

# THE CSIS PRESS PUBLICATIONS CATALOG

Fall 2008



## ABOUT CSIS

At a time of new global opportunities and challenges, the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) provides strategic insights and policy solutions to decisionmakers in government, international institutions, the private sector, and civil society. A bipartisan, nonprofit organization headquartered in Washington, DC, CSIS conducts research and analysis and develops policy initiatives that look into the future and anticipate change.

Founded by David M. Abshire and Admiral Arleigh Burke at the height of the Cold War, CSIS was dedicated to finding ways for America to sustain its prominence and prosperity as a force for good in the world.

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Former U.S. senator Sam Nunn became chairman of the CSIS Board of Trustees in 1999, and John J. Hamre has led CSIS as its president and chief executive officer since April 2000.

CSIS does not take specific policy positions; accordingly, all views expressed in these publications should be understood to be solely those of the authors.

### THE CSIS PRESS

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## Assessing Chinese Government Response to the Challenge of Environment and Health

Charles W. Freeman III and Xiaoqing Lu

Globally, an estimated 24 percent of the disease burden and 23 percent of all deaths can be attributed to environmental factors. Pollution and environmental degradation undermine a nation's health in myriad ways. China, the world's largest developing country and, as of 2006, the world's leading emitter of greenhouse gases, is no exception. In recent years, environmental threats to human health have escalated in many parts of the country, particularly in southern China, a hotspot of industrial development. With the lack of political attention and resources for research, comprehensive official data on the real impact of pollution on health are largely nonexistent in China. The little knowledge that does exist is still primarily anecdotal—proof that more complete analysis is becoming an urgent need.

The nexus between environment and health in China is too significant to be ignored, either within China or abroad. Accordingly, the CSIS Freeman Chair in China Studies offers this assessment of China's response to the challenge of environment and health. As China aspires to build a "harmonious society" based on "scientific development" and to become a responsible global player, environmental health problems present a looming challenge for China—and for the international community.

**Charles W. Freeman III** holds the Freeman Chair in China Studies at CSIS. **Xiaoqing Lu** is a research associate with the CSIS Freeman Chair in China Studies.

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CSIS Report	July 2008
70 pp.	8½" x 11"
ISBN 978-0-89206-537-0	\$16.95 (pb)



## China-Europe Relations Implications and Policy Responses for the United States

Bates Gill and Melissa Murphy

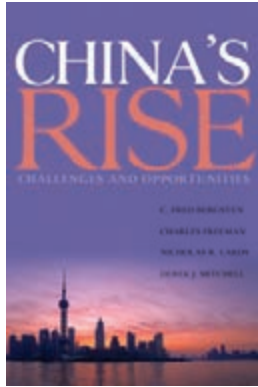
Given the political, economic, and security-related importance of China and Europe to the United States, improving China-Europe relations poses important challenges and opportunities for U.S. interests.

Key questions need to be addressed. What are the most important drivers and developments in contemporary China-Europe relations? Will rapidly developing China-Europe relations drive a strategic wedge into transatlantic relations? Will intensifying China-Europe relations result in closer Sino-European ties, damaged U.S. strategic interests, and diminished transatlantic relations? What needs to happen in the United States, in Europe, and in transatlantic relations to avoid or alleviate a strategic rift over China? Do the United States and Europe share more common interests and values vis-à-vis China than differences? How can the United States and Europe achieve complementarity and bring their respective strengths to bear in their approaches to China? This study seeks to explore and provide answers to these questions, thereby helping policymakers improve their understanding of China-Europe relations and broaden transatlantic common ground regarding China's growing influence in the world.

**Bates Gill** is director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) in Sweden. **Melissa Murphy** is a research associate with the CSIS Freeman Chair in China Studies.

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CSIS Report	May 2008
60 pp.	8½" x 11"
ISBN 978-0-89206-533-2	\$16.95 (pb)



## China's Rise

### Challenges and Opportunities

**C. Fred Bergsten, Charles Freeman,  
Nicholas R. Lardy, Derek J. Mitchell**

*“...designed to clarify contemporary China and advise how U.S. ‘engagement’ with China may best move ahead. There’s lots here, but clearly presented, with a great chronology.”—Library Journal*

The expert judgments in this book paint a picture of a China confronting domestic challenges that are in many ways side effects of its economic successes, while simultaneously trying to take advantage of the foreign policy benefits of those same successes. *China's Rise: Challenges and Opportunities*, a product of the China Balance Sheet Project, a joint, multiyear project of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) and the Peterson Institute for International Economics (PIIE), discusses China's military modernization; China's increasing soft power influence in Asia and around the world; China's policy toward Taiwan; China's domestic political development; Beijing's political relations with China's provincial and municipal authorities; corruption and social unrest in China; rebalancing China's economic growth; the exchange rate controversy; energy and the environment; industrial policy; trade disputes; and investment issues.

**C. Fred Bergsten** is director of the Peterson Institute for International Economics (PIIE). **Charles Freeman** holds the Freeman Chair in China Studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). **Nicholas R. Lardy** is a senior fellow at the Peterson Institute. **Derek J. Mitchell** is a senior fellow in the CSIS International Security Program.

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**CSIS/PIIE**  
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**ISBN 978-0-88132-417-4**

**September 2008**  
**6" x 9"**  
**\$26.95 (hb)**



## Closing Guantánamo

### From Bumper Sticker to Blueprint

**Sarah E. Mendelson**

George W. Bush, Barack Obama, and John McCain all agree that the United States should close Guantánamo. But how can we expand a position that has been little more than a bumper sticker—“Close Guantánamo!”—into a blueprint for real policy change? This report outlines an answer. The challenges are considerable, and there is no “silver bullet.” In fact, there are only imperfect options. That said, Sarah Mendelson and the CSIS Working Group on Guantánamo and Detention Policy have concluded that the costs of keeping Guantánamo open far outweigh the costs of closing it. They recommend that the process of closing Guantánamo be achieved through a policy called R2T2: Review; Release/Transfer; Try.

