Disaster is much more than a well-researched, definitive account about one of America's most devastating natural disasters. It's a cautionary tale of the potentially brutal personal toll political gamesmanship can levy on our communities."—Brian Frey, writer and producer of the PBS documentary, *Agnes*



Catching up with Timothy W. Kneeland

What's your favorite anecdote from your research for this book?

The true, but incredible, stories of Representative Daniel J. Flood, whose longevity in the House and his work as a powerful subcommittee Chair on Appropriations gave him enormous influence over the Department of Defense which he used to assist Wilkes-Barre in the aftermath of the 1972 flood. Dan Flood was a character, a former Shakespearian actor who loved to orate on the floor of the House, he often wore white suits and at times donned a cape. Flood lost power in the aftermath of the flood spawned by Hurricane Agnes due to a bribery scandal and the move by a new generation of Democrats post-Watergate to strip away the power and privilege of seniority.

What do you wish you had known when you started writing your book, that you know now?

The fragmentary nature of congressional materials. I was fortunate that Daniel J. Flood, Howard Robison, Joseph McDade, and James F. Hastings left their material to academic libraries, although what they chose to donate was often uneven and some collections were more robust than

others.

How do you wish you could change the field?

I would remind my colleagues that disasters may have national implications but they are local events. Individuals and interest groups in local areas have tremendous power in determining how post-disaster relief is allocated and designated how it is used in local communities.

“Dan Flood was a character, a former Shakespearian actor who loved to orate on the floor of the House.”



UNRIVALED

WHY AMERICA WILL REMAIN THE WORLD'S SOLE SUPERPOWER

MICHAEL BECKLEY

When There Was No Aid

War and Peace in Somaliland

SARAH G. PHILLIPS

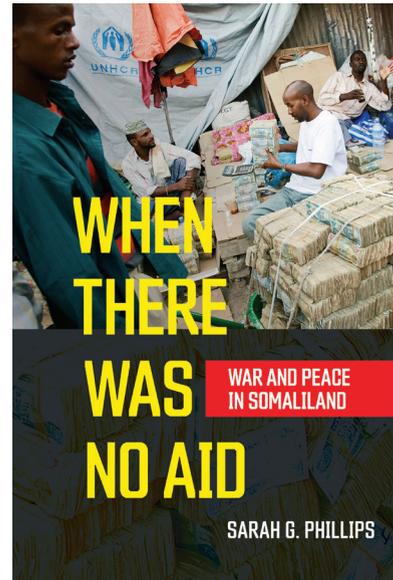
For all of the doubts raised about the effectiveness of international aid in advancing peace and development, there are few examples of developing countries that are even relatively untouched by it. Sarah G. Phillips's *When There Was No Aid* offers us one such example.

Using evidence from Somaliland's experience of peace-building, *When There Was No Aid* challenges two of the most engrained presumptions about violence and poverty in the global South. First, that intervention by actors in the global North is self-evidently useful in ending them, and second that the quality of a country's governance institutions (whether formal or informal) necessarily determines the level of peace and civil order that the country experiences.

Phillips explores how popular discourses about war, peace, and international intervention structure the conditions of possibility to such a degree that even the inability of institutions to provide reliable security can stabilize a prolonged period of peace. She argues that Somaliland's post-conflict peace is grounded less in the constraining power of its institutions than in a powerful discourse about the country's structural, temporal, and physical proximity to war. Through its sensitivity to the ease with which peace gives way to war, Phillips argues, this discourse has indirectly harnessed an apparent propensity to war as a source of order.

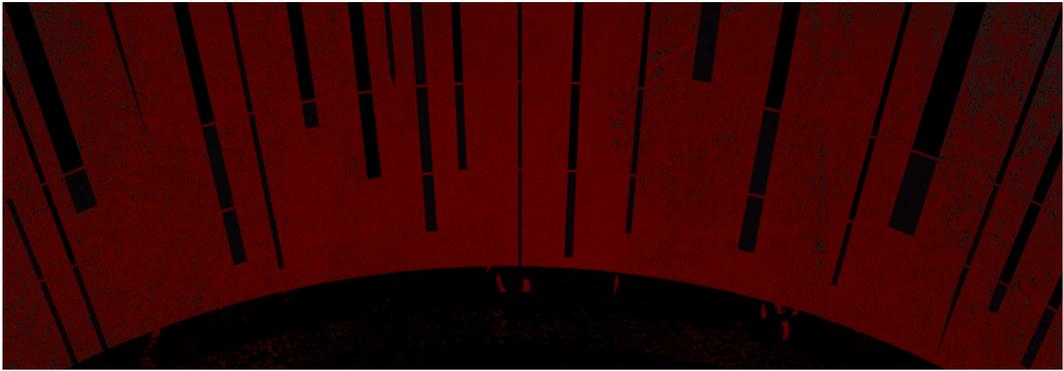
SARAH G. PHILLIPS is Associate Professor in the Department of Government and International Relations at the University of Sydney. Follow her on Twitter @DrSarahPhillips.

\$36.95 hardcover | \$17.99 ebook
256 pages, 6 x 9, 1 map



"This remarkable study of a non-state upends dominant scholarly and policy discourses about statehood, conflict, peace, development, and international interventions. Phillips skillfully engages the relevant literature and methodological issues, and employs a creative multi-method approach to capture both the uniqueness of Somaliland and its value for comparative analysis and political theory. This is an excellent volume for college and larger public libraries, and for collections supporting programs in international affairs, as well as for Africana, peace, development, and security studies."—*Choice*

"*When There Was No Aid* is a critical contribution to debates about the effectiveness of international interventions in shaping peace. Phillips makes a compelling argument about the role of war in peace, the limitations of international institutional responses to peacebuilding, and the importance of local discourses in building and maintaining peace—this book should be essential reading for scholars and practitioners working in conflict-zones globally."—Jasmine-Kim Westendorf, La Trobe University, author of *Violating Peace*



Catching up with Melissa M. Lee

“Counts of fires, goats, hospital beds, hotel rooms, even mangos. Statistical reports tell you what states value.”

What’s your favorite anecdote from your research for this book?

A basic function of the state is data collection; indeed, “statistic” has etymological roots in the word “state.” As part of its effort to assess where states do not exercise authority over territory, *Crippling Leviathan* examines what governments do and do not know about their populations. I spent countless hours deep in statistical reports, and it is fascinating to see what information states collect! Counts of fires, goats, hospital beds, hotel rooms, even mangos. Statistical reports tell you what states value. And more interestingly, gaps in those reports tell you what the state can’t see—and where it is blind.

What do you wish you had known when you started writing your book, that you know now?

Crippling Leviathan is an empirical study, but normative questions about governance and the state were inescapable. I had tried to sidestep these issues, but acknowledging them and embracing them actually made the book more honest and, in the end, a stronger intellectual product.

How do you wish you could change the field?

Political science still separates the study of international politics from the study of domestic politics. This intellectual division of labor persists even though many scholars posit international explanations for domestic phenomena, and vice versa. Much of my scholarship, including *Crippling Leviathan*, shows how we can productively expand our understanding of statebuilding and state weakness – two topics traditionally considered domestic phenomena – by thinking rigorously about when and why international factors are part of the explanatory story.



Crippling Leviathan

How Foreign Subversion Weakens the State

MELISSA M. LEE

Policymakers worry that "ungoverned spaces" pose dangers to security and development. Why do such spaces exist beyond the authority of the state? Earlier scholarship—which addressed this question with a list of domestic failures—overlooked the crucial role that international politics play. In this shrewd book, Melissa M. Lee argues that foreign subversion undermines state authority and promotes ungoverned space. Enemy governments empower insurgents to destabilize the state and create ungoverned territory. This kind of foreign subversion is a powerful instrument of modern statecraft. But though subversion is less visible and less costly than conventional force, it has insidious effects on governance in the target state.

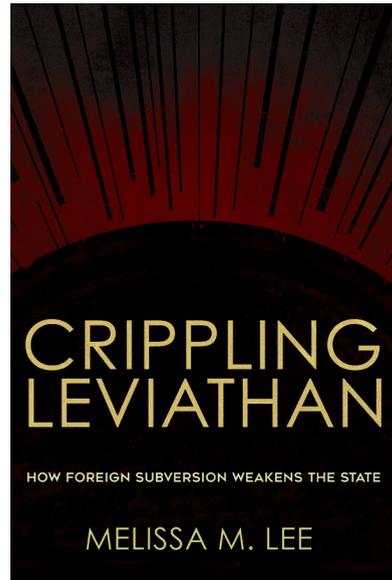
To demonstrate the harmful consequences of foreign subversion for state authority, *Crippling Leviathan* marshals a wealth of evidence and presents in-depth studies of Russia's relations with the post-Soviet states, Malaysian subversion of the Philippines in the 1970s, and Thai subversion of Vietnamese-occupied Cambodia in the 1980s. The evidence presented by Lee is persuasive: foreign subversion weakens the state.

She challenges the conventional wisdom on statebuilding, which has long held that conflict promotes the development of strong, territorially consolidated states. Lee argues instead that conflictual international politics prevents state development and degrades state authority. In addition, *Crippling Leviathan* illuminates the use of subversion as an underappreciated and important feature of modern statecraft. Rather than resort to war, states resort to subversion. Policymakers interested in ameliorating the consequences of ungoverned space must recognize the international roots that sustain weak statehood.

MELISSA M. LEE is Assistant Professor of Political and International Affairs at Princeton University. Visit melissamlee.com for more information.



\$39.95 hardcover | \$19.99 ebook
264 pages, 6 x 9, 12 maps, 17 charts



"*Crippling Leviathan* is one of the most important books to be published in political science in the last decade. It is theoretically innovative, empirically rich, and provocative."—David A. Lake, University of California, San Diego, author of *The Statebuilder's Dilemma*

"Insightful and persuasive, Lee's study of sovereignty and subversion offers a very important contribution to our understanding of state-building and development."—John D. Ciorciari, University of Michigan, author of *Hybrid Justice*

"Lee has written a revolutionary book, one that changes our way of thinking about nation states and "stateless." In addition to its importance for IR scholars, it is invaluable for policy makers dealing with failed or failing states. I wish I had it in Afghanistan and Iraq."—Ryan Crocker, Former Ambassador to Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Syria, Kuwait and Lebanon

The Oil Wars Myth

Petroleum and the Causes of International Conflict

EMILY MEIERDING

Do countries fight wars for oil? Given the resource's exceptional military and economic importance, most people assume that states will do anything to obtain it. Challenging this conventional wisdom, *The Oil Wars Myth* reveals that countries do not launch major conflicts to acquire petroleum resources. Emily Meierding argues that the costs of foreign invasion, territorial occupation, international retaliation, and damage to oil company relations deter even the most powerful countries from initiating "classic oil wars." Examining a century of interstate violence, she demonstrates that, at most, countries have engaged in mild sparring to advance their petroleum ambitions.

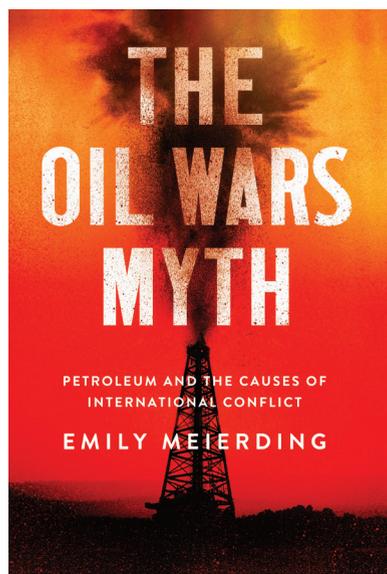
The Oil Wars Myth elaborates on these findings by reassessing the presumed oil motives for many of the twentieth century's most prominent international conflicts: World War II, the two American Gulf wars, the Iran–Iraq War, the Falklands/Malvinas War, and the Chaco War. These case studies show that countries have consistently refrained from fighting for oil. Meierding also explains why oil war assumptions are so common, despite the lack of supporting evidence. Since classic oil wars exist at the intersection of need and greed—two popular explanations for resource grabs—they are unusually easy to believe in.

The Oil Wars Myth will engage and inform anyone interested in oil, war, and the narratives that connect them.

EMILY MEIERDING is Assistant Professor at the Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California.



\$39.95 hardcover | \$19.99 ebook
256 pages, 6 x 9, 5 maps



"Emily Meierding provides a much-needed critique of the concept of 'oil wars,' debunking simplistic assertions over oil-motivated wars to expose some of the underlying causes of warfare in oil producing countries."—Philippe Le Billon, University of British Columbia, author of *Wars of Plunder*

"*The Oil Wars Myth* is a welcome and thoughtful corrective to a long-standing and largely unquestioned assumption about 'classic oil wars.' Emily Meierding convincingly unravels this assumption using a structured comparison of conflicts reflecting the best of qualitative security studies—theoretically ambitious and carefully detailed. This book is an exciting new contribution to the study of resources and war."—Benjamin Smith, University of Florida, author of *Hard Times in the Land of Plenty*

Black Gold and Blackmail

Oil and Great Power Politics

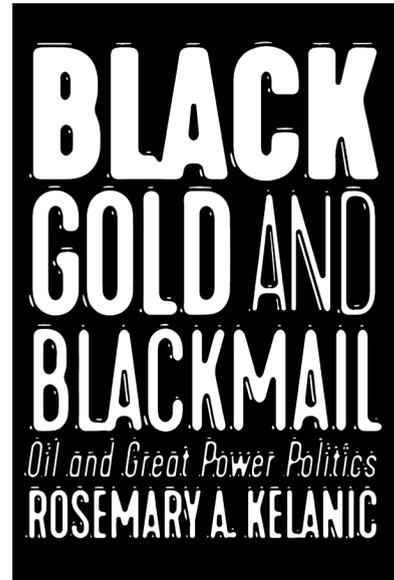
ROSEMARY A. KELANIC

Black Gold and Blackmail seeks to explain why great powers adopt such different strategies to protect their oil access from politically motivated disruptions. In extreme cases, such as Imperial Japan in 1941, great powers fought wars to grab oil territory in anticipation of a potential embargo by the Allies; in other instances, such as Germany in the early Nazi period, states chose relatively subdued measures like oil alliances or domestic policies to conserve oil. What accounts for this variation? Fundamentally, it is puzzling that great powers fear oil coercion at all because the global market makes oil sanctions very difficult to enforce.

Rosemary A. Kelanic argues that two variables determine what strategy a great power will adopt: the petroleum deficit, which measures how much oil the state produces domestically compared to what it needs for its strategic objectives; and disruptibility, which estimates the susceptibility of a state's oil imports to military interdiction—that is, blockade. Because global markets undercut the effectiveness of oil sanctions, blockade is in practice the only true threat to great power oil access. That, combined with the devastating consequences of oil deprivation to a state's military power, explains why states fear oil coercion deeply despite the adaptive functions of the market.

Together, these two variables predict a state's coercive vulnerability, which determines how willing the state will be to accept the costs and risks attendant on various potential strategies. Only those great powers with large deficits and highly disruptible imports will adopt the most extreme strategy: direct control of oil through territorial conquest.

ROSEMARY A. KELANIC is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Notre Dame, and co-editor of *Crude Strategy*. Follow her on Twitter @RKelanic.



"For more than a century oil has been central to international security, yet scholars have struggled to understand its impact in systematic ways. Rosemary Kelanic's theory of strategic anticipation helps fill that gap while challenging conventional explanations of recent great power behavior in the shadow of war."—John Duffield, Georgia State University, author of *Over a Barrel and Fuels Paradise*

"Rose Kelanic has written the definitive book on the politics of oil coercion among great powers. Lucidly composed and provocatively argued, her theory of 'anticipatory strategies' reveals the various ways states seek to neutralize the oil threat—sometimes even undertaking wars to do so. In the process, *Black Gold and Blackmail* illuminates oil's essential role in international relations. Kelanic's book ensures we will all be paying a lot more attention to oil politics in the future."—Risa Brooks, Marquette University, author of *Shaping Strategy*

\$39.95 hardcover | \$19.99 ebook

234 pages, 6 x 9, 4 b&w line drawings

XENOPHOBIA AT THE ROOTS OF US FOREIGN POLICY

Richard W. Maass

One hundred and seventy-four years ago, the United States declared war on Mexico and proceeded to conquer forty percent of its territory in a barely-disguised land grab. Yet despite capturing Mexico City, xenophobia led US leaders to annex only the sparsely-populated region from Texas to California, notably refusing to pursue populous southern Mexico.

As I describe in *The Picky Eagle*, xenophobia was a major reason why the United States rejected this and other opportunities to annex neighboring societies in Mexico, Canada, and the Caribbean: US leaders broadly considered populations in those areas alien and unfit to share in their self-government.

When I began researching this subject back in 2011, xenophobia ironically felt like a foreign concept—a misguided notion from the bygone era of race-based slavery that had been overcome by civil rights and globalization. During hundreds of hours spent poring over historical documents, I often found government leaders saying things that felt surreal—how could such words have been openly declared on the floors of Congress? How could they possibly have sounded persuasive even to contemporaries?

Such disbelief was surely the product of a privileged and internationalized upbringing—so self-assured that racism was wrong as to feel a cognitive detachment from the evidence of its prevalence and skepticism that it could be a major driver of US foreign policy. The evidence eventually grew overwhelming, and now readers can see it and judge for themselves—especially in Chapters 6 and 7 on US opportunities to annex territory in Mexico and overseas.

Openly xenophobic political rhetoric has seen a dramatic resurgence during the past four years, making this aspect of *The Picky Eagle* unfortunately timely. Spurred by President Trump's well-documented inclination to portray any problem as a foreign problem—from blaming asylum seekers for crime and drugs to pretending that halting immigration can protect against the domestic spread of disease—the current domestic political atmosphere will likely leave few readers surprised to learn of xenophobia's importance in shaping US territorial ambitions.

Nevertheless, it may yet be provocative to learn how central it was to US leaders' decisions not to conquer

their remaining neighbors, arguably the most fundamental aspect of portrayals of the United States as a benevolent actor on the world stage.

The Picky Eagle reveals how xenophobia combined with democratic politics to limit US territorial ambitions. In short, US leaders repeatedly targeted sparsely-populated lands that could be filled with domestic settlers but rejected even profitable opportunities to annex neighboring societies that they saw as too alien for US citizenship.

Their democratic system of governance ensured that every annexation would have distributional consequences for the domestic political balance of power, and it created a dilemma without a solution—how to absorb territories inhabited by large numbers of people they didn't want in their country. Between 1774 and 1898, US leaders confronted opportunities for annexation on a case-by-case basis, ruling out those they saw as undesirable until no attractive targets remained.

75 years ago, US negotiators were busy leading the San Francisco conference that founded the United Nations, its charter declaring among other things that conquest had become prohibited under international law. The willingness of the United States to forswear further territorial expansion even as its power grew to unprecedented heights (and to repeatedly spend blood and treasure deterring and reversing other countries' potential conquests while refraining from its own) are signatures of American exceptionalism. Yet even exceptional trees can have dirty roots.



The Picky Eagle

How Democracy and Xenophobia Limited US Territorial Expansion

RICHARD W. MAASS

The Picky Eagle explains why the United States stopped annexing territory by focusing on annexation's domestic consequences, both political and normative. It describes how the US rejection of further annexations, despite its rising power, set the stage for twentieth-century efforts to outlaw conquest. In contrast to conventional accounts of a nineteenth-century shift from territorial expansion to commercial expansion, Richard W. Maass argues that US ambitions were selective from the start.

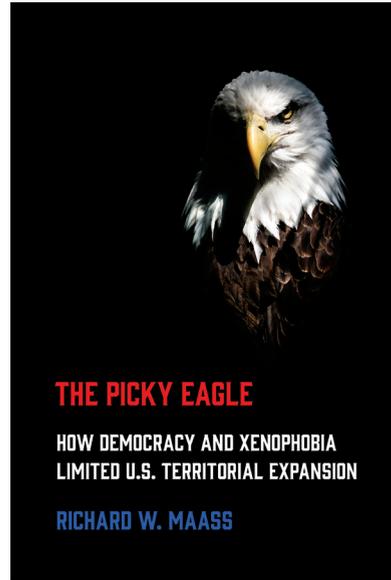
By presenting twenty-three case studies, Maass examines the decision-making of US leaders facing opportunities to pursue annexation between 1775 and 1898. US presidents, secretaries, and congressmen consistently worried about how absorbing new territories would affect their domestic political influence and their goals for their country. These leaders were particularly sensitive to annexation's domestic costs where xenophobia interacted with their commitment to democracy: rather than grant political representation to a large alien population or subject it to a long-term imperial regime, they regularly avoided both of these perceived bad options by rejecting annexation. As a result, US leaders often declined even profitable opportunities for territorial expansion, and they renounced the practice entirely once no desirable targets remained.

In addition to offering an updated history of the foundations of US territorial expansion, *The Picky Eagle* adds important nuance to previous theories of great-power expansion, with implications for our understanding of US foreign policy and international relations.

RICHARD W. MAASS is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Evansville. Follow him on Twitter @richardmaass.