During his first week in office, the next president should announce the date for closure of Guantánamo as a detention facility in conjunction with announcing the establishment of a new policy. Implementation of this new policy would be charged to a blue-ribbon panel of eminent Americans tasked to review the files on all remaining Guantánamo detainees. The duties of the panel would include categorizing all detainees to be released or transferred to the custody of another government or, alternatively, to be held for prosecution in the U.S. criminal justice system, whose record in international terrorism cases far outshines that of the Guantánamo military commissions. Overall, this straightforward policy—R2T2—can help restore our reputation as a country that is built on and embraces the rule of law.

**Sarah E. Mendelson** led the CSIS Working Group on Guantánamo and Detention Policy. She is also director of the CSIS Human Rights and Security Initiative.

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**CSIS Report**  
**32 pp.**  
**ISBN 978-0-89208-548-6**

**September 2008**  
**8½" x 11"**  
**\$12.95 (pb)**



## Decoding Chinese Politics

### Intellectual Debates and Why They Matter

**Melissa Murphy**

For many observers, China’s system for choosing its leaders, as well as the decisions those leaders make, seem to exist in a “black box.” Speculating about the goings-on in that box has been a passion of China watchers since the birth of the People’s Republic in 1949. But reading the proverbial tea leaves is a highly inexact science. The process is opaque for good reason: the popular legitimacy of a one-party authoritarian regime depends in no small part on the outward appearance of inner consensus. To most casual observers, therefore, Beijing projects an almost monolithic sensibility.

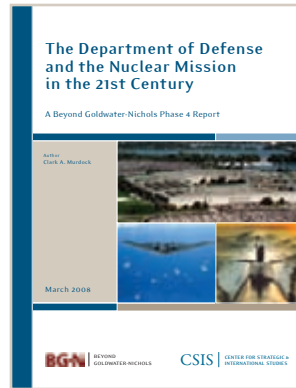
This report examines the public debate in China in the several years prior to the 17th Party Congress in October 2007. It analyzes some key trends in China’s economic and social development and has some important actionable insights for those outsiders looking to gauge China’s political and economic direction for the next five years and beyond. While China’s black box may still seem relatively impenetrable, this report provides some important texture to its surface.

**Melissa Murphy** is a research associate with the CSIS Freeman Chair in China Studies. Prior to joining CSIS, she was a China specialist with the international law firm Dewey Ballantine, focusing on U.S.-China economic and trade relations.

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**CSIS Report**  
**28 pp.**  
**ISBN 978-0-89206-526-4**

**January 2008**  
**8½” x 11”**  
**\$12.95 (pb)**



## The Department of Defense and the Nuclear Mission in the 21st Century

### A Beyond Goldwater-Nichols Phase 4 Report

**Clark A. Murdock**

This report argues that nuclear weapons remain important for U.S. national security, and it outlines a set of recommendations for how the Department of Defense should organize for the nuclear mission in the twenty-first century. After first chronicling a failed effort in 2007 to develop a “balanced and integrated” policy on nuclear issues, the report provides a rationale for why the next administration should chose a *strategic option* as it confronts a number of daunting nuclear challenges, from the growing risk of nuclear terrorism to the proliferation risks associated with the expansion of nuclear energy to the role of nuclear weapons in a proliferating world.

Although the United States appears to be allergic to all things nuclear, much of the rest of the world remains intensely interested in nuclear weapons. Those states that have nuclear weapons are modernizing their inventories; others have paid dearly in terms of political and economic isolation to join the nuclear club; and as that club grows larger, still others are pondering if they might need to go nuclear as a result. Resuscitating the United States’ own nuclear deterrent is necessary therefore, and it must begin with the recognition that nuclear weapons provide unique capabilities and play unique roles in both warfare and international affairs—particularly in a post-9/11 world.

**Clark A. Murdock** is a senior adviser in the CSIS International Security Program, where he directs the Beyond Goldwater-Nichols project on DOD reform.

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**CSIS Report**  
**36 pp.**  
**ISBN 978-089206-525-7**

**March 2008**  
**8½” x 11”**  
**\$12.95 (pb)**



## Earth Observations and Global Change

### Why? Where Are We? What Next?

Lyn Wigbels, G. Ryan Faith, and Vincent Sabathier

Is it possible to predict or alleviate the impacts of natural and manmade disasters? From the recent earthquake in China to the cyclone in Myanmar to the rapid changes in our climate to the ongoing violence in Darfur, environmental and national security events are occurring around the globe. Will we be able to understand and take actions to minimize the impact of changing climate and associated weather events on the health of human populations—from addressing rising sea levels to the accelerated spread of disease? Will we be able to balance the need for a wider array of alternative energy sources with respect to surging energy prices, simultaneously managing the implementation of carbon emission agreements?

These questions, and many others, demonstrate the complex management challenges presented by global change. In order for decisionmakers to address these challenges, they must have reliable, continuous long-term data about our planet and environment. This report by the CSIS Earth Observations and Global Change project presents analysis and makes specific policy recommendations for the near- and longer-term future to aid in this process.

**Lyn Wigbels** is a former assistant director for international programs at the Global Learning and Observations to Benefit the Environment (GLOBE) program. **G. Ryan Faith** is program manager for CSIS Space Initiatives. **Vincent Sabathier** is senior fellow and director of CSIS Space Initiatives.

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CSIS Report	July 2008
48 pp.	8½" x 11"
ISBN 978-0-89206-541-7	\$16.95 (pb)



## Expanding Eurasia

### Russia's European Ambitions

Janusz Bugajski

*"Janusz Bugajski has presented a masterful study of Russian foreign policy in Europe. [He] makes clear why it is so essential, not only for the United States but also for its partners, to devise alternatives to the present energy status quo. . . . To understand Moscow's goals and modus operandi throughout Europe, this book is essential reading—and not only in Washington."*—Stephen Blank, Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania

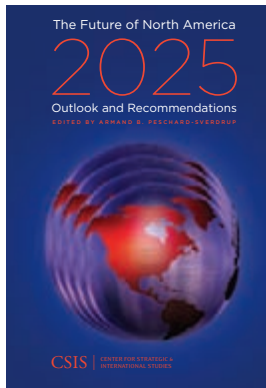
*"Putin's Russia is a neo-imperialist state struggling for regional hegemony. And the post-post-Cold War in Europe can turn out to be more disruptive than the Cold War itself. This is the principal argument of this well-written, thoroughly documented, and provocative analysis. The fact that Bugajski made this argument prior to Russia's invasion of Georgia makes it a must-read."*—Ivan Krastev, Center for Liberal Strategies, Sofia, Bulgaria

Moscow's overarching ambition toward Europe is to expand the "Eurasian space" in which Russia is the dominant political player. For Moscow, this means transforming Europe into an appendage of the Russian sphere of influence and debilitating Euro-Atlanticism by undercutting Europe's connections with the United States. The author explains that the most effective and realistic long-term Western strategy toward Russia needs to combine "practical engagement" with "strategic assertiveness."

**Janusz Bugajski** is director of the CSIS New European Democracies Project and senior fellow with the CSIS Europe Program.

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CSIS Significant Issues Series	November 2008
224 pp. (est.)	6" x 9"
ISBN 978-0-89206-545-5	\$21.95 (pb)



**The Future of North America, 2025**  
**Outlook and Recommendations**  
 Edited by **Armand B. Peschard-Sverdrup**

This well-researched assessment of the projected future of the United States, Mexico, and Canada captures not only the very best thinking on the issues but also wide-ranging practical perspectives from a multiyear, collaborative effort by CSIS, the Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas, and the Conference Board of Canada. The authors address six areas of critical strategic importance for North America—competitiveness, energy, the environment, infrastructure, labor mobility, and security.

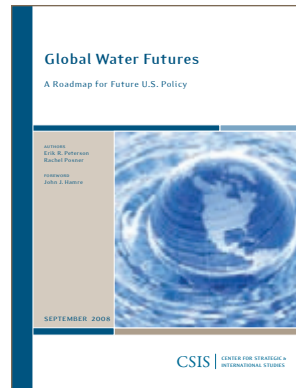
Each chapter takes factual stock of the integration that has already occurred, anticipates future developments projected out to the year 2025 and beyond, and identifies the areas that warrant the formulation of a complementary set of trilateral public policies to more effectively address future transnational challenges and opportunities. The volume also gives the peoples of Canada, the United States, and Mexico greater appreciation for the strategic importance of their North American neighbors for their individual futures, as well as for their continent’s future.

**Armand B. Peschard-Sverdrup** is president and chief executive officer of Peschard-Sverdrup & Associates. He was formerly director of the Mexico Project at CSIS, where he remains a senior associate.

**Contributors:** Norman F. Anderson; José Carlos Fernández Ugalde; Hans Herrmann; Sarah O. Ladislav; B. Lindsay Lowell; William A. Nitze; Armand B. Peschard-Sverdrup; Jamie K. Reaser; Robert S. Shaw; Jaisel Vadgama; Sidney Weintraub

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<b>CSIS Significant Issues Series</b>	<b>August 2008</b>
<b>356 pp.</b>	<b>6” x 9”</b>
<b>ISBN 978-0-89206-520-2</b>	<b>\$25.00 (pb)</b>



**Global Water Futures**  
 A Roadmap for Future U.S. Policy  
 Erik R. Peterson and Rachel Posner

U.S. policies on the range of pressing international water-related issues—humanitarian relief, human health, economic development, environmental stewardship, and stability and security—are fragmented, underresourced, and insufficiently coordinated. In particular, both the U.S. government’s current organizational structure and the resources it now commits to water-related policies are inadequate for meeting the global water challenge in its current form. And when it comes to addressing future trends involving water, the government’s structure falls far short of what will be required to respond to the mounting complexities—and policy challenges—associated with the dynamic interactions among water, agriculture, the environment, and energy.

To examine how to reform the structure and procedures of government to address the global water crisis, a working group of individuals representing diverse institutions and perspectives was organized by the CSIS Global Strategy Institute. This report—and its recommendations—is a result of that group’s deliberations. The United States has the opportunity to do well by doing good—to act with enlightened self-interest as a forceful, farsighted leader as water-related pressures continue to grow, along with a complex of related problems spanning the globe.

**Erik R. Peterson** is director of the Global Strategy Institute and senior vice president at CSIS. **Rachel Posner** is a research associate with the Global Strategy Institute.