\$39.95 hardcover | \$19.99 ebook
312 pages, 6 x 9, 1 map, 2 charts



"The Picky Eagle poses important and provocative questions about the history of territorial expansion, annexation, and imperialism—and its future. The theoretical approach is original, capturing the American case better than any other work in political science."*—*Scott Silverstone, US Military Academy at West Point, author of *From Hitler's Germany to Saddam's Iraq*

"In this sweeping, engaging account, Richard Maass makes the compelling case that the US appetite for annexation was often tempered by a reluctance to absorb culturally different populations or those who would side with domestic political opponents."—*Peter Liberman, author of *Does Conquest Pay?**

*"Impressively researched and persuasively argued, Richard Maass's *The Picky Eagle* takes a fresh look at the forces driving American expansionism and offers new and intriguing answers to the often overlooked question of why the nation did not annex additional territory. Highly recommended for historians and political scientists."*—*George Herring, University of Kentucky, author of *From Colony to Superpower**



Information Technology and Military Power

JON R. LINDSAY

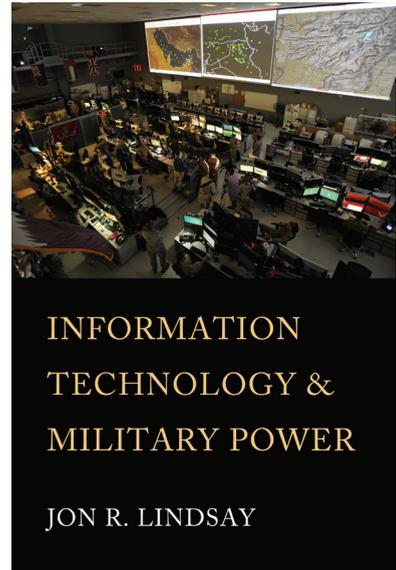
Militaries with state-of-the-art information technology sometimes bog down in confusing conflicts. To understand why, it is important to understand the micro-foundations of military power in the information age, and this is exactly what Jon R. Lindsay's *Information Technology and Military Power* gives us. As Lindsay shows, digital systems now mediate almost every effort to gather, store, display, analyze, and communicate information in military organizations. He highlights how personnel now struggle with their own information systems as much as with the enemy.

Information Technology and Military Power explores information practice through a series of detailed historical cases and ethnographic studies of military organizations at war. Lindsay explains why the US military, despite all its technological advantages, has struggled for so long in unconventional conflicts against weaker adversaries. This same perspective suggests that the US retains important advantages against advanced competitors like China that are less prepared to cope with the complexity of information systems in wartime. Lindsay argues convincingly that a better understanding of how personnel actually use technology can inform the design of command and control, improve the net assessment of military power, and promote reforms to improve military performance. Warfighting problems and technical solutions keep on changing, but information practice is always stuck in between.

JON R. LINDSAY is Assistant Professor of Digital Media and Global Affairs at the Munk School of Global Affairs and Public Policy at the University of Toronto. He is the co-editor of *Cross-Domain Deterrence* and *China and Cybersecurity*. Follow him on Twitter @jonrlindsay.

CORNELL STUDIES IN SECURITY AFFAIRS

\$42.95 hardcover | \$20.99 ebook
304 pages, 6 x 9, 3 b&w halftones, 12 b&w line drawings, 2 charts



"This is a deeply researched book that covers a tremendous amount of empirical terrain. Lindsay tackles an increasingly important set of issues—namely, information and technology, and their effects on fog and friction in war—that have far reaching implications in times of peace as well as war."—Kelly M. Greenhill, Tufts and Harvard Universities, author of *Weapons of Mass Migration*

"Lindsay offers richly detailed case studies that flesh out different parts of the information practice problem. Full of new insights, this book is a refreshing read as it builds understanding and synthesizes seemingly competing theoretical arguments about the relationship between information technology and military performance."—Emily Goldman, Combined Action Group, US Cyber Command, author of *Power in Uncertain Times*

"Lindsay exposes the conceit that advances in information technology will make future war easy, fast, cheap, and efficient."—H.R. McMaster, former National Security Advisor, author of *Dereliction of Duty*



Catching up with Jon R. Lindsay

What's your favorite anecdote from your research for this book?

It is well known that Silicon Valley giants like Apple and Google began as start-ups in garages and dorm rooms. It is less well-known that the most popular graphical mission planning application across the US military services, known as FalconView, also started in the 1980s and 1990s as an amateur program written by and with the same pilots who used it. FalconView outperformed numerous systems that were designed by defense contractors to replace it, highlighting the important role of warfighter initiative in complex information systems. Organizational practice, not just technological sophistication, makes the difference in modern war.

What do you wish you had known when you started writing your book, that you know now?

I made the classic rookie mistake of trying to pack too much material into a first academic book. This is especially a temptation for a book with a broad topic like *Information Technology and Military Affairs*. I originally had intended to include a substantive discussion of cyber warfare along with the cases of more

traditional combat, but this proved a bridge too far. Even broad topics must have a manageable scope! The book now focuses on the organizational and strategic context of information technology and battlefield operations, leaving the implications for cybersecurity and grand strategy for another work.

How do you wish you could change the field?

I would like to see the field of military history have greater influence on the interdisciplinary field of security studies. In many ways this would represent a return to the roots of the field, drawing on deeply researched historical cases to inform hard questions that emerge in modern practice. History can have as much, and sometimes more, to say about complex, cutting-edge problems as quantitative social science. While the technological, social, and strategic context changes continuously, history can show how the complexity of this context has always been a challenge, and an inspiration, for practitioners and scholars alike.

“I wish that I could do more to promote academic writing for general audiences.”

The Roots of Resilience

Party Machines and Grassroots Politics in Southeast Asia

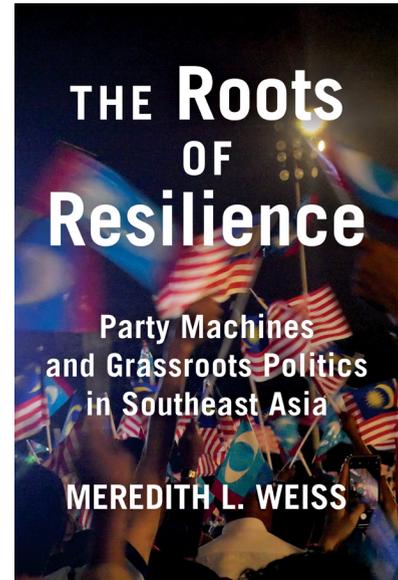
MEREDITH L. WEISS

The Roots of Resilience examines governance from the ground up in the world's two most enduring electoral authoritarian or "hybrid" regimes—Singapore and Malaysia—where politically liberal and authoritarian features are blended to evade substantive democracy. Although skewed elections, curbed civil liberties, and a dose of coercion help sustain these regimes, selectively structured state policies and patronage, partisan machines that effectively stand in for local governments, and diligently sustained clientelist relations between politicians and constituents are equally important.

While key attributes of these regimes differ, affecting the scope, character, and balance among national parties and policies, local machines, and personalized linkages—and notwithstanding a momentous change of government in Malaysia in 2018—the similarity in the overall patterns in these countries confirms the salience of these dimensions. As Meredith L. Weiss shows, taken together, these attributes accustom citizens to the system in place, making meaningful change in how electoral mobilization and policymaking happen all the harder to change. This authoritarian acculturation is key to the durability of both regimes, but, given weaker party competition and party–civil society links, is stronger in Singapore than Malaysia. High levels of authoritarian acculturation, amplifying the political payoffs of what parties and politicians actually provide their constituents, explain why electoral turnover alone is insufficient for real regime change in either state.

MEREDITH L. WEISS is Professor of Political Science in the Rockefeller College of Public Affairs & Policy at the University at Albany, State University of New York. She is author of *Student Activism in Malaysia* and *Protest and Possibilities*.

\$43.95 hardcover | \$21.99 ebook
288 pages, 6 x 9



"This is a very insightful book on the dynamics of party politics, regime endurance, and clientelism in Malaysia and Singapore. Weiss has clearly spent much time getting to know the ground in Malaysia and Singapore, and meeting with politicians, civil society groups, and other relevant actors. This deep knowledge is reflected in the book."—Erik Martinez Kuhonta, McGill University, author of *The Institutional Imperative*

"The knowledge of contemporary grassroots politics and historical political development in both Malaysia and Singapore that Weiss brings to bear in this book is beyond impressive. *The Roots of Resilience* is a major contribution that will be widely read for a very long time."—Dan Slater, University of Michigan, author of *Ordering Power*

Regular Soldiers, Irregular War

Violence and Restraint in the Second Intifada

DEVORAH S. MANEKIN

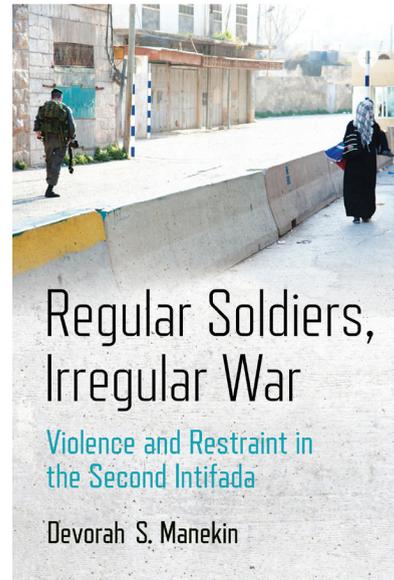
What explains differences in soldier participation in violence during irregular war? How do ordinary men become professional wielders of force, and when does this transformation falter or fail? *Regular Soldiers, Irregular War* presents a theoretical framework for understanding the various forms of behavior in which soldiers engage during counterinsurgency campaigns—compliance and shirking, abuse and restraint, as well as the creation of new violent practices.

Through an in-depth study of the Israeli Defense Forces' repression of the Second Palestinian Intifada of 2000–2005, including in-depth interviews with and a survey of former combatants, Devorah Manekin examines how soldiers come both to unleash and to curb violence against civilians in a counterinsurgency campaign. Manekin argues that variation in soldiers' behavior is best explained by the effectiveness of the control mechanisms put in place to ensure combatant violence reflects the strategies and preferences of military elites, primarily at the small-unit level.

Furthermore, she develops and analyzes soldier participation in three categories of violence: strategic violence authorized by military elites; opportunistic or unauthorized violence; and "entrepreneurial violence"—violence initiated from below to advance organizational aims when leaders are ambiguous about what will best serve those aims. By going inside military field units and exploring their patterns of command and control, *Regular Soldiers, Irregular War*, sheds new light on the dynamics of violence and restraint in counterinsurgency.

DEVORAH S. MANEKIN is Assistant Professor in the International Relations Department at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

\$39.95 hardcover | \$19.99 ebook
264 pages, 6 x 9, 1 b&w line drawing, 1 map, 3 charts



"*Regular Soldiers, Irregular War* is a treasure trove of oral history of the second intifada, supporting an original and intriguing theoretical framework through which we can better understand soldiers' acts of violence. Manekin uses the interviews and survey masterfully to create a well-integrated and compelling read."—Boaz Atzili, American University, author of *Triadic Coercion*

"In this carefully argued book, Devorah Manekin takes us inside Israeli combat units and provides a rare, compelling account of soldier-level decisions to use, or refrain from, violence. Theoretically sophisticated and analytically nuanced, this book highlights micro-level variation within armies and brings agency and organizational dynamics into the study of counterinsurgency. An outstanding contribution to the burgeoning study of political violence."—Scott Straus, University of Wisconsin, Madison, author of *The Order of Genocide*

Homelands

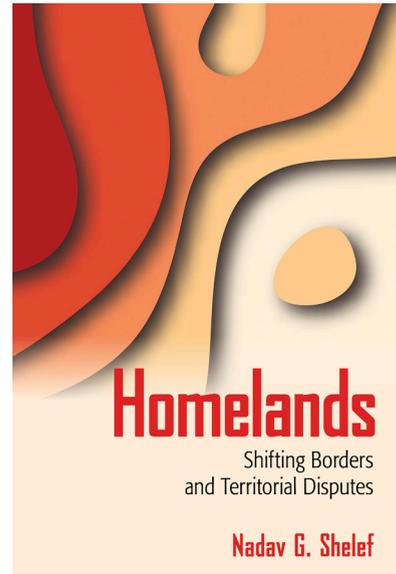
Shifting Borders and Territorial Disputes

NADAV G. SHELEF

Why are some territorial partitions accepted as the appropriate borders of a nation's homeland, whereas in other places conflict continues despite or even because of division of territory? In *Homelands*, Nadav G. Shelef develops a theory of what homelands are that acknowledges both their importance in domestic and international politics and their change over time. These changes, he argues, driven by domestic political competition and help explain the variation in whether partitions resolve conflict.

Homelands also provides systematic, comparable data about the homeland status of lost territory over time that allow it to bridge the persistent gap between constructivist theories of nationalism and positivist empirical analyses of international relations.

NADAV G. SHELEF is the Harvey M. Meyerhoff Professor of Israel Studies and Professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. He is the author of *Evolving Nationalism*.



"Shelef's work, in each of his chapters, is careful, thoughtful, and methodical. *Homelands* makes a bold argument, that what we understand as a 'homeland' is actually a social fact that can change over time."—Stacie Goddard, Wellesley College, Director of the Madeleine K. Albright Institute and author of *When Right Makes Might*

"Homelands are supposed to be the solid foundation on which our political order rests. Shelef teaches us that they are in constant flux. He studies ideas, speeches, and maps, exploring crucial cases and broad data to show us when homelands change. This is an ambitious, beautiful book of great significance."—Ron E. Hassner, Helen Diller Family Chair in Israel Studies, UC Berkeley

\$29.95 paperback | \$14.99 ebook
336 pages, 6 x 9, 10 b&w halftones, 3 maps, 19 charts

GREAT FOR CLASSROOM USE

Reputation for Resolve

How Leaders Signal Determination in International Politics

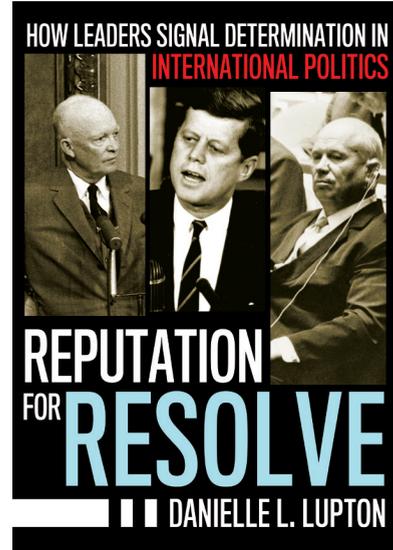
DANIELLE L. LUPTON

How do reputations form in international politics? What influence do these reputations have on the conduct of international affairs? In *Reputation for Resolve*, Danielle L. Lupton takes a new approach to answering these enduring and hotly debated questions by shifting the focus away from the reputations of countries and instead examining the reputations of individual leaders.

Lupton argues that new leaders establish personal reputations for resolve that are separate from the reputations of their predecessors and from the reputations of their states. Using innovative survey experiments and in-depth archival research, she finds that leaders acquire personal reputations for resolve based on their foreign policy statements and behavior. *Reputation for Resolve* shows that statements create expectations of how leaders will react to foreign policy crises in the future and that leaders who fail to meet expectations of resolute action face harsh reputational consequences.

Reputation for Resolve challenges the view that reputations do not matter in international politics. In sharp contrast, Lupton shows that the reputations for resolve of individual leaders influence the strategies statesmen pursue during diplomatic interactions and crises, and she delineates specific steps policymakers can take to avoid developing reputations for irresolute action. Lupton demonstrates that reputations for resolve do exist and can influence the conduct of international security. Thus, *Reputation for Resolve* reframes our understanding of the influence of leaders and their rhetoric on crisis bargaining and the role reputations play in international politics.

DANIELLE L. LUPTON is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Colgate University. She has published articles in *Political Analysis*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *International Interactions*, and the *Journal of Global Security Studies*. Follow her on Twitter @ProfLupton or on her website at daniellelupton.com.



"This book is the most important statement on reputations in international relations in a decade. Danielle Lupton brings new methods and evidence to the debate about how reputations form and whether they matter at the highest levels of foreign policy. She upends conventional wisdom and makes a convincing case for changing the way we think about reputations in international politics."—Todd S. Sechser, Pamela Feinour Edmonds and Franklin S. Edmonds, Jr. Discovery Professor of Politics at the University of Virginia, coauthor of *Nuclear Weapons and Coercive Diplomacy*

"Do reputations for resolve matter in international politics? How does an individual leader's reputation form, how does it change, and how does it interact with power and interest? Lupton's fresh theoretical perspective and multi-method approach makes an important new contribution to an old debate in the International Relations field."—Jack S. Levy, Rutgers University



\$49.95 hardcover | \$24.99 ebook
264 pages, 6 x 9, 2 b&w line drawings, 5 charts

Bestseller

The Hypocritical Hegemon

How the United States Shapes Global Rules
against Tax Evasion and Avoidance

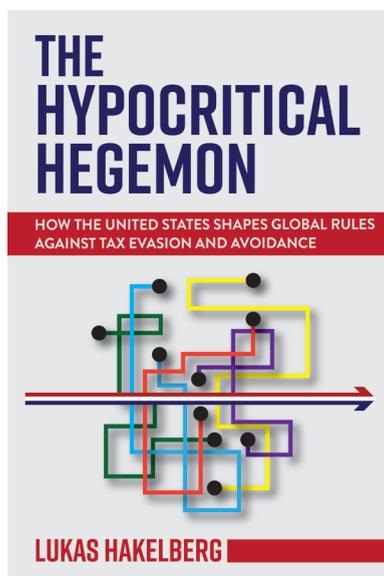
LUKAS HAKELBERG

In *The Hypocritical Hegemon*, Lukas Hakelberg takes a close look at how US domestic politics affects and determines the course of global tax policy. Through an examination of recent international efforts to crack down on offshore tax havens and the role the United States has played, Hakelberg uncovers how a seemingly innocuous technical addition to US law has had enormous impact around the world, particularly for individuals and corporations aiming to avoid and evade taxation.

Through bullying and using its overwhelming political power, writes Hakelberg, the United States has imposed rules on the rest of the world while exempting domestic banks for the same reporting requirements. It can do so because no other government wields control over such huge financial and consumer markets. This power imbalance is at the heart of *The Hypocritical Hegemon*.

Thanks to generous funding from COFFERS EU, the ebook editions of this book are available as Open Access volumes from Cornell Open (cornellopen.org) and other repositories.

LUKAS HAKELBERG is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow with the Center for International and Comparative Political Economy at Freie Universität Berlin.

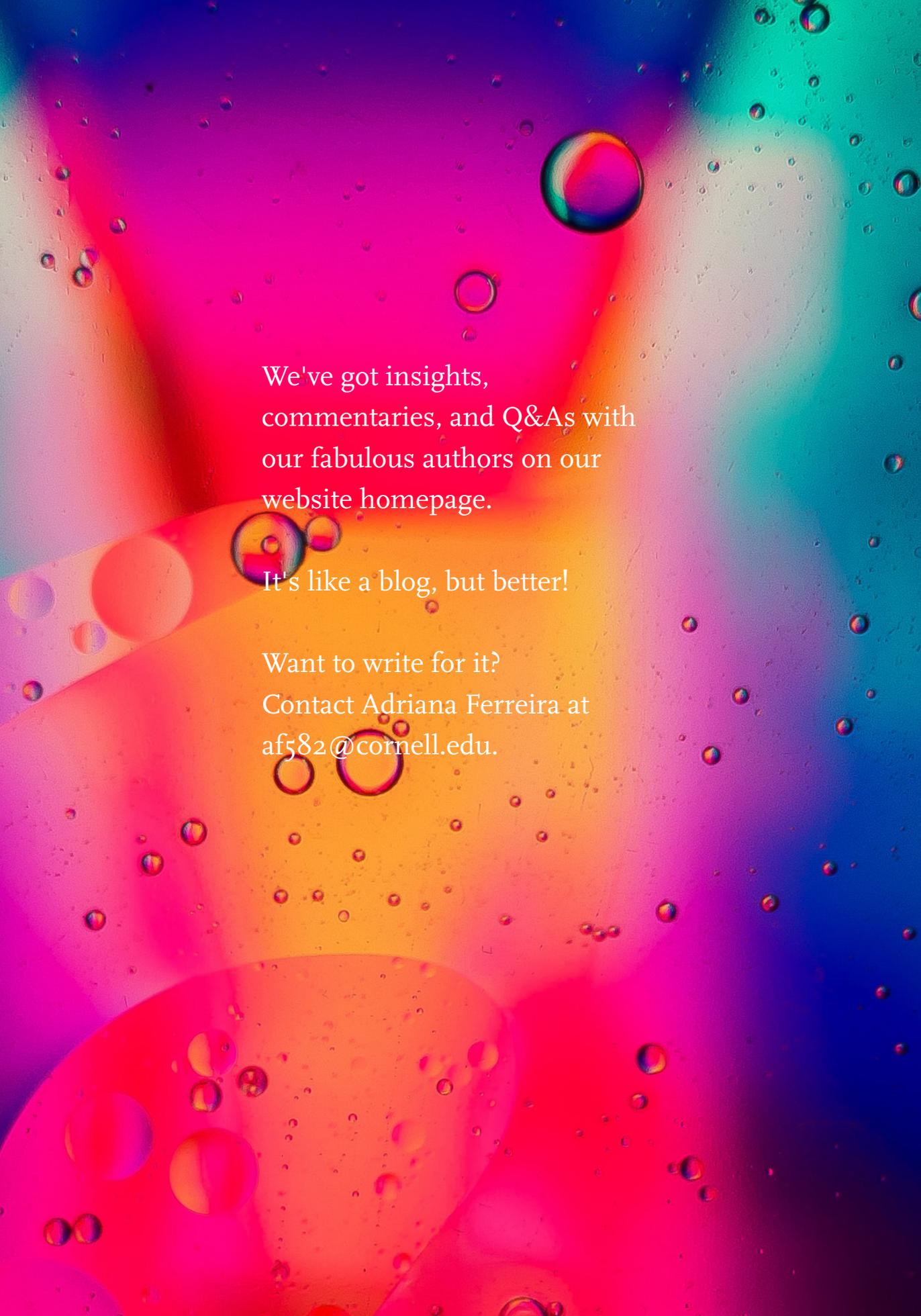


"This book is an excellent piece of work that succinctly presents an original and persuasive account of the major developments in global tax policy.... Hakelberg does a great job of clearly communicating the argument."—J.C. Sharman, University of Cambridge, author of *The Despot's Guide to Wealth Management*

"*The Hypocritical Hegemon* makes an important contribution to the research on the janus-faced role of America in tax policy. FATCA forced countries all over the world to end their bank secrecy while not fully doing the same in the United States. We need to overcome nationalism on both sides of the Atlantic."—Sven Giegold, MEP (Group of the Green/European Free Alliance)

CORNELL STUDIES IN MONEY

\$22.95 hardcover | \$0.00 ebook
210 pages, 6 x 9, 2 charts



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commentaries, and Q&As with
our fabulous authors on our
website homepage.