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<b>CSIS Report</b>	<b>September 2008</b>
<b>56 pp.</b>	<b>8½” x 11”</b>
<b>ISBN 978-0-89206-549-3</b>	<b>\$16.95 (pb)</b>



## The Graying of the Great Powers Demography and Geopolitics in the 21st Century

**Richard Jackson and Neil Howe, with  
Rebecca Strauss and Keisuke Nakashima**

*“We are on the cusp of the most profound shift in global power and influence in more than a century. The Graying of the Great Powers helps us understand why this is so, how demographic and other trends will interact, and, most importantly, what we should do to manage this historic transformation.”*—Robert L. Hutchings, Princeton University, former chairman of the U.S. National Intelligence Council

*“Howe and Jackson break new ground by showing how global population aging is unlikely to lead to a ‘geriatric peace.’ Indeed, the forces of demography may be pushing the world toward a major crisis in the 2020s. This book is a must read for all policymakers concerned with the future of geopolitics.”*—Phillip Longman, New America Foundation, author of *The Empty Cradle: How Falling Birthrates Threaten World Prosperity and What to Do about It*

*The Graying of the Great Powers* offers the first comprehensive assessment of the geopolitical implications of “global aging”—the dramatic transformation in population age structures and growth rates being brought about by falling fertility and rising longevity worldwide.

**Richard Jackson** is a senior fellow and director of the CSIS Global Aging Initiative as well as an adjunct fellow at the Hudson Institute and senior adviser to the Concord Coalition. **Neil Howe** is a senior associate of the CSIS Global Aging Initiative, as well as a senior policy adviser to the Blackstone Group.

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May 2008  
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## Hong Kong on the Move 10 Years as the HKSAR

**Edited by Carola McGiffert and James T.H. Tang  
Forewords by Ronald Arculli and John J. Hamre**

The 1997 transfer of sovereignty over Hong Kong from British colonial rule to a Special Administrative Region under the People’s Republic of China captured America’s worried attention. Yet more than 10 years after the handover, and despite real challenges to its economic, political, and security systems, Hong Kong retains its vibrancy and openness based on the rule of law and a free and competitive economy. Today, Hong Kong remains an open and pluralistic society, with an effective and pragmatic government, a respected and independent legal system, a free press, and a politically active populace. These achievements should be examined and celebrated. To be sure, Hong Kong will face challenges and even crises in the future, but the lessons of the past decade will serve it well.

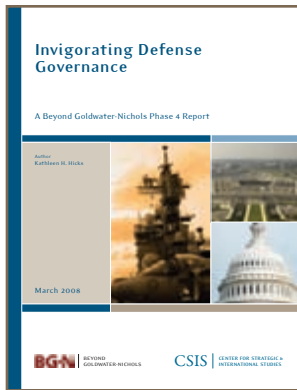
This volume tells Hong Kong’s success story from the points of view of noted U.S. and Hong Kong scholars, economists, trade officials, and security experts. It offers provocative perspectives on Hong Kong’s complicated political and economic development, changing identity, and complex relationship with the rest of China, as well as insights into what lies ahead for this vibrant city in an era of globalization.

**Carola McGiffert** is chief of staff at CSIS and the editor of *China in the American Political Imagination* (CSIS, 2003) and *Chinese Images of the United States* (CSIS, 2005). **James T.H. Tang** is a professor in the Department of Politics and Public Administration at the University of Hong Kong.

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CSIS Significant Issues Series  
256 pp.  
ISBN 978-0-89206-517-2

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October 2008  
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\$22.95 (pb)





## Invigorating Defense Governance A Beyond Goldwater-Nichols Phase 4 Report?

**Kathleen H. Hicks**

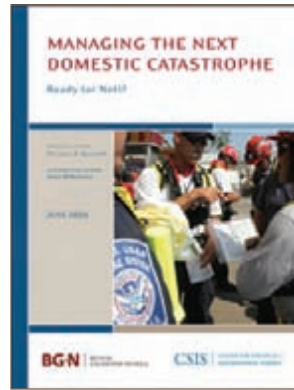
This report is the final installment in the CSIS Beyond Goldwater-Nichols (BG-N) project's assessment of defense reform. The report takes a strategic view of defense governance, focusing on the future efforts of the next U.S. secretary of defense and the secretary's senior-most aides to fulfill priority objectives. With so many prior reform efforts on which to build, the BG-N study team sought to identify the key problems inhibiting effective performance in the Department of Defense (DOD) and the barriers to reform that prevented earlier proposals from taking root. It concluded that many proposed changes have faltered because they failed to account for and find ways to alter the likely behavior of individuals and organizations. As the original Goldwater-Nichols reorganization taught, the ability to affect incentive structures is the most indispensable ingredient of any successful reform.

Accordingly, this report examines and makes recommendations on: major challenges to defense governance; a defense governance framework; improving strategic direction; furthering capabilities-based approaches; creating accountability; integrating strategy, execution, and assessment; advocating for the future joint force; and improving force development.

**Kathleen H. Hicks** is a senior fellow in the CSIS International Security Program, where she focuses on U.S. national security strategy, planning, and policy, DOD and interagency reform, and the roles and missions of the U.S. armed forces.

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<b>CSIS Report</b>	<b>March 2008</b>
<b>88 pp.</b>	<b>8½" x 11"</b>
<b>ISBN 978-0-89206-528-8</b>	<b>\$19.95 (pb)</b>



## Managing the Next Domestic Catastrophe Ready (or Not)?

**Christine E. Wormuth and Anne Witkowsky**

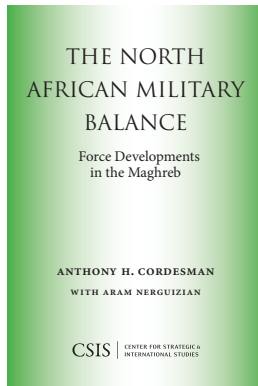
America is not ready for the next catastrophe. Almost seven years have passed since the nation was attacked here at home by violent Islamist extremists and almost three years have passed since Hurricane Katrina devastated the Gulf Coast and laid bare myriad flaws in the nation's preparedness and response system. Simply creating the Homeland Security Council, the Department of Homeland Security, and U.S. Northern Command was not enough to make the country prepared. There is still no detailed, government-wide plan to respond to a catastrophe.

Many of the building blocks required to move the country toward being truly prepared to handle a catastrophe already exist in some form, but the next administration needs to bring the pieces together, fill in the gaps, and provide the resources necessary to get the job done. If implemented, the recommendations contained in this report—part of the CSIS Beyond Goldwater-Nichols project—would go a long way toward getting America ready to manage the next domestic catastrophe, whatever form it might take.

**Christine E. Wormuth** is a senior fellow in the CSIS International Security Program, where she works on defense and homeland security issues, including emergency response and preparedness challenges, homeland security policy development, defense strategy and resources, and the capabilities and readiness of the U.S. military. **Anne Witkowsky** is a nonresident senior associate with the CSIS Homeland Security Program.

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<b>CSIS Report</b>	<b>June 2008</b>
<b>104 pp.</b>	<b>8½" x 11"</b>
<b>ISBN 978-0-89206-534-9</b>	<b>\$19.95 (pb)</b>



## The North African Military Balance Force Developments in the Maghreb

**Anthony H. Cordesman, with Aram Nerguizian**

There is no military balance in North Africa in the classic sense of the term. Although rivalries and tensions persist among Algeria, Libya, Morocco, and Tunisia, no state in the Maghreb now actively prepares for war with its neighbors, and the prospects of such conflicts are limited at best. Several countries have had border clashes in the past, but none has approached the point of serious conflict with any other since achieving independence.

Today, the North African military balance consists largely of efforts to create military forces that can defend national borders, maintain internal security, and enhance national prestige. Yet, the states of North Africa are also adapting to the threats posed by terrorism, asymmetric warfare, and nuclear proliferation. These are not new challenges, but they have emerged as key issues for these states.

In the post-September 11 era, Algeria, Libya, Morocco, and Tunisia are facing a particular threat from transnational Islamist groups in the Maghreb that are looking to emulate al Qaeda and al Qaeda in Iraq. How they deal with this threat will be important in the overall war on terror.

**Anthony H. Cordesman** holds the Arleigh A. Burke Chair in Strategy at CSIS. He is also a national security analyst for ABC News and a frequent commentator on National Public Radio and the BBC.

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<b>CSIS Significant Issues Series</b>	<b>November 2008</b>
<b>240 pp. (est.)</b>	<b>6" x 9"</b>
<b>ISBN 978-0-89206-552-3</b>	<b>\$22.95 (pb)</b>



## Promoting Confidence Building across the Taiwan Strait

**Bonnie Glaser and Brad Glosserman**

The advent of a new administration in Taiwan under the leadership of President Ma Ying-jeou and his Kuo-mintang (KMT) party has brought with it promising prospects for improved relations between mainland China and Taiwan. Many mutually satisfactory compromises must be made in order to improve and consolidate the relationship. Critical to this process is the role of confidence-building measures (CBMs)—formal and informal measures that address, prevent, or resolve uncertainties among parties and thus reduce the possibility of accidental conflict and increase mutual understanding and trust.

In April 2008, the authors visited Taipei and Beijing with a delegation of U.S. and Canadian experts to discuss prospects and constructive suggestions for cross-strait confidence-building measures. This report presents the authors' reflection on what they learned during the trip and their assessment of the possibilities for and main obstacles to confidence building across the Taiwan Strait.

**Bonnie Glaser** is a senior associate with the CSIS Freeman Chair in China Studies and with Pacific Forum CSIS. She is also a consultant for the U.S. government on East Asia and a board member of the U.S. Committee of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific. **Brad Glosserman** is executive director of Pacific Forum CSIS and the coeditor, with Akihiko Tanaka, of *An East Asian Community and the United States* (CSIS, 2007).

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<b>CSIS Report</b>	<b>September 2008</b>
<b>36 pp.</b>	<b>8½" x 11"</b>
<b>ISBN 978-0-89206-550-9</b>	<b>\$12.95 (pb)</b>



## A Recast Partnership? Institutional Dimensions of Transatlantic Relations

Edited by Simon Serfaty

*“... argues with intelligence and verve that, with a new American administration and a new European Treaty on the horizon, 2009 provides a unique opportunity to give direction to the troubled transatlantic partnership.”—*  
Alvaro de Vasconcelos, Director, Institute for Security Studies of the European Union

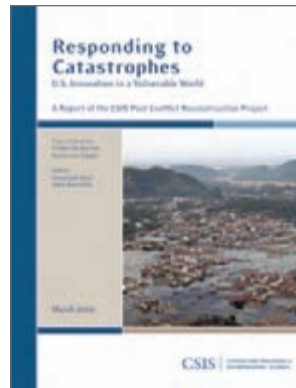
Forty years ago, at the peak of the Cold War, Henry Kissinger noted the “troubled” state of the transatlantic partnership, “the most constructive American foreign policy since the end of World War II.” A few years later, Kissinger called for new initiatives—“a fresh act of creation”—that would respond to “new problems and new opportunities” in ways equal to those undertaken by the postwar generation of leaders of Europe and America after 1945. The essays in this new CSIS volume do just that. Each of the authors—leading authorities on the Euro-Atlantic community—assesses the current state of transatlantic relations, questions where we are heading, and reflects on how best to proceed.