It's like a blog, but better!

Want to write for it?
Contact Adriana Ferreira at
af582@cornell.edu.

The Consequences of Humiliation

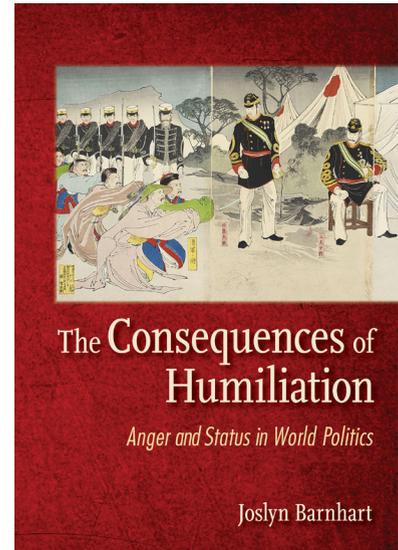
Anger and Status in World Politics

JOSLYN BARNHART

The Consequences of Humiliation explores the nature of national humiliation and its impact on foreign policy. Joslyn Barnhart demonstrates that Germany's catastrophic reaction to humiliation at the end of World War I is part of a broader pattern: states that experience humiliating events are more likely to engage in international aggression aimed at restoring the state's image in its own eyes and in the eyes of others.

Barnhart shows that these states also pursue conquest, intervene in the affairs of other states, engage in diplomatic hostility and verbal discord, and pursue advanced weaponry and other symbols of national resurgence at higher rates than non-humiliated states in similar foreign policy contexts. Her examination of how national humiliation functions at the individual level explores leaders' domestic incentives to evoke a sense of national humiliation. As a result of humiliation on this level, the effects may persist for decades, if not centuries, following the original humiliating event.

JOSLYN BARNHART is Assistant Professor of Government at Wesleyan University.



"The Consequences of Humiliation is a marvelous book. It addresses an important but understudied topic, moving forward a burgeoning literature on status and emotional impulses behind foreign policy."—Brian Rathbun, University of Southern California, author of *Reasoning of State*

"Joslyn Barnhart musters an impressive array of empirical data that unpacks the concepts of status, shame, and humiliation in great power politics."—Alex Weisiger, University of Pennsylvania, author of *Logics of War*

\$47.95 hardcover | \$23.99 ebook
270 pages, 6 x 9, 6 b&w line drawings, 14 charts

Why Containment Works

Power, Proliferation, and Preventive War

WALLACE J. THIES

Why Containment Works examines the conduct of American foreign policy during and after the Cold War through the lens of applied policy analysis. Wallace J. Thies argues that the Bush Doctrine after 2002 was a theory of victory—a coherent strategic view that tells a state how best to transform scarce resources into useful military assets, and how to employ those assets in conflicts. He contrasts prescriptions derived from the Bush Doctrine with an alternative theory of victory, one based on containment and deterrence, which US presidents employed for much of the Cold War period. There are, he suggests, multiple reasons for believing that containment was working well against Saddam Hussein's Iraq after the first Gulf War and that there was no need to invade Iraq in 2003.

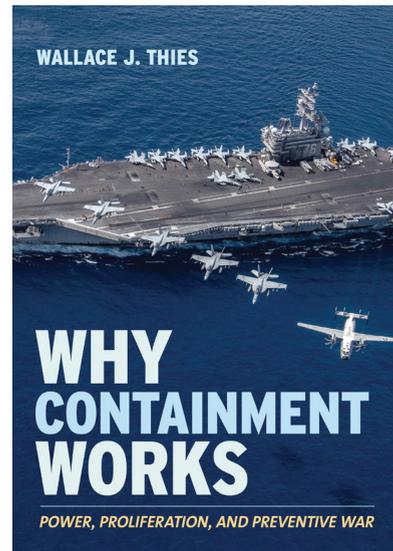
Thies reexamines five cases of containment drawn from the Cold War and the post-Cold War world. Each example, Thies suggests, offered US officials a choice between reliance on traditional notions of containment and reliance on a more forceful approach. To what extent did reliance on rival theories of victory—containment versus first strike—contribute to a successful outcome? Might these cases have been resolved more quickly, at lower cost, and more favorably to American interests if US officials had chosen a different mix of the coercive and deterrent tools available to them? Thies suggests that the conventional wisdom about containment was often wrong: a superpower like the United States has such vast resources at its disposal that it could easily thwart Libya, Iraq, and Iran by means other than open war.

WALLACE J. THIES is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at Catholic University of America. He is author of *Why NATO Endures*, *When Governments Collide*, and *Friendly Rivals*.

CORNELL STUDIES IN SECURITY AFFAIRS

\$49.95 hardcover | \$24.99 ebook

240 pages, 6 x 9



“Should the US seek to contain aggressive adversaries, or wage preventive war to remove their threat? Thies explores recent history to assess these fateful options. His treatment is judicious and compelling. This is required reading for students of U.S. foreign policy and grand strategy.”—Stephen Van Evera, MIT

Revolution Goes East

Imperial Japan and Soviet Communism

TATIANA LINKHOEVA

Revolution Goes East is an intellectual history that applies a novel global perspective to the classic story of the rise of communism and the various reactions it provoked in Imperial Japan. Tatiana Linkhoeva demonstrates how contemporary discussions of the Russian Revolution, its containment, and the issue of imperialism played a fundamental role in shaping Japan's imperial society and state.

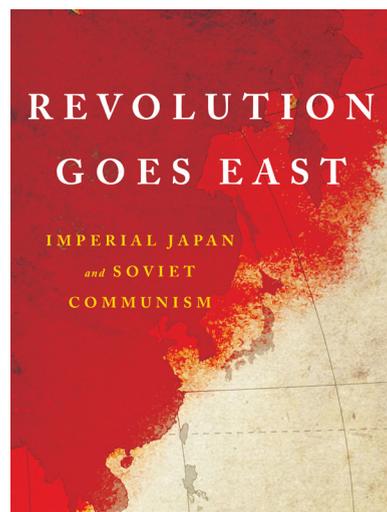
In this bold approach, Linkhoeva explores attitudes toward the Soviet Union and the communist movement among the Japanese military and politicians, as well as interwar leftist and rightist intellectuals and activists. Her book draws on extensive research in both published and archival documents, including memoirs, newspaper and journal articles, political pamphlets, and Comintern archives. *Revolution Goes East* presents us with a compelling argument that the interwar Japanese Left replicated the Orientalist outlook of Marxism-Leninism in its relationship with the rest of Asia, and that this proved to be its undoing. Furthermore, Linkhoeva shows that Japanese imperial anticommunism was based on geopolitical interests for the stability of the empire rather than on fear of communist ideology.

Thanks to generous funding from New York University and its participation in TOME (Toward an Open Monograph Ecosystem), the ebook editions of this book are available as Open Access (OA) volumes from Cornell Open (cornellopen.org) and other repositories.

TATIANA LINKHOEVA is Assistant Professor of Japanese History at New York University. Follow her on Twitter @linkhoeva.

STUDIES OF THE WEATHERHEAD EAST ASIAN INSTITUTE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

\$27.95 paperback | \$0.00 ebook
300 pages, 6 x 9



TATIANA LINKHOEVA

"Tatiana Linkhoeva's meticulously detailed *Revolution Goes East* shows that Japanese responses to Soviet socialism during the 1920s and 30s were no exception to this. Indeed given the country's situation at the time, the diversity of views on the revolution held by various government factions, the military, and society at large was especially diverse."—Ed Pulford, University of Amsterdam, *Newbooks Netowrk.com*

"Linkhoeva's book brings a new line of analysis and new material to modern Japanese history, and will impact histories of the left, of the interwar period, of prewar politics and of Russo-Japanese relations."—Louise Young, Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, author of *Japan's Total Empire*

"*Revolution Goes East* is a carefully researched and thoughtful study of the impact of the Russian revolution and Soviet communism on Japanese intellectual thought and imperial strategy during the 1920s."—Janis Mimura, Associate Professor of History at SUNY at Stony Brook, author of *Planning for Empire*

GREAT FOR CLASSROOM USE

Mobilizing for Development

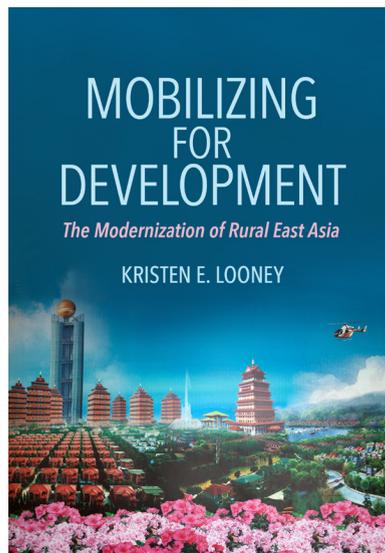
The Modernization of Rural East Asia

KRISTEN E. LOONEY

Mobilizing for Development tackles the question of how countries achieve rural development and offers a new way of thinking about East Asia's political economy that challenges the developmental state paradigm. Through a comparison of Taiwan (1950s–1970s), South Korea (1950s–1970s), and China (1980s–2000s), Kristen E. Looney shows that different types of development outcomes—improvements in agricultural production, rural living standards, and the village environment—were realized to different degrees, at different times, and in different ways. She argues that rural modernization campaigns, defined as policies demanding high levels of mobilization to effect dramatic change, played a central role in the region and that divergent development outcomes can be attributed to the interplay between campaigns and institutions. The analysis departs from common portrayals of the developmental state as wholly technocratic and demonstrates that rural development was not just a byproduct of industrialization.

Looney's research is based on several years of fieldwork in Asia and makes a unique contribution by systematically comparing China's development experience with other countries. Relevant to political science, economic history, rural sociology, and Asian Studies, the book enriches our understanding of state-led development and agrarian change.

KRISTEN LOONEY is Assistant Professor of Asian Studies and Government at Georgetown University.



"Mobilizing for Development challenges the dominant view of the East Asian state development model by focusing on different strands of political culture and modes of politics. The focus on how institutions and campaigns interacted to affect rural development in East Asia provides a new theoretical understanding of the developmental state and other bodies of literature on development."—Dr. Kate Xiao Zhou, University of Hawaii

"Kristen Looney's path-breaking book forces us to rethink the state's role in development strategies, the ways in which rural society organizes politically for economic gain, and how to compare East Asian newly-industrializing economies. Her explanatory mechanism is political campaigns, an audacious analytical approach that will change the way we understand urban bias, state-society relations, and developmental imperatives."—Andrew Mertha, Johns Hopkins University, author of Brothers in Arms

\$45.00 hardcover | \$21.99 ebook
234 pages, 6 x 9, 2 b&w line drawings



Catching up with David M. Edelstein

What's your favorite anecdote from your research for this book?

Hmm. Not sure I have a great anecdote from the research of the book. From the writing, I could mention that the key stage of revision was literally rewriting the entire manuscript. Page-by-page, sentence-by-sentence, rewriting the manuscript just to improve the prose, and I think it worked.

How do you wish you could change the field?

I'd make it less insular and more engaging of other disciplines—history, sociology, economics. The same is true for those disciplines, but we can learn a lot from other disciplines.

“I'd make it less insular and more engaging of other disciplines—history, sociology, economics.”

What do you wish you had known when you started writing your book, that you know now?

That it would do reasonably well? Most scholars face lots of questions and doubts when writing a book, and some knowledge that it would do well might help alleviate some of that.

Over the Horizon

Time, Uncertainty, and the Rise of Great Powers

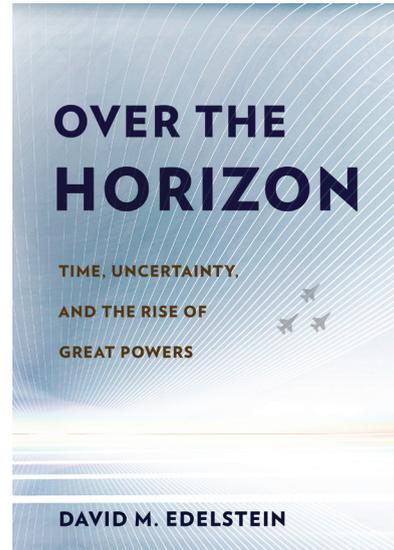
DAVID M. EDELSTEIN

How do established powers react to growing competitors? The United States currently faces a dilemma with regard to China and others over whether to embrace competition and thus substantial present-day costs or collaborate with its rivals to garner short-term gains while letting them become more powerful. This problem lends considerable urgency to the lessons to be learned from *Over the Horizon*. David M. Edelstein analyzes past rising powers in his search for answers that point the way forward for the United States as it strives to maintain control over its competitors.

Edelstein focuses on the time horizons of political leaders and the effects of long-term uncertainty on decision-making. He notes how state leaders tend to procrastinate when dealing with long-term threats, hoping instead to profit from short-term cooperation, and are reluctant to act precipitously in an uncertain environment. To test his novel theory, Edelstein uses lessons learned from history's great powers: late nineteenth-century Germany, the United States at the turn of the twentieth century, interwar Germany, and the Soviet Union at the origins of the Cold War. *Over the Horizon* demonstrates that cooperation between declining and rising powers is more common than we might think, although declining states may later regret having given upstarts time to mature into true threats.

DAVID M. EDELSTEIN is Associate Professor of International Affairs in the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Center for Security Studies, and Department of Government at Georgetown University. He is the author of *Occupational Hazards*.

\$22.95 paperback | \$10.99 ebook
220 pages, 6 x 9, 1 chart



"*Over the Horizon* asks important questions, provides clear arguments, and delivers an elegant theory that pushes Realist scholarship in new directions."—*H-War*

"Edelstein provides a timely analysis of the relations between established and rising great powers in order to determine why variations between cooperation and competition occur between them."—*Choice*

"Edelstein has issued a clarion call for scholars to directly study states' temporal calculations and how these calculations affect foreign policy. Even if one does not accept the argument, future work will need to address the importance of time horizons."—*Political Science Quarterly*

"David Edelstein's book makes significant and novel theoretical contributions toward studying great and rising powers."—*International Studies Review*

GREAT FOR CLASSROOM USE

The Last Card

Inside George W. Bush's Decision to Surge in Iraq

EDITED BY TIMOTHY ANDREWS SAYLE, JEFFREY A. ENGEL, HAL BRANDS, AND WILLIAM INBODEN

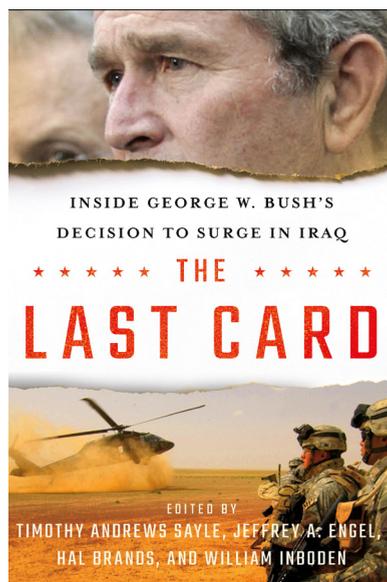
This is the real story of how George W. Bush came to double-down on Iraq in the highest stakes gamble of his entire presidency. Drawing on extensive interviews with nearly thirty senior officials, including President Bush himself, *The Last Card* offers an unprecedented look into the process by which Bush overruled much of the military leadership and many of his trusted advisors, and authorized the deployment of roughly 30,000 additional troops to the warzone in a bid to save Iraq from collapse in 2007.

In their own words, President George W. Bush, Vice President Dick Cheney, National Security Advisor Stephen Hadley, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, White House Chief of Staff Joshua Bolten, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates, and others, recount the debates and disputes that informed the process as President Bush weighed the historical lessons of Vietnam against the perceived strategic imperatives in the Middle East. For a president who had earlier vowed never to dictate military strategy to generals, the deliberations in the Oval Office and Situation Room in 2006 constituted a trying and fateful moment.

The Last Card is a portrait of leadership—firm and daring if flawed—in the Bush White House. The personal perspectives from men and women who served at the White House, Foggy Bottom, the Pentagon, and in Baghdad, are complemented by critical assessments written by leading scholars in the field of international security. Taken together, the candid interviews and probing essays are a first draft of the history of the surge and new chapter in the history of the American presidency.

TIMOTHY ANDREWS SAYLE is Assistant Professor in the Department of History at the University of Toronto. JEFFREY A. ENGEL is Director of the Center for Presidential History at Southern Methodist University. HAL BRANDS is the Henry A. Kissinger Distinguished Professor of Global Affairs at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies and a scholar at the American Enterprise Institute. He is the author of *What Good is*

\$34.95 hardcover | \$16.99 ebook
416 pages, 6 x 9, 4 maps, 2 charts



"This is a fascinating contribution to the history of the war."—*Foreign Affairs*

"An expertly researched and written oral and narrative history, *The Last Card* examines the excruciatingly complex process of American decision making in the run-up to the 2007 surge against al Qaeda in Iraq . . . This precious narrative history shows the complexities of war planning and is a most welcome addition to modern American war studies, though it is best intended for advanced readers."—*Choice*

"It is essential to learn the right lessons from the Iraq War, and *The Last Card* is an important first step in what one hopes will be a much longer journey of discovery."—*Survival*

Grand Strategy? WILLIAM INBODEN is Executive Director and William Powers, Jr., Chair of the Clements Center for National Security at the University of Texas at Austin.

Bestseller

The Day After

Why America Wins the War but Loses the Peace

BRENDAN R. GALLAGHER

Since 9/11, why have we won smashing battlefield victories only to botch nearly everything that comes next? In the opening phases of war in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Libya, we mopped the floor with our enemies. But in short order, things went horribly wrong.

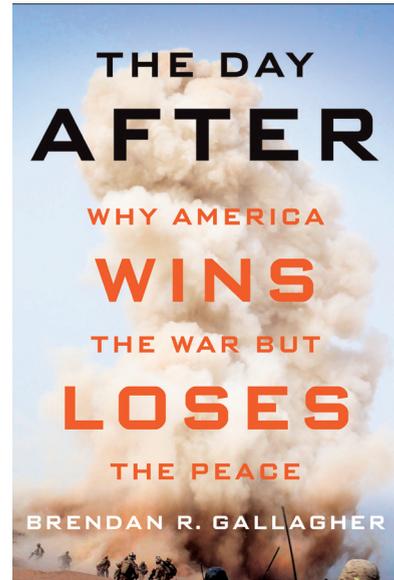
We soon discovered we had no coherent plan to manage the "day after." The ensuing debacles had truly staggering consequences—many thousands of lives lost, trillions of dollars squandered, and the apparent discrediting of our foreign policy establishment. This helped set the stage for an extraordinary historical moment in which America's role in the world, along with our commitment to democracy at home and abroad, have become subject to growing doubt. With the benefit of hindsight, can we discern what went wrong? Why have we had such great difficulty planning for the aftermath of war?

In *The Day After*, Brendan Gallagher—an Army lieutenant colonel with multiple combat tours to Iraq and Afghanistan, and a Princeton Ph.D.—seeks to tackle this vital question. Gallagher argues there is a tension between our desire to create a new democracy and our competing desire to pull out as soon as possible. Our leaders often strive to accomplish both to keep everyone happy. But by avoiding the tough underlying decisions, it fosters an incoherent strategy. This makes chaos more likely.

The Day After draws on new interviews with dozens of civilian and military officials, ranging from US cabinet secretaries to four-star generals. It also sheds light on how, in Kosovo, we lowered our postwar aims to quietly achieve a surprising partial success. Striking at the heart of what went wrong in our recent wars, and what we should do about it, Gallagher asks whether we will learn from our mistakes, or provoke even more disasters? Human lives, money, elections, and America's place in the world may hinge on the answer.

BRENDAN R. GALLAGHER is a US Army lieutenant colonel in the infantry who has completed seven tours to Iraq and Afghanistan, including multiple deployments with the 75th Ranger Regiment.