With new leaders in place in Germany, France, and Britain and with elections in Russia, Spain, Italy, and the United States in 2008, the stage is set for change and a new transatlantic beginning in 2009. The contributors to this volume offer an agenda that aims at the ever-closer Euro-Atlantic partnership needed for the emerging multipolar system of the twenty-first century.

**Simon Serfaty** holds the Zbigniew Brzezinski Chair in Global Security and Geostrategy at CSIS. He is also a senior professor at Old Dominion University.

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## Responding to Catastrophes U.S. Innovation in a Vulnerable World

Frederick Barton and Karin von Hippel, project codirectors; Randolph Kent and John Ratcliffe, authors

The incidence and severity of catastrophes around the world are growing. This study argues that the United States needs to prioritize and focus its efforts and take a more robust role in responding to catastrophes to safeguard U.S. interests and promote global stability. Humanitarian management of disasters should be recognized as an issue that speaks to core interests and values of the United States. The ability—and, increasingly, the propensity—of “natural” disasters to cascade into “complex emergencies” underlines why it is inappropriate to separate “natural” from “man-made” disasters in discussions of global crises.

Human decisions frequently exacerbate the effects of disaster agents, as, for example, when earthquakes tear through areas that either should not have been populated in the first place or should have been retrofitted once the area’s vulnerability became clear. In this sense, all disasters are “man-made,” and the dichotomy between acts of war and acts of God is largely false. Unfortunately, catastrophe response organizations—both within the United States and abroad—mostly have not incorporated this thinking into their practices. *Responding to Catastrophes* seeks to integrate thinking about the nature of—and response to—future catastrophes into the policymaker’s decisionmaking process.

**Frederick Barton** and **Karin von Hippel** are codirectors of the CSIS Post-Conflict Reconstruction Project. **Randolph Kent** and **John Ratcliffe** were research assistants with the project.

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CSIS Report	March 2008
84 pp.	8½” x 11”
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## A Steep Hill

### Congress and U.S. Efforts to Strengthen Fragile States

**Frederick Barton and Karin von Hippel, project codirectors; Derek Chollet, Mark Irvine, and Bradley Larson, authors**

The difficulties experienced during U.S.-led interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq have once again placed fragile states at the forefront of the U.S. national security agenda. Although the issues involved are generally recognized as important, U.S. capabilities require significant reforms if they are to meet the challenges of the future. There is a lack of coordination and strategic engagement within the U.S. government, a set of real and perceived obstacles, and no clear legislative authority for an overall strategic plan.

This study—the first to examine the role of Congress in strengthening fragile states before, during, and after interventions—identifies key legislative and executive branch obstacles to effective stabilization and reconstruction operations. It explores opportunities to help Congress and the executive branch promote stabilization and reconstruction through a new grand bargain that embodies goals both branches support. Improving the capacity of Congress to fulfill its constitutional duties—including oversight, authorization, and appropriations—will improve the effectiveness of stabilization and reconstruction operations.

**Frederick Barton** and **Karin von Hippel** are codirectors of the CSIS Post-Conflict Reconstruction Project. **Derek Chollet** is a senior fellow at the Center for a New American Security. **Mark Irvine** is a research assistant and **Bradley Larson** a former research consultant in the CSIS Post-Conflict Reconstruction Project.

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## Trends in European Defense Spending, 2001-2006

**Wan-Jung Chao, Gregory Sanders, and Guy Ben-Ari**

Since 2001, Europe finds itself increasingly involved in international military operations. At home and overseas, European militaries are stepping up efforts to prepare for and respond to natural disasters and humanitarian crises. In light of this upsurge in military preparations and deployments, it is important to track trends in European defense spending. Doing so can help answer many critical questions. For example, have defense budgets in Europe grown or declined, and by how much? How have European defense budgets fared given changes in national economies? How much are European governments spending on defense procurement and R&D? If government spending is an indicator of policy priorities, understanding trends in defense spending can shed light on whether Europe is indeed serious about improving its military capabilities.

This report seeks to provide the data and analysis needed to answer these questions. It presents the defense spending trends of all European countries, including the 25 EU member states, as well as Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Moldova, Norway, Serbia and Montenegro, Romania, Switzerland, and Turkey. The data were gathered from a range of sources in an attempt to present broad European trends, as well as in-depth analyses of specific countries.

**Wan-Jung Chao** is a research consultant with the CSIS Defense-Industrial Initiatives Group. **Gregory Sanders** is a research associate with the Defense-Industrial Initiatives Group. **Guy Ben-Ari** is a fellow with the Defense-Industrial Initiatives Group.

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## India and China An Advanced Technology Race and How the United States Should Respond

**Ernest H. Preeg**  
Foreword by **Thomas J. Duesterberg** and  
**John J. Hamre**

*“A timely book aimed at a critical issue for America’s future—the triangular relationship among the United States, China, and India.”*—William A. Reinsch, president, National Foreign Trade Council

This book analyzes the rapid development of export-oriented advanced technology industry in India and China. Issues addressed include education, research and development (R&D), foreign direct investment, trade, and technological innovation.

The book also suggests a U.S. policy response to the rise of China and India as “advanced technology superstates.” Specific policy recommendations are made in the areas of international finance, trade, and investment. These include a more forceful response to currency manipulation by China and other Asian trading partners, additional free trade agreements across the Pacific as building blocks toward multilateral free trade for nonagricultural merchandise, and negotiated disciplines, starting with transparency, for rapidly growing sovereign investment funds. A corresponding domestic policy agenda includes education, publicly supported R&D for basic research, tax reform, and tort reform.