\$32.95 hardcover | \$15.99 ebook
320 pages, 6 x 9



"Brendan Gallagher is well placed to write this policy-focused volume, which blends personal experience and academic reflection based on interviews with decision-makers."—*Choice*

"*The Day After* asks why America has so often won the war but lost the peace that followed. Brendan Gallagher's answers are correct and timeless: Postwar is harder than war. Beware of magical thinking. Learn from history. His book is a good reference for heads of state, scholars, and soldiers."—Lieutenant Colonel John Nagl, US Army (Ret.), author of *Knife Fights*

"A thought-provoking, intensively-researched, and compelling account (and cautionary tale) of the enormous challenges of the 'post-conflict' phases of America's major post-9/11 interventions—by a true soldier-scholar who served on the ground in Iraq and Afghanistan and then carefully studied those conflicts."—General David Petraeus, US Army (Ret.)



The Nuclear Spies

America's Atomic Intelligence Operation
against Hitler and Stalin

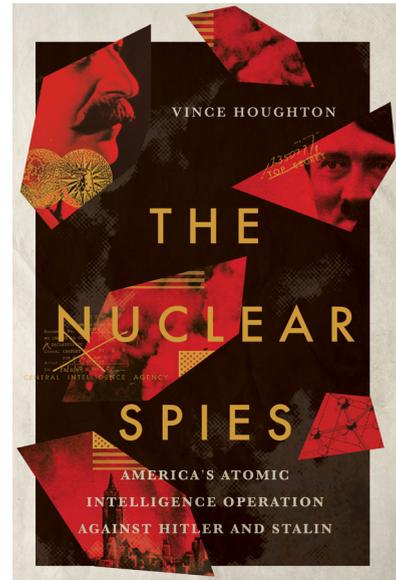
VINCE HOUGHTON

Why did the US intelligence services fail so spectacularly to know about the Soviet Union's nuclear capabilities following World War II? As Vince Houghton, historian and curator of the International Spy Museum in Washington, DC, shows us, that disastrous failure came just a few years after the Manhattan Project's intelligence team had penetrated the Third Reich and knew every detail of the Nazi 's plan for an atomic bomb. What changed and what went wrong?

Houghton's delightful retelling of this fascinating case of American spy ineffectiveness in the then new field of scientific intelligence provides us with a new look at the early years of the Cold War. During that time, scientific intelligence quickly grew to become a significant portion of the CIA budget as it struggled to contend with the incredible advance in weapons and other scientific discoveries immediately after World War II. As *The Nuclear Spies* shows, the abilities of the Soviet Union's scientists, its research facilities and laboratories, and its educational system became a key consideration for the CIA in assessing the threat level of its most potent foe. Sadly, for the CIA scientific intelligence was extremely difficult to do well. For when the Soviet Union detonated its first atomic bomb in 1949, no one in the American intelligence services saw it coming.

VINCE HOUGHTON is Historian and Curator at the International Spy Museum. He taught courses in Cold War history and intelligence history at the University of Maryland and is the host and creative director of *Spycast*, the Spy Museum's popular podcast. His work has been published widely in such media as *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, *The Economist*, *Vanity Fair*, and many others.

\$27.95 hardcover | \$13.99 ebook
248 pages, 6 x 9



"In this neat, enthralling study, Houghton wonders why this successful intelligence operation was followed by the failure to anticipate the first Soviet nuclear test in August 1949."—*Foreign Affairs*

"A great read: Concise, fact-packed, laden with fascinating anecdotes, and chock full of insights. . . This book is for everyone, intelligence expert and layperson alike. A page turner."—*The Cipher Brief*

"The exploits of the Alsos mission chronicled in *The Nuclear Spies*, and the story of the subsequent less successful effort to predict the timeline of the Soviet acquisition of the bomb, should be read by all those interested in intelligence."—*International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence*

"*The Nuclear Spies* makes a significant contribution to intelligence studies by filling a gap in the literature: the importance of individual and institutional threat perceptions and cultural preconceptions when it comes to the development of strategic policy."—Genevieve Lester, US Army War College, author of *When Should State Secrets Stay Secret?*

Russian Conservatism

PAUL ROBINSON

Paul Robinson's *Russian Conservatism* examines the history of Russian conservative thought from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the present. As he shows, conservatism has made an underappreciated contribution to Russian national identity, to the ideology of Russian statehood, and to Russia's social-economic development. Robinson charts the contributions made by philosophers, politicians, and others during the Imperial, Soviet, and post-Soviet periods. Looking at cultural, political, and social-economic conservatism in Russia, he discusses ideas and issues of more than historical interest. Indeed, what *Russian Conservatism* demonstrates is that such ideas are helpful in interpreting Russia's present as well as its past and will be influential in shaping Russia's future, for better or for worse, in the years to come.

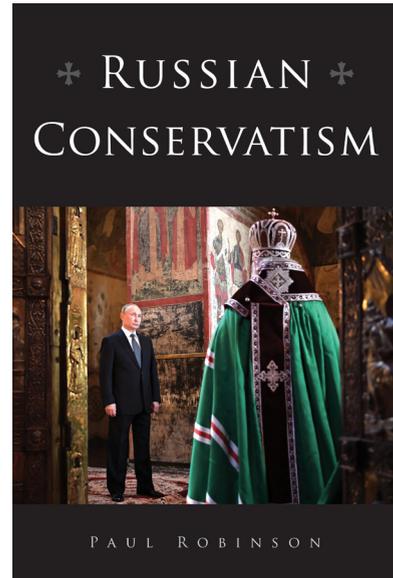
For the past two centuries Russian conservatives have sought to adapt to the pressures of modernization and westernization and, more recently, globalization, while preserving national identity and political and social stability. Through Robinson's research we can now understand how Russian conservatives have continually proposed forms of cultural, political, and economic development seen as building on existing traditions, identity, forms of government, and economic and social life, rather than being imposed on the basis of abstract theory and foreign models.

PAUL ROBINSON is Professor of Public and International Affairs at the University of Ottawa. He is author and editor of numerous works on Russian and Soviet history, including *Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaevich, Supreme Commander of the Russian Army*, which won the Society for Military History's distinguished book award for biography.

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"Defining Russian conservatism is a bit like putting a jellyfish into a box, and Robinson offers an absolutely scrupulous dissection of its manifestations from 1800 to 2017. He concludes that Russian conservatism is about much more than the reactionary nationalism to which it is very often reduced; in fact, it comprises quite varied ideas about how to achieve managed, organic change and reform, while drawing on and preserving Russian culture and tradition."—*Times Literary Supplement*

"Professor Robinson writes fluidly and engagingly about his topic; *Russian Conservatism* is a magisterial work, and a must-read for students of Russia's past as well as those of her present, and certainly those eager to divine her future."—*New Books Network*

"Russia watchers tend to focus on Putin's authoritarianism and expansionist sphere-of-influence projects. But Robinson argues that Russian conservatism requires increased scholarly attention because it has become a salient aspect of post-communist Russia. Among this book's notable contributions are ideational cameos of little-known Russian conservative thinkers."—*Choice*



DEMOCRACY FOR SALE

ELECTIONS, CLIENTELISM,
AND THE STATE IN INDONESIA

EDWARD ASPINALL AND WARD BERENSCHOT



Special Duty

A History of the Japanese Intelligence Community

RICHARD J. SAMUELS

FOREIGN AFFAIRS "OUTSTANDING NEW BOOK"

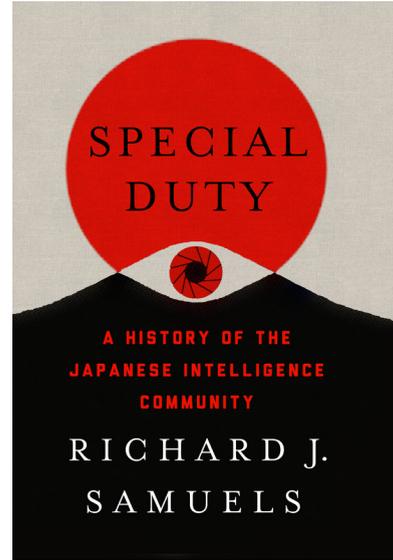
The prewar history of the Japanese intelligence community demonstrates how having power over much, but insight into little can have devastating consequences. Its postwar history—one of limited Japanese power despite growing insight—has also been problematic for national security.

In *Special Duty* Richard J. Samuels dissects the fascinating history of the intelligence community in Japan. Looking at the impact of shifts in the strategic environment, technological change, and past failures, he probes the reasons why Japan has endured such a roller-coaster ride when it comes to intelligence gathering and analysis, and concludes that the ups and downs of the past century—combined with growing uncertainties in the regional security environment—have convinced Japanese leaders of the critical importance of striking balance between power and insight. Using examples of excessive hubris and debilitating bureaucratic competition before the Asia-Pacific War, the unavoidable dependence on US assets and popular sensitivity to security issues after World War II, and the tardy adoption of image-processing and cyber technologies, Samuels' bold book highlights the century-long history of Japan's struggles to develop a fully functioning and effective intelligence capability, and makes clear that Japanese leaders have begun to reinvent their nation's intelligence community.

RICHARD J. SAMUELS is Ford International Professor of Political Science and Director of the Center for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Einstein Visiting Fellow at the Free University of Berlin. His books have won prizes from the American Political Science Association, the Association for Asian Studies, and the Society for Italian Historical Studies. His most recent book is 3.11. Follow him on Twitter @dicksamuelsMIT.

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384 pages, 6 x 9, 22 b&w halftones, 5 b&w line drawings



"Focusing on intelligence gathering by the modern Japanese state from 1895, the author's insights into pre-war "hubris and debilitating bureaucratic competition" and postwar reliance on the US will attract fans of both geopolitical and military history."—*Japan Times*

"This engrossing history of Japanese intelligence demonstrates how such changes have made Japan a better security partner for the United States while preparing the country to stand on its own if the US security guarantee loses its credibility."—*Foreign Affairs*

"A thorough, and thoroughly alarming, treatment of the subject matter, this book is a valuable contribution to the study of intelligence."—*Choice*

"Samuels takes on on the bumpy and at times wacky of journey of Japanese intelligence. [It] provides an excellent, exhaustive insight into that which has gone before, and poses some unsettling questions as to the way forward. It is, indeed, a timely book of great value to policy makers, scholars, and students."—*Journal of Military History*



Yellow Star, Red Star

Holocaust Remembrance after Communism

JELENA SUBOTIC

WINNER OF THE ROBERT JERVIS AND PAUL SCHROEDER BEST BOOK AWARD

WINNER OF THE JOSEPH ROTHSCHILD PRIZE IN NATIONALISM AND ETHNIC STUDIES

WINNER OF THE BEST BOOK AWARD IN EUROPEAN POLITICS AND SOCIETY

Yellow Star, Red Star asks why Holocaust memory continues to be so deeply troubled—ignored, appropriated, and obfuscated—throughout Eastern Europe, even though it was in those lands that most of the extermination campaign occurred. As part of accession to the European Union, Jelena Subotic shows, East European states were required to adopt, participate in, and contribute to the established Western narrative of the Holocaust. This requirement created anxiety and resentment in post-communist states: Holocaust memory replaced communist terror as the dominant narrative in Eastern Europe, focusing instead on predominantly Jewish suffering in World War II. Influencing the European Union's own memory politics and legislation in the process, post-communist states have attempted to reconcile these two memories by pursuing new strategies of Holocaust remembrance. The memory, symbols, and imagery of the Holocaust have been appropriated to represent crimes of communism.

Yellow Star, Red Star presents in-depth accounts of Holocaust remembrance practices in Serbia, Croatia, and Lithuania, and extends the discussion to other East European states. The book demonstrates how countries of the region used Holocaust remembrance as a political strategy to resolve their contemporary "ontological insecurities"—insecurities about their identities, about their international status, and about their relationships with other international actors. As Subotic concludes, Holocaust memory in Eastern Europe has never been about the Holocaust or about the desire to remember the past, whether during communism or in its aftermath. Rather, it has been about managing national identities in a precarious and uncertain world.

JELENA SUBOTIC is Professor of Political Science at Georgia State University in Atlanta. She is the author of *Hijacked Justice* and numerous scholarly articles.



\$29.95 hardcover | \$14.99 ebook
264 pages, 6 x 9, 8 b&w halftones, 3 maps



"*Yellow Star, Red Star* approaches Holocaust studies from a post-Communist perspective and is an important contribution to the historical canon."—*Foreword*

"Jelena Subotic has written a fine, compelling and angry book. In *Yellow Star, Red Star*, she argues that Holocaust history in post-Communist countries has been ignored, subverted, adapted, adopted and misused and, in the two Balkan countries, used as a prop for creating post-Yugoslav national identities."—*Financial Times*

"The complicated politics of memory and commemoration regarding the Holocaust in post-communist Eastern Europe is the subject of Subotic's thoughtful analysis... Disturbing in its implications, this well-written and reasoned work is required reading for those studying history and memory."—*Choice*

"*Yellow Star, Red Star* is an excellent, in-depth analysis of current political processes afflicting postcommunist Holocaust memory."—*H-Net: Humanities and Social Sciences*

Fighting for Virtue

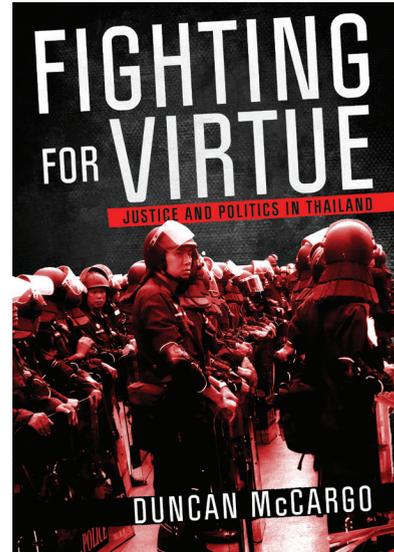
Justice and Politics in Thailand

DUNCAN McCARGO

Fighting for Virtue investigates how Thailand's judges were tasked by the late King Bhumibol Adulyadej (Rama IX) in 2006 with helping to solve the country's intractable political problems—and what happened next. Across the last decade of Rama IX's rule, Duncan McCargo examines the world of Thai judges: how they were recruited, trained, and promoted, and how they were socialized into a conservative world view that emphasized the proximity between the judiciary and the monarchy.

McCargo delves into three pivotal freedom of expression cases that illuminate Thai legal and cultural understandings of sedition and treason, before examining the ways in which accusations of disloyalty made against controversial former prime minister Thaksin Shinawatra came to occupy a central place in the political life of a deeply polarized nation. The author navigates the highly contentious role of the Constitutional Court as a key player in overseeing and regulating Thailand's political order before concluding with reflections on the significance of the Bhumibol era of "judicialization" in Thailand. In the end, posits McCargo, under a new king, who appears far less reluctant to assert his own power and authority, the Thai courts may now assume somewhat less significance as a tool of the monarchical network.

DUNCAN McCARGO is Director of the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies and Professor of Political science at the University of Copenhagen. He is author of *Tearing Apart the Land*, which won the inaugural Bernard Schwartz Book Prize from the Asia Society in 2009.



"This is an original, heavily researched, fascinating, highly readable, and ultimately frightening book."—*Bangkok Post*

"*Fighting for Virtue* is quite detailed and rich, and will appeal to anyone interested in Thai politics. It should be assigned reading in courses on Thai politics, Southeast Asian comparative politics, and law courses."—Thak Chaloeontiarana, author of *Read Till It Shatters*

"*Fighting for Virtue* reflects Duncan McCargo's important and long recognized ability to identify matters of great salience and to interpret them in ways that have a lasting impact on the study of contemporary Thailand."—Michael J. Montesano, ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore

STUDIES OF THE WEATHERHEAD EAST ASIAN INSTITUTE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

\$42.95 hardcover | \$20.99 ebook

282 pages, 6 x 9, 12 b&w photos, 1 b&w line drawing

Strategies for Governing

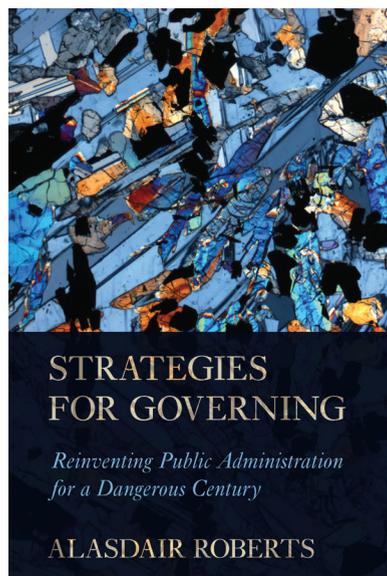
Reinventing Public Administration for a Dangerous Century

ALASDAIR ROBERTS

With the fields of public administration and public management suffering a crisis of relevance, Alasdair Roberts offers a provocative assessment of their shortfalls. The two fields, he finds, no longer address urgent questions of governance in a turbulent and dangerous world. *Strategies for Governing* offers a new path forward for research, teaching, and practice. Leaders of states, Roberts writes, are constantly reinventing strategies for governing. Experts in public administration must give advice on the design as well as execution of strategies that effective, robust, and principled. *Strategies for Governing* challenges us to reinvigorate public administration and public management, preparing the fields for the challenges of the twenty-first century.

ALASDAIR ROBERTS is Director of the School of Public Policy and Professor of Political Science and Public Policy at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. He is author of *America's First Great Depression* and *The End of Protest*. Follow him on Twitter @alasdairroberts.

\$25.95 paperback | \$12.99 ebook
210 pages, 6 x 9



"Alasdair Roberts is one of the most thoughtful scholars working in public administration today, and *Strategies for Governing* is an important and challenging book. It will be an instant classic—a must-read for established researchers and budding scholars."—Donald F. Kettl, University of Texas at Austin, author of *The Politics of the Administrative Process, 7th Edition*

"Just in time, Alasdair Roberts makes a provocative argument urging public administration to return to basics! *Strategies for Governing* rediscovers the field's roots and describes a conceptual and practical route back to relevance in public life."—Mary E. Guy, University of Colorado—Denver, author of *Essentials of Public Service*

"*Strategies for Governing* is a remarkable book that calls for a reinvigoration of public administration research and debate about the overall priorities and structure of our public administration systems. Roberts asks us to think about designing macro governing strategies for the grand challenges we will face over the next decade and beyond."—Evert Lindquist, University of Victoria

GREAT FOR CLASSROOM USE

Bestseller

Warlord Survival

The Delusion of State Building in Afghanistan

ROMAIN MALEJACQ

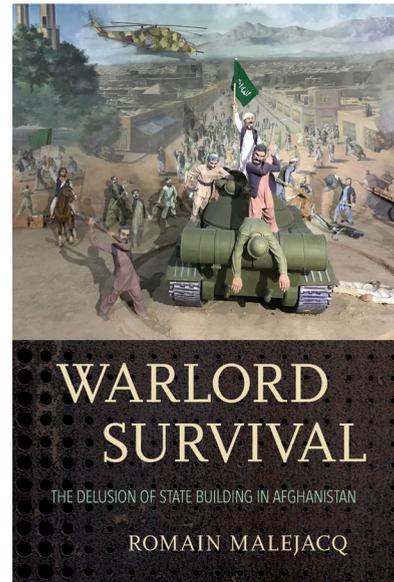
How do warlords survive and even thrive in contexts that are explicitly set up to undermine them? How do they rise after each fall? *Warlord Survival* answers these questions. Drawing on hundreds of in-depth interviews in Afghanistan between 2007 and 2018, with ministers, governors, a former vice-president, warlords and their entourages, opposition leaders, diplomats, NGO workers, and local journalists and researchers, Romain Malejacq provides a full investigation of how warlords adapt and explains why weak states like Afghanistan allow it to happen.

Malejacq follows the careers of four warlords in Herat, Sheberghan, and Panjshir—Ismail Khan, Abdul Rashid Dostum, Ahmad Shah Massoud, and Mohammad Qasim Fahim). He shows how they have successfully negotiated complicated political environments to survive ever since the beginning of the Soviet-Afghan war. The picture he paints in *Warlord Survival* is one of astute political entrepreneurs with a proven ability to organize violence. Warlords exert authority through a process in which they combine, instrumentalize, and convert different forms of power to prevent the emergence of a strong, centralized state. But, as Malejacq shows, the personal relationships and networks fundamental to the authority of Ismail Khan, Dostum, Massoud, and Fahim are not necessarily contrary to bureaucratic state authority. In fact, these four warlords, and others like them, offer durable and flexible forms of power in unstable, violent countries.

ROMAIN MALEJACQ is Assistant Professor at the Centre for International Conflict Analysis & Management at Radboud University Nijmegen. Follow him on Twitter @afghanopoly.

\$39.95 hardcover | \$19.99 ebook

256 pages, 6 x 9, 10 b&w halftones, 2 maps



“Warlord Survival is given heft by the richness of the data, the care with which the data has been curated, and the way in which it has been combined with potent sociological insights. This book will acquire a cherished place on the bookshelves of security and development professionals.”—Jesse Driscoll, University of California, San Diego, author of Warlords and Coalition Politics in Post-Soviet States

“Romain Malejacq has written an excellent study of considerable importance, sophisticated and accessible. It significantly advances our understanding of the problems that international actors have encountered in trying to promote new political structures in Afghanistan since 2001.”—William Maley, Australian National University, author of Transition in Afghanistan

NUCLEAR WARFARE: THE DECISION TO MAKE IT WORSE

Jonathan L. Schilling

The dangers of a possible nuclear conflict with North Korea were brought home by a false incoming missile alert in Hawaii two years ago, which left islanders terrified and unsure of what to do. A recent survey found that more than half of the world's millennials believe that a nuclear attack of some kind will take place during this decade. And just a few days ago the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists moved its famous Doomsday Clock to 100 seconds to midnight, the closest setting to apocalypse it has ever had. This action reflected not just the ever-present possibility of nuclear warfare, but also the urgent crisis of climate change, as well as the looming emergence of disruptive technologies, such as cyber warfare, artificial intelligence, and genetic engineering, each with the potential to undermine society and destabilize international relations.

Fears about nuclear warfare were at their greatest when the Soviet Union still existed. Depending upon one's age and perspective, the Cold War may seem a still tangible presence, a receding memory, or something only read or heard about. But seventy years ago this week, on 31 January 1950, President Harry S. Truman made a momentous decision that capped five months of intense debate within the United States government, military, and scientific establishments.

Truman decided that development would proceed with the hydrogen bomb, a weapon with a destructive power 1,000 times greater than that of the atomic bombs that had been used against Japan at the close of World War II. Those first weapons had been terrible enough, but thermonuclear devices presented for the first time the real possibility that much of human civilization might be annihilated in a full-scale war. Indeed when the hydrogen bomb did go forward, and both the United States and the Soviet Union staged successful above-ground tests of it, the Bulletin moved the hands of the Doomsday Clock to two minutes before midnight, the closest setting to catastrophe it would ever reach during the Cold War.

Who argued for and against the H-bomb decision? What were their expectations, hopes, and fears regarding the policies of the United States and the Soviet Union? How did they approach making a decision as monumental as going ahead with what is still history's most terrifying and destructive weapon?

Those involved included Secretary of State Dean Acheson, State Department policy experts George Kennan and Paul Nitze; Army generals Leslie Groves and James "Jumpin' Jim" Gavin; Atomic Energy Commission chairman David Lilienthal and commission members Henry Smyth and Lewis Strauss; physicists J. Robert Oppenheimer, Edward Teller, Luis Alvarez, Isidor Isaac Rabi, and

Hans Bethe; and Member of Congress Henry "Scoop" Jackson and controversial congressional aide William Borden. Despite the high regard with which many (if not all) of these people are held in history, the debate among them quickly became marked by the effects of bureaucratic confusion, distortion, complexity, secrecy, isolation, intensity, and bitterness.

Super Bomb tells the story of how Truman's decision came to be. The story behind the book begins in the mid-1950s, when Warner R. Schilling, then a 31-year-old assistant professor at Columbia University's Institute of War and Peace Studies, interviewed 66 key participants in the H-bomb decision, including all of the individuals mentioned above, in an effort to reconstruct not just what happened but what factors brought it about. Schilling was remarkably successful in his ability to get these interviews, some of which were conducted a second or third time. Lilienthal told him at one point, "You are a persistent young man," while Rabi believed Schilling to be a lawyer due to his highly developed cross-examination technique.

Unfortunately, Schilling was never able to write the book he intended on the subject. After his death in 2013, the project was picked up by Ken Young, a historian of the early Cold War period at King's College, London. Young used Schilling's heretofore unseen interviews, along with other recently available archival material, to write a narrative that explores the organizational fault lines underlying the 1949–50 debate, and then to extend the story several years past that point.

Because the opponents of H-bomb development did not give up after Truman made his decision in 1950, but rather carried on their resistance in the course of disputes over tactical nuclear weapons, continental air defense, and other aspects of US defense policy. Young establishes that much of the opposition to the H-bomb was actually a proxy battle over the morality of targeting large civilian populations as part of strategic bombardment, and over the growing role of the Strategic Air Command in American military policy.

Very sadly, Ken Young passed away last year. But the questions raised by this work, set at the juncture of government and science, military and morality, remain today. Given the nature of the Soviet Union, the H-bomb decision was not an easy one then, and not all of the issues invoked by the Doomsday Clock's latest tick-tock have a clear answer today. Nonetheless, it is fair to ask now, just as the people on the losing side of the H-bomb debate did 70 years ago, whether the world is willing to stop and take note of where it is going, and potentially take a very different path.

Super Bomb

Organizational Conflict and the Development of the Hydrogen Bomb

KEN YOUNG AND WARNER R. SCHILLING

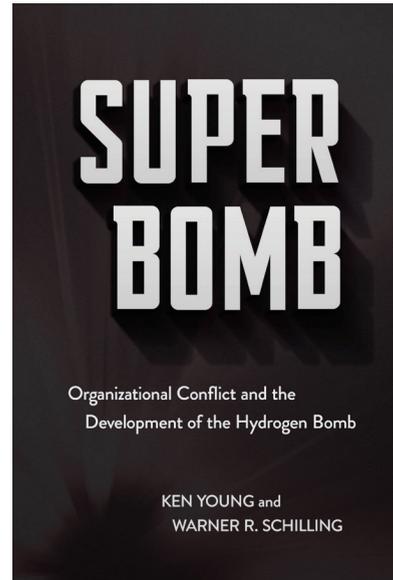
Super Bomb unveils the story of the events leading up to President Harry S. Truman's 1950 decision to develop a "super," or hydrogen, bomb. That fateful decision and its immediate consequences are detailed in a diverse and complete account built on newly released archives and previously hidden contemporaneous interviews with more than sixty political, military, and scientific figures who were involved in the decision.

Ken Young and Warner R. Schilling present the expectations, hopes, and fears of the key individuals who lobbied for and against developing the H-bomb. They portray the conflicts that arose over the H-bomb as rooted in the distinct interests of the Atomic Energy Commission, the Los Alamos laboratory, the Pentagon and State Department, the Congress, and the White House. But as they clearly show, once Truman made his decision in 1950, resistance to the H-bomb opportunistically shifted to new debates about the development of tactical nuclear weapons, continental air defense, and other aspects of nuclear weapons policy. What *Super Bomb* reveals is that in many ways the H-bomb struggle was a proxy battle over the morality and effectiveness of strategic bombardment and the role and doctrine of the US Strategic Air Command.

The late **KEN YOUNG** was Professor of Public Policy at King's College, London. He was a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and the Academy of Social Sciences and the author of *The American Bomb in Britain*. The late **WARNER R. SCHILLING** was James T. Shotwell Professor of International Relations Emeritus at Columbia University, where he taught for six decades and served as director of Columbia's Institute of War and Peace Studies. He published books and articles on civil-military relations, military technology, nuclear strategy, and the role of science in foreign policy.

CORNELL STUDIES IN SECURITY AFFAIRS

\$39.95 hardcover | \$19.99 ebook
240 pages, 6 x 9, 1 b&w line drawing



"Super Bomb brings new evidence to bear on an important historical issue and engages in detail with the existing scholarship. This is a work of high quality."—David Holloway, Stanford University, author of *Stalin and the Bomb*

"Super Bomb portrays conflicts that arose as rooted in the distinct interests of several institutions through whose channels politics flowed, resulting in a truly bravura performance, providing both generalists and specialists a better understanding of the world in which we live."—Joseph M. Siracusa, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology University

Bestseller

Empire's Labor

The Global Army That Supports U.S. Wars

ADAM MOORE

WINNER OF THE GLOBE BOOK AWARD FOR PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING OF GEOGRAPHY

In a dramatic unveiling of the little-known world of contracted military logistics, Adam Moore examines the lives of the global army of laborers who support US overseas wars. *Empire's Labor* brings us the experience of the hundreds of thousands of men and women who perform jobs such as truck drivers and administrative assistants at bases located in warzones in the Middle East and Africa. He highlights the changes the US military has undergone since the Vietnam War, when the ratio of contractors to uniformed personnel was roughly 1:6. In Afghanistan it has been as high as 4:1. This growth in logistics contracting represents a fundamental change in how the US fights wars, with the military now dependent on a huge pool of contractors recruited from around the world. It also, Moore demonstrates, has social, economic, and political implications that extend well beyond the battlefields.

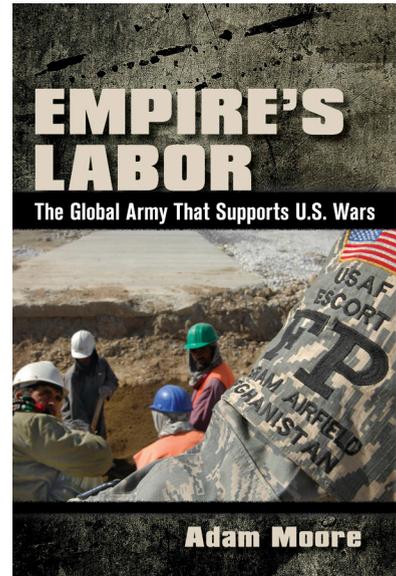
Focusing on workers from the Philippines and Bosnia, two major sources of "third country national" (TCN) military labor, Moore explains the rise of large-scale logistics outsourcing since the end of the Cold War; describes the networks, infrastructures, and practices that span the spaces through which people, information, and goods circulate; and reveals the experiences of foreign workers, from the hidden dynamics of labor activism on bases, to the economic and social impacts these jobs have on their families and the communities they hail from. Through his extensive fieldwork and interviews, Moore gives voice to the agency and aspirations of the many thousands of foreigners who labor for the US military.

Thanks to generous funding from UCLA and its participation in TOME (Toward an Open Monograph Ecosystem), the ebook editions of this book are available as Open Access volumes from Cornell Open (cornellopen.org) and other repositories.

ADAM MOORE is Associate Professor in the Department of Geography at the University of California, Los Angeles. He is author of *Peacebuilding in Practice*. Follow him on Twitter @ConflictGeo.

\$19.95 paperback | \$0.00 ebook

264 pages, 6 x 9, 3 b&w halftones, 6 maps, 3 charts



"Adam Moore has undertaken detailed research, including interviews with workers, to explore the labor force buttressing the US military. He traces patterns of recruitment, finds evidence of exploitative and discriminatory labor practices, and explores how the military's recruitment of legions of workers affects their countries of origin."—*Foreign Affairs*

"*Empire's Labor* is a beautifully written, essential book exposing the labor and labor exploitation underpinning the military industrial complex, US empire, and the corporations fueling permanent war."—David Vine, Professor of Anthropology, American University, author of *Base Nation*

"Based in intensive on-the-ground research, this rich and remarkable book gives us a new way to understand the current everywhere war through the lens of the contract labor and migrations from poor countries that makes it possible. Acutely analyzed, Moore's book will be a foundational text for understanding contemporary war and providing insight into labor's pushback."—Catherine Lutz, Brown University, author of *The Bases of Empire*

GREAT FOR CLASSROOM USE

Labor in the Time of Trump

EDITED BY JASMINE KERRISSEY, EVE WEINBAUM,
CLARE HAMMONDS, TOM JURAVICH, AND DAN
CLAWSON

Labor in the Time of Trump critically analyzes the right-wing attack on workers and unions and offers strategies to build a working-class movement.

While President Trump's election in 2016 may have been a wakeup call for labor and the Left, the underlying processes behind this shift to the right have been building for at least forty years. The contributors show that only by analyzing the vulnerabilities in the right-wing strategy can the labor movement develop an effective response.

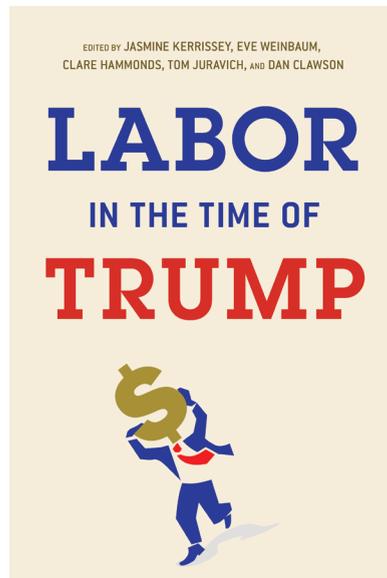
Essays in the volume examine the conservative upsurge, explore key challenges the labor movement faces today, and draw lessons from recent activist successes.

The editors of this book are faculty members of the Labor Center and Sociology Department at the University of Massachusetts Amherst. Combined, they have dozens of books and articles that analyze the labor movement, work, and politics. They regularly work with unions and worker centers, and they teach graduate courses in labor studies, economics, history, organizing, and union campaigns.

Contributors: Donald Cohen, founder and executive director of In the Public Interest; Bill Fletcher, Jr., author of *Solidarity Divided*; Shannon Gleeson, Cornell University School of Industrial and Labor Relations; Sarah Jaffe, co-host of *Dissent Magazine's* Belabored podcast; Cedric Johnson, University of Illinois at Chicago; Jennifer Klein, Yale University; Gordon Lafer, University of Oregon's Labor Education and Research Center; Jose La Luz, labor activist and public intellectual; Nancy MacLean, Duke University; MaryBe McMillan, President of the North Carolina state AFL-CIO; Jon Shelton, University of Wisconsin, Green Bay; Lara Skinner, The Worker Institute at Cornell University; Kyle Walters, Sonoma State University

ILR PRESS

\$24.95 paperback | \$11.99 ebook
270 pages, 6 x 9



"This volume offers a timely, needed, and original set of interpretations of the political moment in which we live. The emphasis here is not on theoretical debates but rather on practical political analysis and the construction of alternatives."—Nik Theodore, University of Illinois at Chicago

"*Labor in the Time of Trump* is a fascinating collection of essays that make an important contribution to our understanding of the contemporary labor movement. Timely and exciting, it is well suited for the undergraduate classroom as well as training for workers."—Carolina Bank-Munoz, Brooklyn College, author of *Building Power From Below*

"*Labor in the Time of Trump* is a must-read. It makes clear that labor's role is crucial in a time when workers and our institutions are under attack. Analyzing the current anti-worker, anti-union environment and how the Right brought us to this point, the book pivots to the opportunities we have for making a new, more progressive world. A better world is possible."—Sara Nelson, International President of the Association of Flight Attendants-CWA, AFL-CIO

GREAT FOR CLASSROOM USE

CONSTRUCTING ALLIED COOPERATION: THE US-KURDISH CASE

Marina E. Henke

In the fight against the Islamic State (IS), Kurdish forces in Syria and Iraq were America's most important coalition partner. Still only weeks ago, US and Kurdish forces had been conducting as many as a dozen counterterrorism missions a day. Some 11,000 Kurdish soldiers died in the US-led ground campaign since 2014. The sudden US withdrawal from Syria put a hold to these cooperation efforts. Moreover, the Turkish offensive against the Kurdish Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) may result in serious harm to the Kurdish population in Syria. Many even warn that Turkey may commit acts of ethnic cleansing.

President Trump thus far does not seem too bothered by these developments. "They didn't help us with Normandy," he asserted on October 9 during a press conference. "They were there [in the fight against IS], but they're there to help us with their land. And that's a different thing." Relatedly, President Trump did not appear to be worried when asked whether the US desertion of the Kurds would make the construction of future US coalitions in the region more difficult. "No, it won't be. It won't be at all. Alliances are very easy," Trump responded.

My book largely contradicts President Trump's perspective.

My findings do suggest that many coalitions are the result of transactions. These practices date back to the Korean War, when Turkey, Greece, Thailand, Ethiopia, Colombia, the Philippines, South Africa, Greece, Australia and New Zealand received coalition compensation payments. During the Gulf War, the US government was able to convince other countries (i.e., Germany, Japan, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia) to pay for these payment packages. Overall, the United States collected more than \$16 billion to be distributed to coalition members. More recently, the US government spent roughly \$9.4 billion on coalition partners serving in NATO's International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan from 2010 to 2015. The Kurdish forces in Syria have received similar types of financial and military aid, for example, via the Counter-Islamic State in Iraq and Syria Train and Equip Fund.

My research, however, shows that these allied payments almost never occur in a political vacuum. US governments show a very strong desire to provide these payments to governments that they are diplomatically

embedded with (i.e., where tight, good and plentiful political connections exist). In other words, the US government strongly prefers to pay its friends than random strangers. Why? These networks provide an insurance policy: coalition partners might be tempted to pocket the cash or other incentives and then limit the coalition commitment to the absolute minimum. Such behavior is feasible for two reasons.

First, it is hard for the United States to observe what is going on in the deployment theater at all times and places.

Second, the United States faces punishment challenges, especially in environments in which coalition participants are scarce. Networks reduce these credible commitment problems to a certain degree: they increase the range of possible "retaliatory linkage" opportunities and thus maximize the costs of renegeing on an agreement; they can also build affection and friendship leading to compliance.

These findings have a direct impact on the current situation in Syria.

First, the abandonment of the Kurds in Syria will destroy social and political networks that have been cultivated over the past decade and enabled successful cooperation against the Islamic State. By abandoning the Kurds—moral reasons aside—the United States is throwing away these decade-long investments. What is more, memories of US abandonment will make it arguably impossible to ever reactivate those networks in future times.

Second, the United States does not possess any equivalent networks with any partner now operating in the region—thus putting in doubt President Trump's claim that the construction of alliances is "very easy"—at least those that lead to successful cooperation.

President Trump appears determined to leave Syria—though a complete abandonment is realistically impossible. Future coalition-building will thus without a doubt suffer the consequences of current US actions.

Bestseller

Constructing Allied Cooperation

Diplomacy, Payments, and Power in
Multilateral Military Coalitions

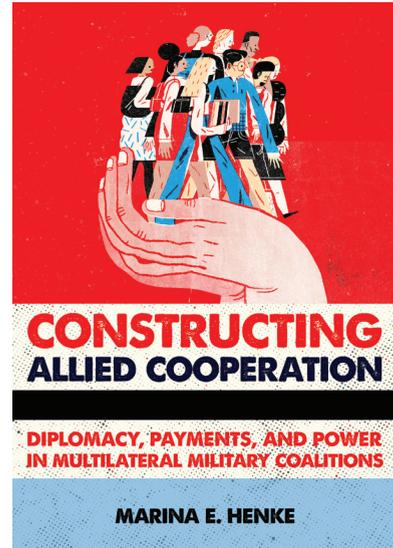
MARINA E. HENKE

How do states overcome problems of collective action in the face of human atrocities, terrorism and the threat of weapons of mass destruction? How does international burden-sharing in this context look like: between the rich and the poor; the big and the small? These are the questions Marina E. Henke addresses in her new book *Constructing Allied Cooperation*. Through qualitative and quantitative analysis of 80 multilateral military coalitions, Henke demonstrates that coalitions do not emerge naturally. Rather, pivotal states deliberately build them. They develop operational plans and bargain suitable third parties into the coalition, purposefully using their bilateral and multilateral diplomatic connections—what Henke terms *diplomatic embeddedness*—as a resource. As *Constructing Allied Cooperation* shows, these ties constitute an invaluable state capability to engage others in collective action: they are tools to construct cooperation.

The theory and evidence presented by Henke force us to revisit the conventional wisdom on how cooperation in multilateral military operations comes about. The author generates new insights with respect to who is most likely to join a given multilateral intervention, what factors influence the strength and capacity of individual coalitions, and what diplomacy and diplomatic ties are good for. Moreover, as the Trump administration promotes an "America First" policy and withdraws from international agreements and the United Kingdom completes Brexit, *Constructing Allied Cooperation* is an important reminder that international security cannot be delinked from more mundane forms of cooperation; multilateral military coalitions thrive or fail depending on the breadth and depth of existing social and diplomatic networks.

MARINA E. HENKE is Assistant Professor of International Relations and the Co-Chair of the War & Society Working Group at Northwestern University.

\$47.95 hardcover | \$23.99 ebook
258 pages, 6 x 9, 3 b&w line drawings, 4 charts



"The impressive study provides one of the best efforts yet to understand how and why states have built coalitions to pursue military operations . . . Henke demonstrates the importance of diplomacy and leadership in building a successful coalition."—*Foreign Affairs*

"If you wish to understand the inner workings of coalition creation, this is the book for you. At a time when the Department of State has been devalued, this book helps to demonstrate exactly when maintaining a deep and extensive diplomatic staff around the globe is of keen US national security interest."—*H-Net*

"Henke opens with her theoretical argument, then launches into a quantitative analysis of 80 multilateral military coalitions. These richly detailed case studies enliven this innovative, interesting, and convincing book, which serves not only as a scholarly work but as a manual for would-be pivotal states on constructing a multilateral military coalition"—*Choice*

Arguing about Alliances

The Art of Agreement in Military-Pact Negotiations

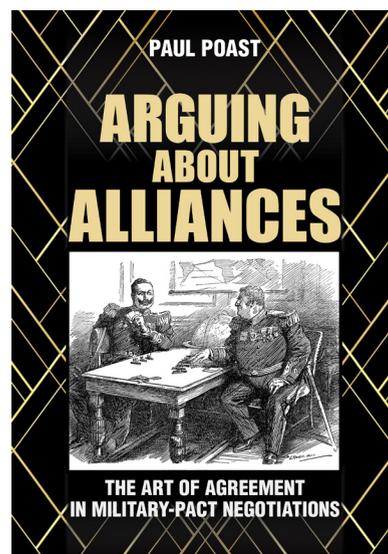
PAUL POAST

Why do some attempts to conclude alliance treaties end in failure? From the inability of European powers to form an alliance that would stop Hitler in the 1930s, to the present inability of Ukraine to join NATO, states frequently attempt but fail to form alliance treaties. In *Arguing about Alliances*, Paul Poast sheds new light on the purpose of alliance treaties by recognizing that such treaties come from negotiations, and that negotiations can end in failure.