**Ernest H. Preeg** has been senior fellow in trade and productivity at MAPI since 2000. He held the Scholl Chair in International Business at CSIS from 1989 to 1998.

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## Integrating 21st Century Development and Security Assistance

Final Report of the CSIS Task  
Force on Nontraditional Security  
Assistance

**Robert Andrews** and **Mark Kirk**, task force co-  
chairs; **J. Stephen Morrison** and **Kathleen Hicks**,  
project directors

The CSIS Task Force on Nontraditional Security Assistance was constituted to assess Pentagon performance in several nontraditional security areas; to examine what is happening in the diplomatic and development spheres; to evaluate the implications of the Defense Department’s enlarged role for U.S. national security, foreign policy, and development objectives; and to offer concrete recommendations to foster a balanced and sustainable division of responsibilities between the Pentagon and U.S. civilian agencies. The task force also examined the newly launched U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM) as a case study of the coordination of military activities with those of the diplomatic and development communities. This report summarizes the task force’s findings and recommendations, and it proposes policy, institutional, and legislative changes for consideration by the administration and Congress.

**Representative Robert Andrews** (D-NJ) serves on the House Armed Services Committee. **Representative Mark Kirk** (R-IL) serves on the House Appropriations Committee. **J. Stephen Morrison** is director of the CSIS Africa Program. **Kathleen Hicks** is a senior fellow with the CSIS International Security Program.

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**Turkey's Shifting Dynamics**  
**Implications for U.S.-Turkey Relations**  
**Stephen J. Flanagan and Samuel J. Brannen**

For more than half a century, a sound relationship with Turkey has been central to U.S. interests in Eurasia and the Middle East and to creating new strategic opportunities for the United States and its NATO allies. Yet, fundamental changes in that country and neighborhood have altered how Turks view and pursue their interests. At the same time, Turkey's relations with the United States have been strained by the Iraq War and its aftermath. Ankara's relations with its neighbors are in flux. Turkey's bid for membership in the European Union has slowed, and relations with Russia have warmed.

These developments in Turkey's domestic and external affairs have led some to question whether Turkey will drift from its Euro-Atlantic moorings over the next decade. Avoiding further strains and revitalizing U.S.-Turkey relations will require a new strategic framework that reflects the changing geopolitical dynamics and allows both more effective pursuit of enduring common interests and better management of areas where policy preferences and interests diverge. This report reviews the major shifts in U.S.-Turkey relations since 1989, with particular focus on events of the past year. It offers an assessment of Turkey's evolving internal dynamics, worldview, and relations with its neighbors. It then advances some preliminary recommendations for managing U.S.-Turkey relations over the coming decade.

**Stephen J. Flanagan** is senior vice president and director of the International Security Program at CSIS. **Samuel J. Brannen** is a fellow in the CSIS International Security Program.

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<b>CSIS Report</b>	<b>June 2008</b>
<b>36 pp.</b>	<b>8½" x 11"</b>
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**Ukraine**  
**A Net Assessment of 16 Years of Independence**

**Janusz Bugajski, Steven Pifer, Keith Smith, and Celeste A. Wallander**  
**Foreword by Zbigniew Brzezinski and Volker Rühle**

The Ukrainian people and their government have accomplished much since regaining independence in 1991—in terms of political and economic reform and in building constructive foreign relations with the West and Russia. The record is impressive, perhaps the most impressive of any state to have emerged from the defunct Soviet Union, with the exception of the Baltic nations. There have also, however, been many shortfalls and setbacks.

This report, commissioned by the U.S.-EU Partnership Committee for Ukraine, provides a net assessment of Ukraine's achievements and shortcomings over the last 16 years. The report examines developments in the areas of governance, economics, energy, the military, and international relations. And it offers a series of priority recommendations for Ukraine—as well as for the European Union and the United States—in order to continue progress in those areas.

**Janusz Bugajski** is director of the New European Democracies Project at CSIS. **Steven Pifer** is a senior adviser in the CSIS Russia/Eurasia Program and a former U.S. ambassador to Ukraine. **Keith Smith** is a senior associate with the CSIS Energy and National Security Program and a former U.S. ambassador to Lithuania. **Celeste A. Wallander** is a senior associate with the CSIS Russia/Eurasia Program and a visiting associate professor at Georgetown University.

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<b>CSIS Report</b>	<b>February 2008</b>
<b>44 pp.</b>	<b>8½" x 11"</b>
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## U.S. and Chinese Engagement in Africa

### Prospects for Improving U.S.-China-Africa Cooperation

Edited by Jennifer Cooke

The CSIS Africa Program, in collaboration with the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) and the Chinese Institute for International Studies (CIIS), hosted a conference in Washington, D.C., in December 2007, on U.S. and Chinese engagement in Africa. The event followed from a 2006 conference in Beijing that examined the scope, characteristics, and drivers of China's engagement in Africa. The recent meeting was intended to solicit a range of African views on the impacts of Chinese engagement in Africa and to identify areas for possible U.S.-China-Africa collaboration.

At the December conference, commissioned papers were tabled—and are published here, along with a substantive introduction—that examined China's engagement in Kenya, Angola, and Nigeria. The authors, experts from the three focal countries, each drew on extensive in-country interviews. Their contributions examine the history of and future opportunities for U.S., Chinese, and African cooperation in energy security, public health, corporate social responsibility, and building African security capacity. With U.S., Chinese, and international interest in Africa at a high point—for reasons both positive and negative—this report adds some welcome granularity to the literature on these multifaceted relationships.