In a book that bridges Stephen Walt's *Origins of Alliance* and Glenn Snyder's *Alliance Politics*, two classic works on alliances, Poast identifies two conditions that result in non-agreement: major incompatibilities in the internal war plans of the participants, and attractive alternatives to a negotiated agreement for various parties to the negotiations. As a result, *Arguing about Alliances* focuses on a group of states largely ignored by scholars: states that have attempted to form alliance treaties but failed. Poast suggests that to explain the outcomes of negotiations, specifically how they can end without agreement, we must pay particular attention to the wartime planning and coordinating functions of alliance treaties. Through his exploration of the outcomes of negotiations from European alliance negotiations between 1815 and 1945, Poast offers a typology of alliance treaty negotiations and establishes what conditions are most likely to stymie the attempt to formalize recognition of common national interests.

PAUL POAST is Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Chicago. He is author of *The Economics of War* and co-author of *Organizing Democracy*. Follow him on Twitter @ProfPaulPoast.

\$49.95 hardcover | \$24.99 ebook
258 pages, 6 x 9, 9 b&w line drawings, 3 maps, 3 charts



"There are plenty of studies of how countries negotiate military alliances. *Arguing about Alliances* is unique in that it examines failed negotiations and alliances that were not formed."—*Choice*

"This significant addition to existing theories on alliance formation. Poast's theory is plausible, his data and coding reasonable, and his selection of cases complements his quantitative analysis while offering interesting historical color to readers."—*Routledge Abes Administrator*

"*Arguing about Alliances* is a smart reimagining of a central problem in international relations—the origin of alliances. This book is not only an important theoretical and empirical contribution to the alliance and broader IR literature; it is also an example of how to conduct and communicate exhaustive, multimethod social science research."—*Defense Studies*

"This book is a notable and valuable contribution to the study of alliances."—*International Studies Review*

Bestseller

Tempting Fate

Why Nonnuclear States Confront Nuclear Opponents

PAUL C. AVEY

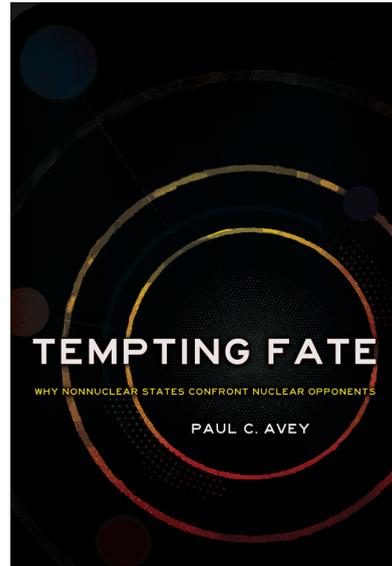
Why would countries without nuclear weapons even think about fighting nuclear-armed opponents? A simple answer is that no one believes nuclear weapons will be used. But that answer fails to consider why nonnuclear state leaders would believe that in the first place. In this superb unpacking of the dynamics of conflict under conditions of nuclear monopoly, Paul C. Avey argues that the costs and benefits of using nuclear weapons create openings that weak nonnuclear actors can exploit.

Tempting Fate uses four case studies to show the key strategies available to nonnuclear states: Iraqi decision-making under Saddam Hussein in confrontations with the United States; Egyptian leaders' thinking about the Israeli nuclear arsenal during wars in 1969–70 and 1973; Chinese confrontations with the United States in 1950, 1954, and 1958; and a dispute that never escalated to war, the Soviet-United States tensions between 1946 and 1948 that culminated in the Berlin Blockade. Those strategies include limiting the scope of the conflict, holding chemical and biological weapons in reserve, seeking outside support, and leveraging international non-use norms. Counterintuitively, conventionally weak nonnuclear states are better positioned to pursue these strategies than strong ones, so that wars are unlikely when the nonnuclear state is powerful relative to its nuclear opponent. Avey demonstrates clearly that nuclear weapons cast a definite but limited shadow, and while the world continues to face various nuclear challenges, understanding conflict in nuclear monopoly will remain a pressing concern for analysts and policymakers.

Thanks to generous funding from Virginia Tech and its participation in TOME (Toward an Open Monograph Ecosystem), the ebook editions of this book are available as Open Access (OA) volumes from Cornell Open (cornellopen.org) and other Open Access repositories.

CORNELL STUDIES IN SECURITY AFFAIRS

\$49.95 hardcover | \$0.00 ebook
252 pages, 6 x 9, 17 charts



"In *Tempting Fate*, Avey puts forth a simple but meaningful question: Why do states that do not have nuclear weapons pick fights with states that do? Avey's logic is sound and straightforward... this is a cogent and well-researched book."—*Choice*

"Nonnuclear countries sometimes attack states armed with nuclear weapons despite the belief that nuclear arsenals protect countries. *Tempting Fate* provides a thought-provoking explanation for why this happens, offers a significant contribution to our understanding of conflict dynamics in the shadow of nuclear weapons, and is required reading for anyone interested in nuclear deterrence."—Matthew Fuhrmann, Texas A&M University, author of *Atomic Assistance*

PAUL C. AVEY is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Virginia Tech.



Amoral Communities

Collective Crimes in Time of War

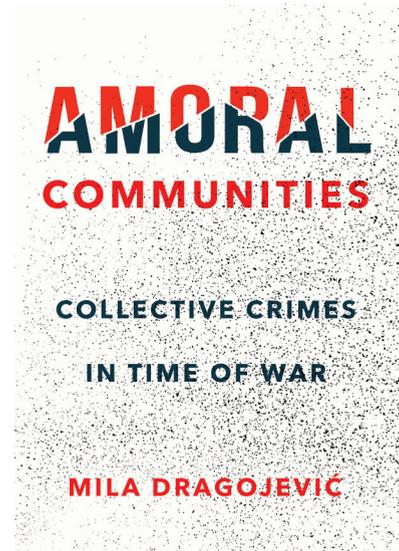
MILA DRAGOJEVIC

In *Amoral Communities*, Mila Dragojevic examines how conditions conducive to atrocities against civilians are created during wartime in some communities. She identifies the exclusion of moderates and the production of borders as the main processes. In these places, political and ethnic identities become linked and targeted violence against civilians becomes both tolerated and justified by the respective authorities as a necessary sacrifice for a greater political goal.

Dragojevic augments the literature on genocide and civil wars by demonstrating how violence can be used as a political strategy, and how communities, as well as individuals, remember episodes of violence against civilians. The communities on which she focuses are Croatia in the 1990s and Uganda and Guatemala in the 1980s. In each case Dragojevic considers how people who have lived peacefully as neighbors for many years are suddenly transformed into enemies, yet intracommunal violence is not ubiquitous throughout the conflict zone; rather, it is specific to particular regions or villages within those zones. Reporting on the varying wartime experiences of individuals, she adds depth, emotion, and objectivity to the historical and socioeconomic conditions that shaped each conflict.

Furthermore, as *Amoral Communities* describes, the exclusion of moderates and the production of borders limit individuals' freedom to express their views, work to prevent the possible defection of members of an in-group, and facilitate identification of individuals who are purportedly a threat. Even before mass killings begin, Dragojevic finds, these and similar changes will have transformed particular villages or regions into amoral communities, places where the definition of crime changes and violence is justified as a form of self-defense by perpetrators.

MILA DRAGOJEVIC is Associate Professor of Politics at the University of the South. She is author of *The Politics of Social Ties*.



"Mila Dragojević's book significantly contributes to our understanding of local-level violence, civil war and insurgencies, and the wars in Croatia and Bosnia."—V.P. Gagnon Jr., Ithaca College, author of the prize-winning book *The Myth of Ethnic War*

"*Amoral Communities* is methodologically innovative as it takes the respondents' understanding of violence seriously—not as a 'test' of preexisting deductive theory, but as an actual explanation. It is a wonderful contribution to the comparative study of ethnic violence."—Jelena Subotić, Georgia State University, author of *Yellow Star, Red Star*

\$45.00 hardcover | \$21.99 ebook
224 pages, 6 x 9, 7 b&w halftones, 2 maps

Rough Draft

Cold War Military Manpower Policy and the Origins of Vietnam-Era Draft Resistance

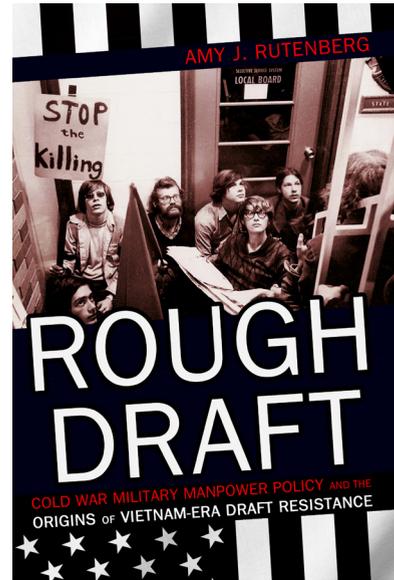
AMY J. RUTENBERG

Rough Draft draws the curtain on the race and class inequities of the Selective Service during the Vietnam War. Amy J. Rutenberg argues that policy makers' idealized conceptions of Cold War middle-class masculinity directly affected whom they targeted for conscription and also for deferment. Federal officials believed that college educated men could protect the nation from the threat of communism more effectively as civilians than as soldiers. The availability of deferments for this group mushroomed between 1945 and 1965, making it less and less likely that middle-class white men would serve in the Cold War army. Meanwhile, officials used the War on Poverty to target poorer and racialized men for conscription in the hopes that military service would offer them skills they could use in civilian life.

As Rutenberg shows, manpower policies between World War II and the Vietnam War had unintended consequences. While some men resisted military service in Vietnam for reasons of political conscience, most did so because manpower policies made it possible. By shielding middle-class breadwinners in the name of national security, policymakers militarized certain civilian roles—a move that, ironically, separated military service from the obligations of masculine citizenship and, ultimately, helped kill the draft in the United States.

AMY J. RUTENBERG is Assistant Professor of History at Iowa State University. Follow her on Twitter @amyjay401.

\$27.95 paperback | \$13.99 ebook
276 pages, 6 x 9, 10 b&w halftones

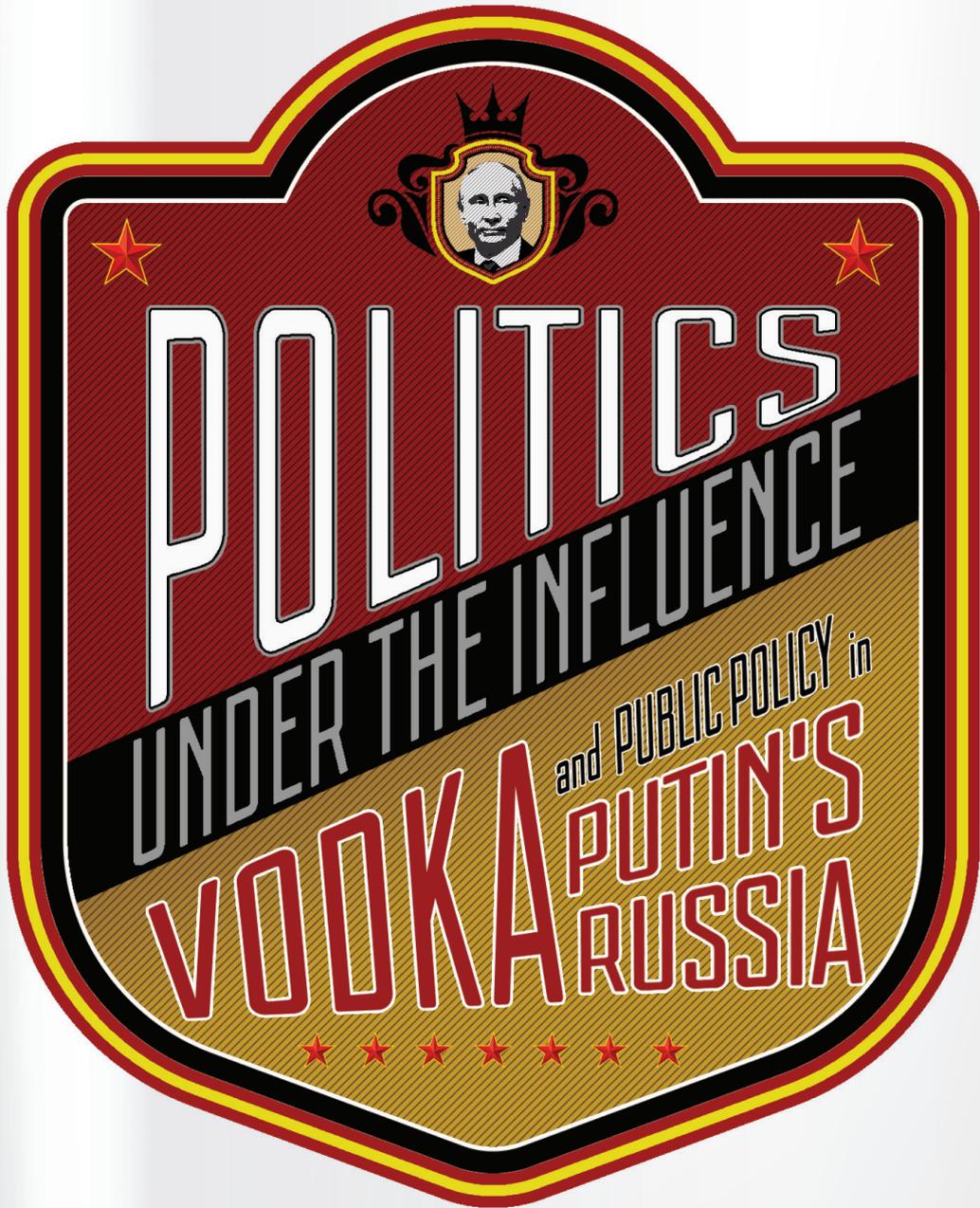


"This outstanding work by Amy Rutenberg surveys the Selective Service before the Vietnam War."—*Choice*

"Lively and accessible, *Rough Draft* challenges the conventional wisdom about Americans' commitment to military service, the motivations behind Vietnam-era draft resistance, and the construction of appropriate roles for men in post-World War II society. It will be read by armchair historians and students of military and gender studies alike."—Heather Stur, University of Southern Mississippi, author of *The US Military and Civil Rights Since World War II*

"A superb addition to any course evaluating the relationships between war and American society. Well-written and tightly argued, Rutenberg illuminates the problems of social mobilization into the armed forces during the Cold War era, all the while contesting the popular memory of the 'Greatest Generation.'"—Gregory A. Daddis, Chapman University, author of *Westmoreland's War*

GREAT FOR CLASSROOM USE



ANNA L. BAILEY

Rebel Politics

A Political Sociology of Armed Struggle in Myanmar's Borderlands

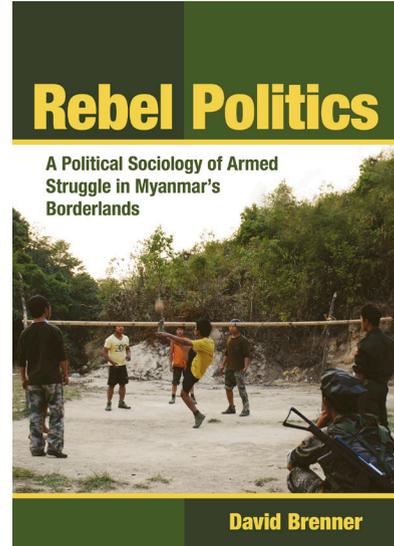
DAVID BRENNER

Rebel Politics analyzes the changing dynamics of the civil war in Myanmar, one of the most entrenched armed conflicts in the world. Since 2011, a national peace process has gone hand-in-hand with escalating ethnic conflict. The Karen National Union (KNU), previously known for its uncompromising stance against the central government of Myanmar, became a leader in the peace process after it signed a ceasefire in 2012. Meanwhile, the Kachin Independence Organization (KIO) returned to the trenches in 2011 after its own seventeen-year-long ceasefire broke down. To understand these puzzling changes, Brenner conducted ethnographic fieldwork among the KNU and KIO, analyzing the relations between rebel leaders, their rank-and-file, and local communities in the context of wider political and geopolitical transformations. Drawing on Political Sociology, *Rebel Politics* explains how revolutionary elites capture and lose legitimacy within their own movements and how these internal contestations drive the strategies of rebellion in unforeseen ways. Brenner presents a novel perspective that contributes to our understanding of contemporary politics in Southeast Asia, and to the study of conflict, peace and security, by highlighting the hidden social dynamics and everyday practices of political violence, ethnic conflict, rebel governance and borderland politics.

DAVID BRENNER is Lecturer in International Relations at Goldsmiths, University of London. Follow him on Twitter @DavBrenner.

SOUTHEAST ASIA PROGRAM PUBLICATIONS

\$24.95 paperback | \$11.99 ebook
162 pages, 7 x 10, 8 b&w halftones, 2 maps



"Rebel Politics is underpinned by years of extraordinary fieldwork, including unprecedented access to the leaders of some of Myanmar's ethnic-minority rebel groups. It is a pathbreaking book, essential reading not only for Myanmar-watchers but also anyone interested in insurgencies and state formation."—Lee Jones, Queen Mary University of London, author of *Societies Under Siege*

"David Brenner's book ought to be mandatory reading for any practitioner or academic interested in the issues of peacebuilding, conflict resolution, and borderlands development in Myanmar specifically, and in the country's social processes and politics more widely."—Karin Dean, Tallinn University

"Rebel Politics fills a void in contemporary Myanmar studies, setting a new standard in field research on the vital issues of ethnic conflict, peace-building and state transition. During a time of critical change, understanding of the political sociology of armed struggle is essential if the country is to achieve a lasting peace."—Martin Smith, author of *Burma*

GREAT FOR CLASSROOM USE

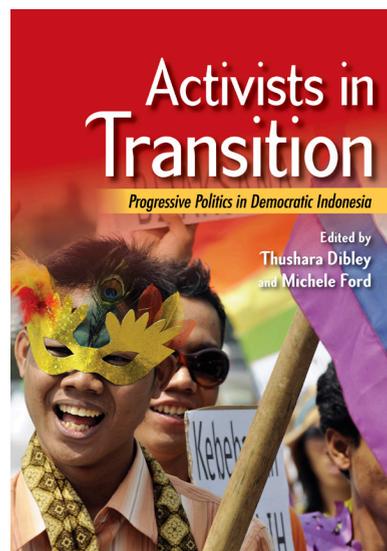
Activists in Transition

Progressive Politics in Democratic Indonesia

EDITED BY THUSHARA DIBLEY AND MICHELE FORD

Activists in Transition examines the relationship between social movements and democratization in Indonesia. Collectively, progressive social movements have played a critical role over in ensuring that different groups of citizens can engage directly in—and benefit from—the political process in a way that was not possible under authoritarianism. However, their individual roles have been different, with some playing a decisive role in the destabilization of the regime and others serving as bell-weepers of the advancement, or otherwise, of Indonesia's democracy in the decades since. Equally important, democratization has affected social movements differently depending on the form taken by each movement during the New Order period. The book assesses the contribution that nine progressive social movements have made to the democratization of Indonesia since the late 1980s, and how, in turn, each of those movements has been influenced by democratization.

THUSHARA DIBLEY is Lecturer in Asian Studies and Deputy Director of Sydney Southeast Asia Centre. Follow her on Twitter @thushdibley. **MICHELE FORD** is Professor of Southeast Asian Studies and Director of Sydney Southeast Asia Centre. Follow her on Twitter @MicheleSSEAC.



“Activists in Transition makes a strong contribution to the literature on political change in Indonesia—and Southeast Asia more broadly—in providing comprehensive and up-to-date information on the nature and fate of progressive politics in Indonesia.”—Jane Hutchison, Asia Research Centre, Murdoch University

“Each chapter is broadly historical, showing the long sweep of change over the forty years or so from the mid New Order to the present day. Activists in Transition is well documented, clearly structured, pleasingly written, and authoritative.”—Gerry van Klinken, KITLV and University of Amsterdam

SOUTHEAST ASIA PROGRAM PUBLICATIONS

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GREAT FOR CLASSROOM USE

Constitutional Dysfunction on Trial

Congressional Lawsuits and the Separation of Powers

JASMINE FARRIER

In an original assessment of all three branches, Jasmine Farrier reveals a new way in which the American federal system is broken. Turning away from the partisan narratives of everyday politics, *Constitutional Dysfunction on Trial* diagnoses the deeper and bipartisan nature of imbalance of power that undermines public deliberation and accountability, especially on war powers. By focusing on the lawsuits brought by Congressional members that challenge presidential unilateralism, Farrier provides a new diagnostic lens on the permanent institutional problems that have undermined the separation of powers system in the last five decades, across a diverse array of partisan and policy landscapes.

As each chapter demonstrates, member lawsuits are an outlet for frustrated members of both parties who cannot get their House and Senate colleagues to confront overweening presidential action through normal legislative processes. But these lawsuits often backfire – leaving Congress as an institution even more disadvantaged. Jasmine Farrier argues these suits are more symptoms of constitutional dysfunction than the cure. *Constitutional Dysfunction on Trial* shows federal judges will not and cannot restore the separation of powers system alone. Fifty years of congressional atrophy cannot be reversed in court.

JASMINE FARRIER is Chair and Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Louisville. She is author of *Passing the Buck* and *Congressional Ambivalence*.

CONSTITUTIONAL DYSFUNCTION ON TRIAL

CONGRESSIONAL LAWSUITS AND THE SEPARATION OF POWERS



JASMINE FARRIER

"Jasmine Farrier has produced a work of the highest quality, one that will be influential on the most significant issues involved in national government powers."—Richard Pious, Barnard College, author of *Why Presidents Fail*

"Jasmine Farrier is an established scholar with a well-deserved reputation for excellent work and creative approaches to long-standing problems: this book is no exception, and will make an important contribution by asking why the courts can't be part of the discussion on unrestrained presidential power."—Chris Edelson, American University, author of *Power without Constraint*

\$29.95 paperback | \$14.99 ebook
198 pages, 6 x 9

GREAT FOR CLASSROOM USE

The Twenty-Six Words That Created the Internet

JEFF KOSSEFF

CHOICE MAGAZINE OUTSTANDING ACADEMIC TITLE OF THE

"No provider or user of an interactive computer service shall be treated as the publisher or speaker of any information provided by another information content provider."

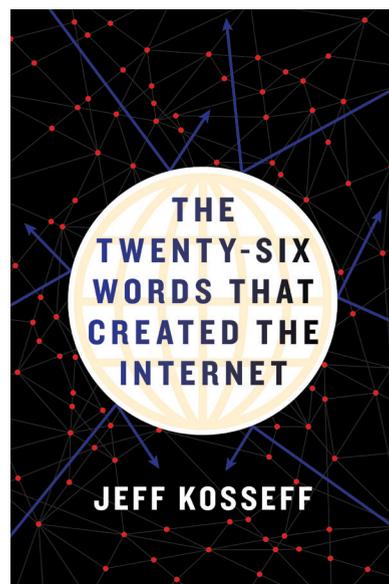
Did you know that these twenty-six words are responsible for much of America's multibillion-dollar online industry? What we can and cannot write, say, and do online is based on just one law—a law that protects online services from lawsuits based on user content. Jeff Kosseff exposes the workings of Section 230 of the Communications Decency Act, which has lived mostly in the shadows since its enshrinement in 1996. Because many segments of American society now exist largely online, Kosseff argues that we need to understand and pay attention to what Section 230 really means and how it affects what we like, share, and comment upon every day.

The Twenty-Six Words That Created the Internet tells the story of the institutions that flourished as a result of this powerful statute. It introduces us to those who created the law, those who advocated for it, and those involved in some of the most prominent cases decided under the law. Kosseff assesses the law that has facilitated freedom of online speech, trolling, and much more. His keen eye for the law, combined with his background as an award-winning journalist, demystifies a statute that affects all our lives—for good and for ill. While Section 230 may be imperfect and in need of refinement, Kosseff maintains that it is necessary to foster free speech and innovation.

For filings from many of the cases discussed in the book and updates about Section 230, visit jeffkosseff.com

JEFF KOSSEFF is Assistant Professor in the US Naval Academy's Cyber Science department, where he teaches cybersecurity law. He has practiced technology and First Amendment law. He was a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize for National Reporting and the recipient of the George Polk Award in National Reporting.

\$26.95 hardcover | \$12.99 ebook
328 pages, 6 x 9



"Kosseff has a thorough grasp of his material, and readers will find his exploration of Section 230 balanced, timely, and consistently thought-provoking."—*Publishers Weekly*

"Kosseff's book is timely, given the intensifying debate about whether Congress should find ways to hold Internet companies accountable for third-party speech that harms individuals and society as a whole. But the book's value goes beyond timing. The author's background as a journalist and his current roles as a professor and a lawyer enable him to produce an engaging narrative that explains the law clearly and compels us to think about speech in the modern age and who is responsible when it is harmful."—*The Washington Post*

"Americans are of two minds about the internet: They rely on it and fear it, they immerse themselves in it for hours and deplore its social consequences. Jeff Kosseff's *The Twenty-Six Words That Created the Internet* is in many ways the story of how and why this happened."—*The Wall Street Journal*

America the Fair

Using Brain Science to Create a More Just Nation

DAN MEEGAN

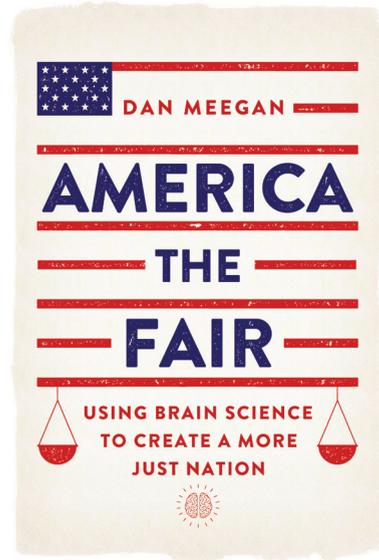
What makes a person liberal or conservative? Why does the Democratic Party scare off so many possible supporters? When does our "injustice trigger" get pulled, and how can fairness overcome our human need to look for a zero-sum outcome to our political battles?

Tapping into a pop culture zeitgeist linking Bugs Bunny, Taylor Swift, and John Belushi; through popular science and the human brain; to our political predilections, arguments, and distrusts, Daniel Meegan suggests that fairness and equality are key elements missing in today's society. Having crossed the border to take up residency in Canada, Meegan, an American citizen, has seen first-hand how people enjoy as rights what Americans view as privileges. Fascinated with this tension, he suggests in *America the Fair* that American liberals are just missing the point. If progressives want to win the vote, they need to change strategy completely and champion government benefits for everyone, not just those of lower income. If everyone has access to inexpensive quality health care, open and extensive parental leave, and free postsecondary education, then everyone will be happier and society will be fair. The Left will also overcome an argument of the Right that successfully, though incongruously, appeals to the middle- and upper-middle classes: that policies that help the economically disadvantaged are inherently bad for others.

Making society fair and equal, Meegan argues, would strengthen the moral and political position of the Democratic Party and place it in a position to revive American civic life. Fairness, he writes, should be selfishly enjoyed by everyone.

DANIEL MEEGAN is Associate Professor of Psychology at the University of Guelph.

\$17.95 paperback | **\$8.99** ebook
208 pages, 6 x 9



"[Meegan] writes a far more coherent narrative of contemporary American politics than a political scientist could likely write about psychology. . . . Meegan uses engaging examples from psychological studies, evolutionary biology, and popular culture."—*Choice*

"There's really a lot to like about *America the Fair*. It explains psychological constructs and their bearing on policy debate and ideological conflict, drawing engagingly on popular culture. Meegan reveals ground common to both conservatives and liberals, proposing a value frame for the greatest number of voters: fairness."—Chris Weber, University of Arizona

"*America the Fair* makes a compelling case that equity-based programs for the middle class are the best way to help those in need. Every American who cares about the future of our country should read this book."—Alicia Munnell, The Center for Retirement Research, author of *Falling Short*

GREAT FOR CLASSROOM USE

Hope and History

A Memoir of Tumultuous Times

WILLIAM J. VANDEN HEUVEL

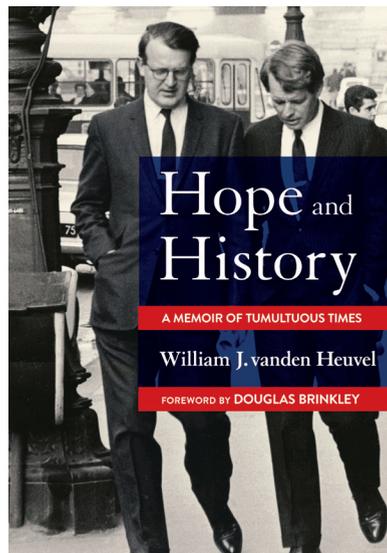
FOREWORD BY DOUGLAS BRINKLEY

Hope and History is both a memoir and a call-to-action for the renewal of faith in democracy and America. US Ambassador William J. vanden Heuvel presents his most important public speeches and writings, compiled and presented over eight decades of adventure and public service, woven together with anecdotes of his colorful life as a second-generation American, a soldier, a lawyer, a political activist, and a diplomat. He touches upon themes that resonate as much today as they did when he first encountered them: the impact of heroes and mentors; the tragedy of the Vietnam War; the problems of racism and desegregation in America; tackling the crisis in America's prisons; America and the Holocaust; and the plight and promise of the United Nations. Along the way, he allows us to share his journey with some of the great characters of American history: Eleanor Roosevelt, William J. "Wild Bill" Donovan, President John F. Kennedy and RFK, Harry S. Truman, and Jimmy Carter.

Throughout, vanden Heuvel persuades us that there is still room for optimism in public life. He shows how individuals, himself among them, have tackled some of America's most intractable domestic and foreign policy issues with ingenuity and goodwill, particularly under the leadership of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and those who sought and still seek to follow in his footsteps. He is not afraid to challenge the hatred and bigotry that are an unfortunate but undeniable part of the American fabric. He exhorts us to embrace all the challenges and opportunities that life in the United States can offer.

WILLIAM J. VANDEN HEUVEL served as Deputy US Permanent Representative to the United Nations. A former president of the International Rescue Committee, he was Executive Assistant to General William J. Donovan, Special Counsel to Governor Averell Harriman, and Assistant to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. He is the founder of the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute. Ambassador vanden Heuvel is an international attorney and investment banker.

\$28.95 hardcover | \$13.99 ebook
296 pages, 6 x 9, 21 b&w halftones



"A well-respected American diplomat looks back on his life and career. . . . Clear and straightforward. . . he provides an interesting look at the civil rights struggles of the 1960s and the 'revolution of rising expectations.' . . . His memoir makes for hopeful reading."—*Kirkus Reviews*

"Through this exquisite rendering of Bill vanden Heuvel's remarkable life and career, readers will find exactly what the title suggests—hope in our troubled times. A dazzling cast of historical characters comes to life in these pages, including Eleanor and Franklin Roosevelt, JFK and RFK, James Baldwin, and Jimmy Carter. But the character who unites every chapter in this book is vanden Heuvel himself—a man whose career reminds us of how honorable public service can be."—Doris Kearns Goodwin

"Bill vanden Heuvel's life has spanned a breath-taking part of our history as a nation—one that has influenced our present position in the world. When Bill tells a story, you feel like you're living it with him. Reading this memoir will ignite a reflection on what we must do to move forward into this 21st century."—Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, Roosevelt Institute

Small Arms

Children and Terrorism

MIA BLOOM

WITH JOHN HORGAN

Why do terrorist organizations use children to support their cause and carry out their activities? *Small Arms* uncovers the brutal truth behind the mobilization of children by terrorist groups.

Mia Bloom and John Horgan show us the grim underbelly of society that allows and even encourages the use of children to conduct terrorist activities. They provide readers with the who, what, when, why, and how of this increasingly concerning situation, illuminating a phenomenon that to most of us seems abhorrent. And yet, they argue, for terrorist groups the use of children carries many benefits. Children possess skills that adults lack. They often bring innovation and creativity. Children are, in fact, a superb demographic from which to recruit if you are a terrorist.

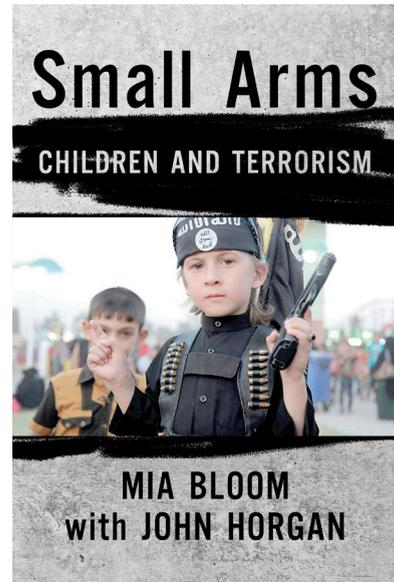
Small Arms answers questions about recruitment strategies and tactics, determines what makes a child terrorist and what makes him or her different from an adult one, and charts the ways in which organizations use them. The unconventional focus on child and youth militants allows the authors to, in essence, give us a biography of the child terrorist and the organizations that use them. We are taken inside the mind of the adult and the child to witness that which perhaps most scares us.

MIA BLOOM is Professor of Communication at Georgia State University. She is author of several books, including, most recently, *Bombshell*. **JOHN G. HORGAN** is Distinguished University Professor in the Global Studies Institute at Georgia State University. He is author of numerous books, including, most recently, *The Psychology of Terrorism*.



\$27.95 hardcover | \$13.99 ebook

248 pages, 6 x 9, 5 b&w halftones, 3 charts, 13 plates



"Drawing on a wide body of case studies, the authors examine the many ways child soldiers are drawn into their roles—which, in the end, usually turn out to be as cannon fodder. . . . Of interest to military planners as well as workers in the humanitarian aid/NGO sphere."—*Kirkus Reviews*

"The lack of universally generalizable policy recommendations may be off-putting for those looking for easy solutions, but if describing the phenomenon is the first step to understanding it, then this work is essential reading."—*Choice*

"*Small Arms* is an important, timely, and interdisciplinary work that offers new insight into the issue of children in conflict."—*H-Net H-War*

"*Small Arms* is a must-read for policymakers and planners working on counterterrorism strategy. With so little existing political science scholarship in this arena, Bloom and Horgan earn the dubious distinction of providing the most comprehensive overview of children and terrorism."—*Joint Forces Quarterly*

REFRAMING VACCINATION CONTROVERSIES

Bernice L. Hausman

Vaccines have saved millions of lives. The scourge of smallpox is gone from this planet, except for stockpiles kept in Siberia and Atlanta, and polio has almost been eradicated. Dangerous and burdensome diseases have been tamed, and child survival improved due to vaccines. Refusal of vaccination denies these historical and medical truths and puts all people at risk of infectious disease.

That's one way to start a story about vaccine skepticism. Here's another:

Ever since there have been vaccines, there has been vaccine dissent. Themes in antivaccination protest are remarkably cohesive: impure vaccine ingredients, physician and corporate greed, potential ill effects, and threats to bodily integrity animate historical and contemporary concerns. While significant majorities accept vaccination regimes across the globe, determined minorities rely on a variety of belief systems and evidence to support their claims that vaccines are damaging to individuals, populations, and the planet.

The first narrative initiates a story that only flows one way—toward excoriation of those who cannot, for whatever reason, see the truth. The next sentence in the story is some version of this one: Vaccine dissent is essentially selfish, foolish, and irrational.

The second narrative offers a more open-ended opportunity, but currently, in the United States and elsewhere, only the first is allowable. Try to argue that beliefs about vaccination are complex and socially contextual, or even that people's individual beliefs matter when it comes to vaccination, and you will be targeted as an antivaxer. Vaccine hesitant parents are vilified and ridiculed in the media; well-founded concerns about the political impact of strict vaccine mandates are automatically criticized; and any suggestion that vaccination policies and requirements could be adjusted in response to public concerns is labeled science denial.

What is going on? In the 1990s, major news outlets in the US reported evenhandedly about parental worries about thimerosal, a mercury-containing vaccine preservative in use since the 1930s. In the 2000s, though, as mainstream consensus coalesced around the lack of a connection between vaccines and autism, reporting on vaccination shifted to a more critical stance toward those who still questioned vaccine safety. After 2006 and the roll-out of Gardasil, an HPV vaccine market-

ed to prevent cervical cancer (whose maker, Merck, lobbied for state-level mandates, angering Christian conservatives who objected to a school-entry mandate for a vaccine against a sexually-transmitted disease), it became commonplace to see inflammatory news reporting in traditionally reliable outlets like the New York Times and the Washington Post.

Anti/Vax tries to reorient public debate around vaccination by reminding us that there are numerous currents in American culture that share the concerns of vaccine skeptics. In the book I try to change the way we tell the story of vaccine dissent, much like a recent New York Times article that identifies poverty, political and social unrest, international travel, and geographical barriers as significant deterrents to comprehensive measles vaccination coverage globally.

Vaccine dissent is only one factor affecting current measles outbreaks in the US, and probably not the most important one. Balanced reporting about vaccination and infectious disease can illuminate the highly complex context in which modern medical efforts often conflict with local traditions, personal and community beliefs, and political realities in the context of globalization.

The way we tell stories matter. Storytelling can open up or shut down meaningful conversation. We are at a time in American history when talking across barriers of belief, ideology, and cultural identification are more important than ever. Vaccination controversy, and the contentious public debate that envelops it, is just one element in an increasingly polarized cultural conversation about what binds us and divides us as a nation.

We need to craft vaccination stories that differ from the inflammatory, accusatory, and vilifying narratives that we have created across social media and more traditional news platforms. Understanding vaccination controversy more deeply, with more attention to the features it shares with other cultural concerns, is one way to start.

Anti/Vax

Reframing the Vaccination Controversy

BERNICE L. HAUSMAN

Antivaxxers are crazy. That is the perception we all gain from the media, the internet, celebrities, and beyond, writes Bernice Hausman in *Anti/Vax*, but we need to open our eyes and ears so that we can all have a better conversation about vaccine skepticism and its implications.

Hausman argues that the heated debate about vaccinations and whether to get them or not is most often fueled by accusations and vilifications rather than careful attention to the real concerns of many Americans. She wants to set the record straight about vaccine skepticism and show how the issues and ideas that motivate it—like suspicion of pharmaceutical companies or the belief that some illness is necessary to good health—are commonplace in our society.

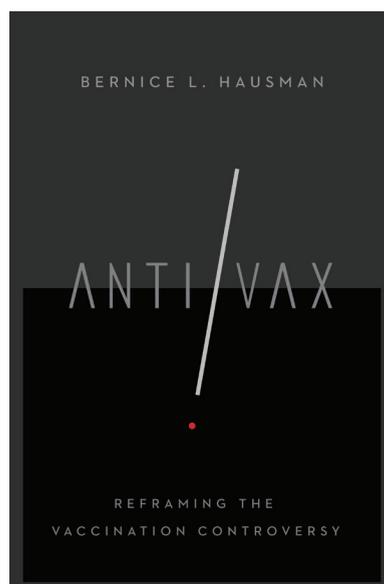
Through *Anti/Vax*, Hausman wants to engage public health officials, the media, and each of us in a public dialogue about the relation of individual bodily autonomy to the state's responsibility to safeguard citizens' health. We need to know more about the position of each side in this important stand-off so that public decisions are made through understanding rather than stereotyped perceptions of scientifically illiterate antivaxxers or faceless bureaucrats. Hausman reveals that vaccine skepticism is, in part, a critique of medicalization and a warning about the dangers of modern medicine rather than a glib and gullible reaction to scaremongering and misunderstanding.

BERNICE L. HAUSMAN is Chair of the Department of Humanities at the Penn State College of Medicine in Hershey, Pennsylvania. She is the author of *Viral Mothers*, *Mother's Milk*, and *Changing Sex*.

ILR PRESS

THE CULTURE AND POLITICS OF HEALTH CARE WORK

\$29.95 hardcover | \$14.99 ebook
294 pages, 6 x 9, 2 b&w halftones



“Solid scholarship, clear writing, and a deep bibliography help this book stand out from others on this subject. Hausman’s work is spot on and deserves a wide readership.”—*Choice*

“Deeply thought provoking, *Anti/Vax* is an excellent book and a surprising intellectual journey into and across the cultural underpinnings of contemporary vaccination skepticism. Bernice Hausman, as author and narrator, is a masterful guide.”—Elena Conis, Professor, University of California, Berkeley, and author of the award-winning book *Vaccine Nation*

“Bernice L. Hausman has provided us with something we as a society needed—an intelligent, thoughtful, nuanced discussion of the ‘vaccine controversy.’ She helps us think through the media flurry and has produced a book that speaks to the social sciences and the humanities. A brilliant book!”—Barbara Katz Rothman, City University of New York, author of *A Bun in the Oven*

Political Survivors

The Resistance, the Cold War, and the Fight against Concentration Camps after 1945

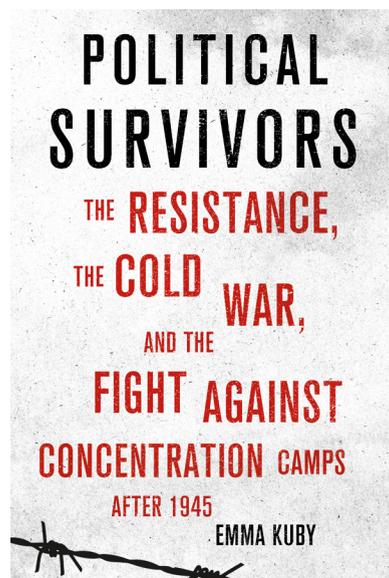
EMMA KUBY

WINNER OF THE DAVID H. PINKNEY PRIZE

In 1949, as Cold War tensions in Europe mounted, French intellectual and former Buchenwald inmate David Rousset called upon fellow concentration camp survivors to denounce the Soviet Gulag as a "hallucinatory repetition" of Nazi Germany's most terrible crime. In *Political Survivors*, Emma Kuby tells the riveting story of what followed his appeal, as prominent members of the wartime Resistance from throughout Western Europe united to campaign against the continued existence of inhumane internment systems around the world. The International Commission against the Concentration Camp Regime brought together those originally deported for acts of anti-Nazi political activity who believed that their unlikely survival incurred a duty to bear witness for other victims. Over the course of the next decade, these pioneering activists crusaded to expose political imprisonment, forced labor, and other crimes against humanity in Franco's Spain, Maoist China, French Algeria, and beyond.

Until now, the CIA's secret funding of Rousset's movement has remained in the shadows. Kuby reveals this clandestine arrangement between European camp survivors and American intelligence agents. She also brings to light how Jewish Holocaust victims were systematically excluded from Commission membership—a choice that fueled the group's rise, but also helped lead to its premature downfall. The history that she unearths provides a striking new vision of how wartime memory shaped European intellectual life and ideological struggle after 1945, showing that the key lessons Western Europeans drew from the war centered on "the camp," imagined first and foremost as a site of political repression rather than ethnic genocide. *Political Survivors* argues that Cold War dogma and acrimony, tied to a distorted understanding of WWII's chief atrocities, overshadowed the humanitarian possibilities of the nascent anti-concentration camp movement as Europe confronted the violent decolonizing struggles of the 1950s.

\$32.95 hardcover | \$15.99 ebook
312 pages, 6 x 9



"A meticulous, nuanced look inside the deeply fraught postwar political theater in France and Europe."—*Kirkus Reviews*

"A penetrating look at an arcane subject. Deeply researched and fluently written."—*The Chicago Tribune*

"*Political Survivors* is a first-rate work of intellectual history that offers keen insights into French political history, the memories of World War II, the Resistance, and the Holocaust, and the operation of international organizations."—*H-Diplo*

"Quite simply, this book is a tour de force."—David H. Pinkney Prize citation, Society for French Historical Studies

EMMA KUBY is Assistant Professor of History at Northern Illinois University. A specialist in modern France and its overseas empire, she has authored numerous articles on violence, justice, and memory in post-war Europe.



ON AN EMPTY STOMACH

TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF
HUNGER RELIEF

TOM SCOTT-SMITH

Enduring Alliance

A History of NATO and the Postwar Global Order

TIMOTHY ANDREWS SAYLE

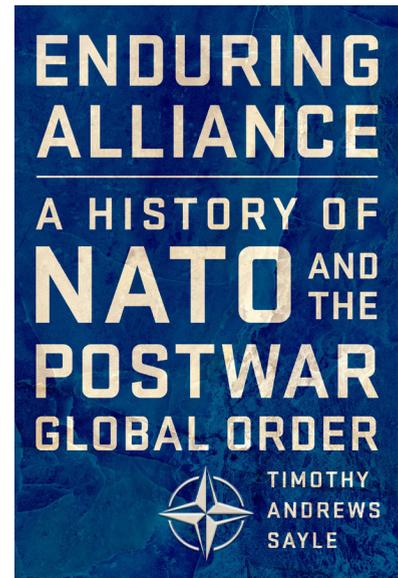
Born from necessity, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has always seemed on the verge of collapse. Even now, some seventy years after its inception, some consider its foundation uncertain and its structure weak. At this moment of incipient strategic crisis, Timothy A. Sayle offers a sweeping history of the most critical alliance in the post-World War II era.

In *Enduring Alliance*, Sayle recounts how the western European powers, along with the United States and Canada, developed a treaty to prevent encroachments by the Soviet Union and to serve as a first defense in any future military conflict. As the growing and unruly hodgepodge of countries, councils, commands, and committees inflated NATO during the Cold War, Sayle shows that the work of executive leaders, high-level diplomats, and institutional functionaries within NATO kept the alliance alive and strong in the face of changing administrations, various crises, and the flux of geopolitical maneuverings. Resilience and flexibility have been the true hallmarks of NATO.

As *Enduring Alliance* deftly shows, the history of NATO is organized around the balance of power, preponderant military forces, and plans for nuclear war. But it is also the history riven by generational change, the introduction of new approaches to conceiving international affairs, and the difficulty of diplomacy for democracies. As NATO celebrates its seventieth anniversary, the alliance once again faces challenges to its very existence even as it maintains its place firmly at the center of western hemisphere and global affairs.

TIMOTHY A. SAYLE is Assistant Professor of History at the University of Toronto and a fellow of the Bill Graham Centre for Contemporary International History and the Southern Methodist University's Center for Presidential History.

\$34.95 hardcover | \$16.99 ebook
360 pages, 6 x 9, 10 b&w halftones, 2 maps



"Sayle's book is a remarkably well-documented history of the NATO alliance. This is a worthwhile addition to the growing literature on NATO and a foundation for understanding its current challenges and prospects."—*Choice*

"Drawing on extensive archival records, Sayle rehearses in detail the founding of NATO and its early operations"—*Foreign Affairs*

"Because of its ability to offer a clear, engaging, wide-ranging, and thought-provoking analysis, *Enduring Alliance* is quite simply the best overview of the alliance's history that scholars, students, and practitioners have now at their disposal. Sayle takes on an ambitious project but delivers a much-needed book that will no doubt become the reference point for any student interested in NATO and transatlantic relations."—*H-Net*

"Timothy Sayle's *Enduring Alliance* is a timely and important book. Sayle successfully proves that most of the challenges that NATO faces today have existed throughout the history of the alliance."—*Real Clear Defense*

NATO AND THE DANGERS OF DEMOCRACY

Timothy Andrews Sayle

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is in crisis. NATO is one of the most successful and longest-lasting military alliances in history.

A glance at news headlines from any of the last seven decades might leave you thinking NATO has been in a perpetual state of crisis since its origins in 1949. And yet, time and time again, the Presidents and Prime Ministers of NATO states have decided that NATO should – indeed must – remain in existence. What explains this cycle of crises accompanied by determination to keep NATO together? How can every generation’s pundits write headlines warning of the imminent demise of the alliance, while its leaders insist that the alliance must continue?

The answer to the riddle lies in the fact that many of NATO’s largest and most important powers were led by governments that relied on public support for their political power. This led to what I call in *Enduring Alliance: A History of NATO and the Postwar Global Order* the “dangers of democracy.” It was these dangers that help us why NATO leaders thought the alliance was necessary but also why they constantly fretted about its future.

The leaders who formed and maintained NATO did so because they thought the alliance would protect members from being blackmailed by the Soviet Union. In the late 1940s, the British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin argued that the Soviet Union would use its military and political power to compel other states to act as Moscow wished. The “Russians,” as Bevin called them, “seem to be fairly confident of getting the fruits of war without going to war.” Soviet pressure on Finland, in which Moscow gained significant influence in the shaping of Finland’s foreign policies, offered an example of how this might happen. A Soviet ultimatum to Norway, and later a coup in Czechoslovakia, suggested that the Soviets would gain influence in Europe by picking off one state at a time. In the aftermath of the Second World War, it seemed likely that Europeans, cajoled or bullied by the Soviet Union, would urge their leaders to give in to any Soviet demands rather than risk confrontation. George F. Kennan, the famous American diplomat and expert on the Soviet Union, explained this fear eloquently when he said that “it is the shadows rather than the substance of things that move the hearts, and sway the deeds, of statesmen.” And the Kremlin cast long shadows.

NATO’s integrated military commands were never so much about being able to defend against the Soviet Union in case of war, but in cancelling out the Soviet Union’s ability to influence and compel European states to do what Moscow wished. Ideally, NATO would ensure that the Soviet Union would not bother trying to pressure an ally. But if a crisis came, NATO’s military capability had to be real enough to ensure that leaders could convince their citizens they did not have to give in. The alternative would be for frightened voters to pressure their leaders – be it through elections or other public protest – to give into Soviet demands. NATO insured against one danger of democracy – a panicked electorate faced with crisis – that might have otherwise allowed for the “Finlandization” of more European states.

The NATO leaders’ other worry, however, was that in times of peace, or even cold war, their electorates were not interested in maintaining the defense spending on which NATO relied.

Periods of détente with the Soviet Union seemed to strip away the rationale for NATO. The public reaction to the Vietnam War in both the United States and Europe caused allies to wonder whether there had been an outright rejection of the military instrument of foreign policy. These worries were amplified in the 1970s and 1980s as some protesters challenged NATO’s reliance on nuclear weapons.

They also believed that NATO worked, in a sense, too well – that it caused their voters to forget why NATO was important. On its 70th anniversary, the greatest challenge to the alliance may be an American president who ignores these nuances and does not understand the power of shadows.

The Sexual Economy of War

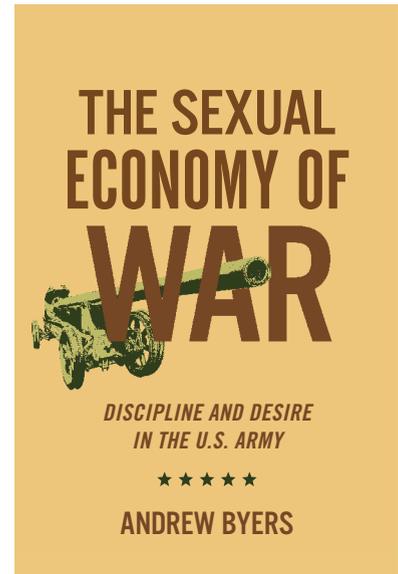
Discipline and Desire in the U.S. Army

ANDREW BYERS

In *The Sexual Economy of War*, Andrew Byers argues that in the early twentieth century, concerns about unregulated sexuality affected every aspect of how the US Army conducted military operations. Far from being an exercise marginal to the institution and its scope of operations, governing sexuality was, in fact, integral to the military experience during a time of two global conflicts and numerous other army deployments.

In this revealing study, Byers shows that none of the issues related to current debates about gender, sex, and the military—the inclusion of LGBTQ soldiers, sexual harassment and violence, the integration of women—is new at all. Framing the American story within an international context, he looks at case studies from the continental United States, Hawaii, the Philippines, France, and Germany. Drawing on internal army policy documents, soldiers' personal papers, and disciplinary records used in criminal investigations, *The Sexual Economy of War* illuminates how the US Army used official policy, legal enforcement, indoctrination, and military culture to govern wayward sexual behaviors. Such regulation, and its active opposition, leads Byers to conclude that the tension between organizational control and individual agency has deep and tangled historical roots.

ANDREW BYERS researches the history of the regulation of the human body and the intersection of science, sexuality, and law in civilian and military contexts.



"The book is a fascinating look into turn-of-the-century military culture."—*Choice*

"Working confidently across military history and the history of sexuality, Byers digs deeply into files from courts-martial and other sources from the National Archives to explore the centrality of managing sexuality to the successful operation of a modern military. *The Sexual Economy of War* should be read by anyone interested in apprehending the history of sexuality specific to the US Army."—*Journal of Military History*

"Andrew Byers's mastery of sources—most particularly in the United States Army's courts-martial records—is rare. His book makes clear that the Army's attempts to regulate sex, and the contests over how, why, and when to regulate it, matter a great deal."—Beth Bailey, author of *America's Army*

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The Moral Witness

Trials and Testimony after Genocide

CAROLYN J. DEAN

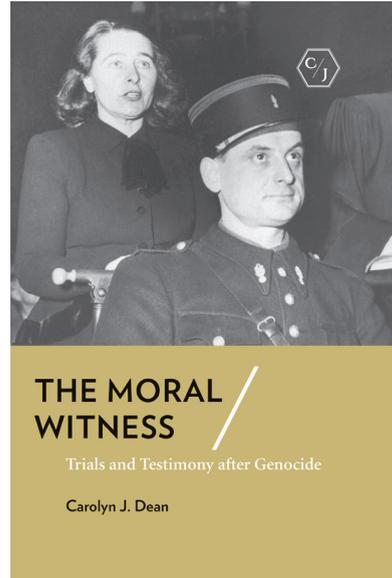
The Moral Witness is the first cultural history of the "witness to genocide" in the West. Carolyn J. Dean shows how the witness became a protagonist of twentieth-century moral culture by tracing the emergence of this figure in courtroom battles from the 1920s to the 1960s—covering the Armenian genocide, the Ukrainian pogroms, the Soviet Gulag, and the trial of Adolf Eichmann. In these trials, witness testimonies differentiated the crime of genocide from war crimes and began to form our understanding of modern political and cultural murder.

By the turn of the twentieth century, the "witness to genocide" became a pervasive icon of suffering humanity and a symbol of western moral conscience. Dean sheds new light on the recent global focus on survivors' trauma. Only by placing the moral witness in a longer historical trajectory, she demonstrates, can we understand how the stories we tell about survivor testimony have shaped both our past and contemporary moral culture.

CAROLYN J. DEAN is Charles J. Stille Professor of History and French at Yale University. She is a cultural and intellectual historian of Modern Europe and the author of five books, including *The Fragility of Empathy after the Holocaust* and *Aversion and Erasure*.

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GREAT FOR CLASSROOM USE



Statecraft by Stealth

Secret Intelligence and British Rule in Palestine

STEVEN B. WAGNER

Britain relied upon secret intelligence operations to rule Mandatory Palestine. *Statecraft by Stealth* sheds light on a time in history when the murky triad of intelligence, policy, and security supported colonial governance. It emphasizes the role of the Anglo-Zionist partnership, which began during World War I and ended in 1939, when Britain imposed severe limits on Jewish immigration and settlement in Palestine.

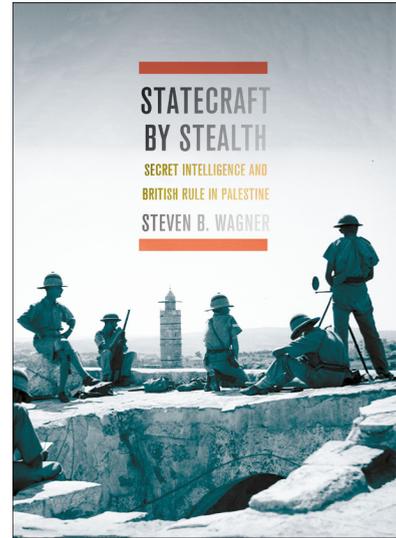
Steven Wagner argues that although the British devoted considerable attention to intelligence gathering and analysis, they never managed to solve the basic contradiction of their rule: a dual commitment to democratic self-government and to the Jewish national home through immigration and settlement. As he deftly shows, Britain's experiment in Palestine shed all pretense of civic order during the Palestinian revolt of 1936–41, when the police authority collapsed and was replaced by a security state, created by army staff intelligence. That shift, Wagner concludes, was rooted in Britain's desire to foster closer ties with Saudi Arabia just before the start of World War II, and thus ended its support of Zionist policy.

Statecraft by Stealth takes us behind the scenes of British rule, illuminating the success of the Zionist movement and the failure of the Palestinians to achieve independence. Wagner focuses on four key issues to stake his claim: an examination of the "intelligence state" (per Martin Thomas's classic, *Empires of Intelligence*), the Arab revolt, the role of the Mufti of Jerusalem, and the origins and consequences of Britain's decision to end its support of Zionism.

Wagner crafts a superb story of espionage and clandestine policy-making, showing how the British pitted individual communities against each other at particular times, and why.

STEVEN WAGNER is a Lecturer in International Security in the Social and Political Sciences Department at Brunel University. Follow him on Twitter @StevenWagner85.

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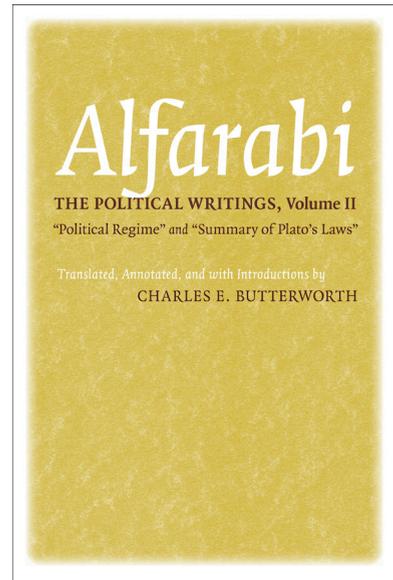
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CHARLES E. BUTTERWORTH is Emeritus professor of Government and Politics at the University of Maryland, College Park.

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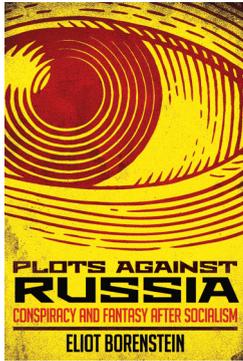
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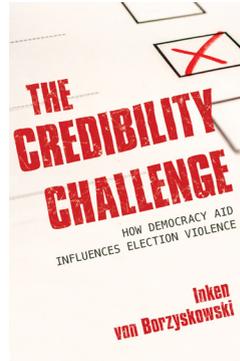


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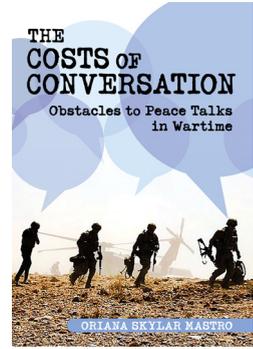


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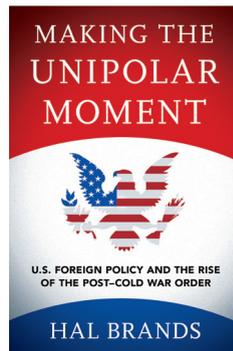
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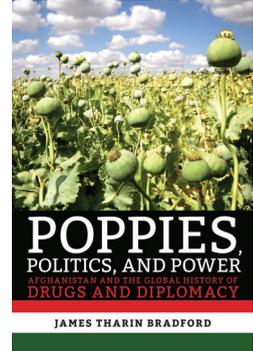


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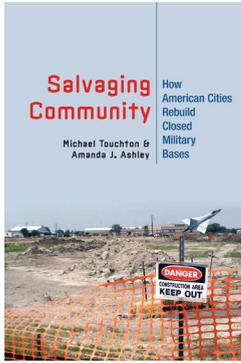
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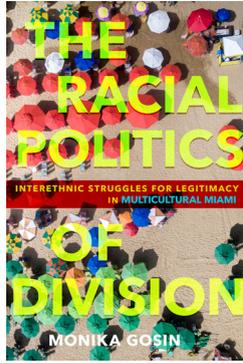
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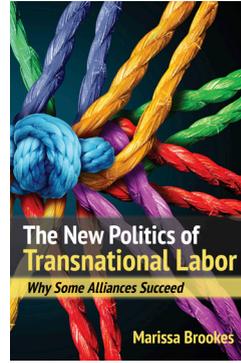
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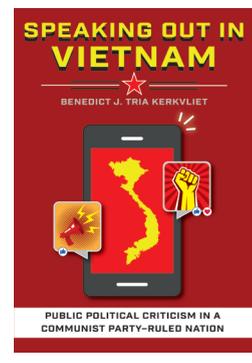
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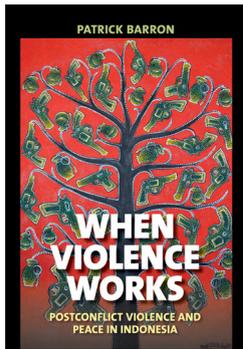
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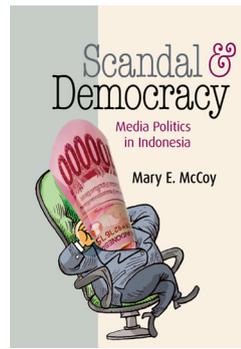
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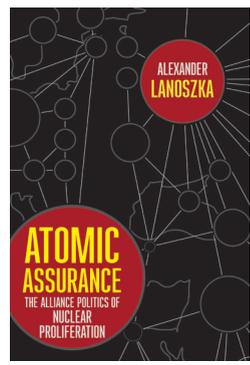
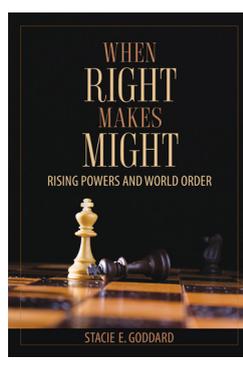
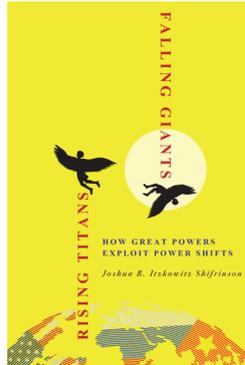
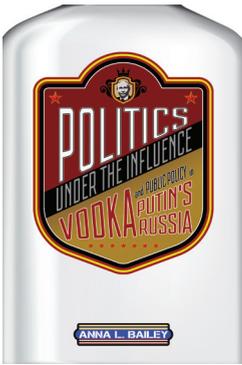
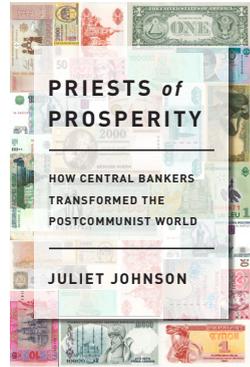
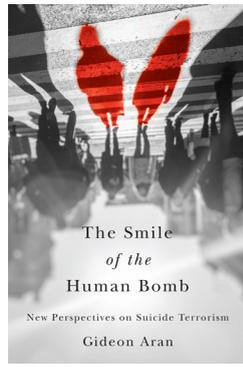
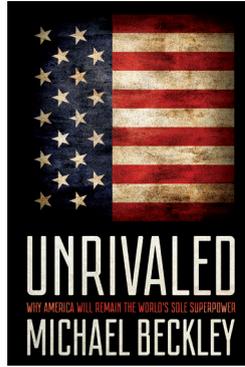
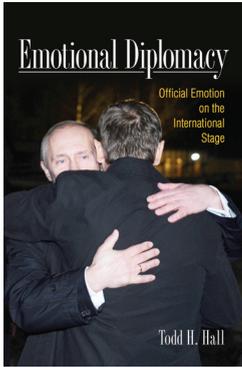
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