**Jennifer Cooke** is codirector of the CSIS Africa Program.

**Contributors:** Indira Campos, Michael Chege, Pat Utomi, Alex Vines

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## The U.S.-Russia Civil Nuclear Agreement

### A Framework for Cooperation

Robert Einhorn, Rose Gottemoeller,  
Fred McGoldrick, Daniel Poneman, Jon Wolfsthal

The United States has 123 Agreements with almost all countries with major nuclear energy programs. A glaring exception is Russia, a country with one of the world's most technologically advanced and commercially active nuclear industries. The reasons for this anomaly include the mutual mistrust that prevailed during the Cold War, the dormancy of the U.S. nuclear industry in the post-Cold War period, and the differing approaches of the two countries toward the nuclear fuel cycle. Since the mid-1990s, the main impediment to a U.S.-Russia 123 Agreement has been Russian nuclear assistance to Iran, which the United States believes is pursuing a nuclear-weapons capability under the cloak of a civil nuclear program. To try to induce Moscow to end such assistance, the Clinton administration and initially the Bush administration refused to negotiate a 123 Agreement with Russia unless it halted all nuclear cooperation with Iran, including its construction of a nuclear power reactor at Bushehr.

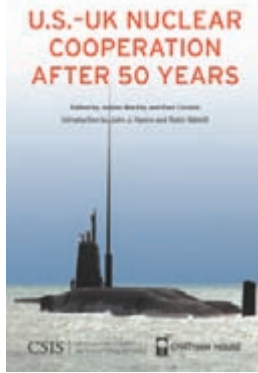
This report argues that the best way to gain Russia's cooperation—on Iran and a wide range of other issues—is to bring the U.S.-Russia 123 Agreement into force.

**Robert Einhorn** is a senior adviser in the CSIS International Security Program. **Rose Gottemoeller** is director of Carnegie Moscow Center. **Fred McGoldrick** is a principal and manager at Bengelsdorf, McGoldrick and Associates. **Daniel Poneman** is a principal of the Scowcroft Group. **Jon Wolfsthal** is a senior fellow with the CSIS International Security Program.

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## U.S.-UK Nuclear Cooperation After 50 Years

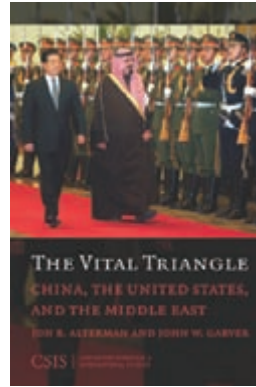
Edited by **Jenifer Mackby** and **Paul Cornish**  
Introduction by **John J. Hamre** and **Robin Niblett**

As Britain and the United States commemorate five decades of the special nuclear relationship embodied in the 1958 Mutual Defense Agreement (MDA), two leading research institutes on either side of the Atlantic have collaborated to examine that history. The Center for Strategic and International Studies, in Washington, D.C., and the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, London, enlisted senior officials, scientists, academics, and members of industry who have been involved in the implementation of the MDA over the years. The contributors were asked to recount how the U.S.-UK nuclear relationship flourished despite such obstacles as the halt in scientific cooperation that had spurred the Manhattan Project; the Suez crisis; and sharp disagreements over scientific, political, and technical issues. They were also asked to look to the future of this unparalleled transatlantic relationship. Abstracts from 36 oral histories (taken with, among others, Des Browne, UK secretary of state for defence; James Schlesinger, former U.S. secretary of energy; and Harold Brown, former U.S. secretary of defense) add to the historical dimension of this work. The resulting collection of histories, analyses, and anecdotes provides valuable reading for understanding how the two nations were drawn together by a common threat during a turbulent era and how they will face future challenges in a radically changed security environment.

**Jenifer Mackby** is a fellow in the International Security Program at CSIS in Washington, D.C. **Paul Cornish** is head of the International Security Programme at Chatham House in London.

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## The Vital Triangle

China, the United States, and the Middle East

Jon B. Alterman and John W. Garver

This volume explores the complex interrelationships among China, the United States, and the Middle East—what the authors call the “vital triangle.” There is surely much to be gained from continuing the conventional two-dimensional analysis—China and the United States, the United States and the Middle East, and China and the Middle East. Such scholarship has a long history and no doubt a long future. But it is the three-dimensional equation—which seeks to understand the effects of the China-Middle East relationship on the United States, the U.S.-Middle East relationship on China, and the Sino-American relationship on the Middle East—that draws the authors’ attention here. This approach captures the true dynamics of change in world affairs and the spiraling up and down of national interests. Central to this analysis is a belief that if any one of the three sides of this triangular relationship is unhappy, it has the power to make the other two unhappy as well. The stakes and the intimacy of the interrelationship highlight not only the importance of reaching accommodation, but also the potential payoff of agreement on common purpose.

**Jon B. Alterman** is a senior fellow and director of the Middle East Program at CSIS. He is the coeditor, with Karin von Hippel, of *Understanding Islamic Charities* (CSIS, 2007). **John W. Garver** is a professor at the Sam Nunn School of International Affairs at Georgia Tech.

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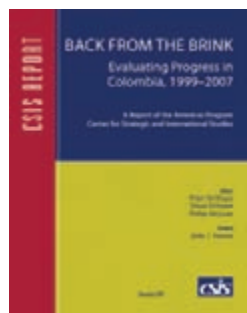


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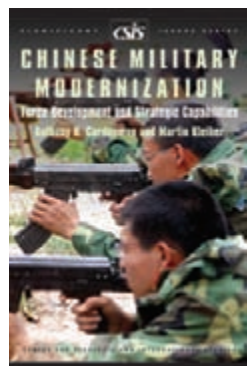
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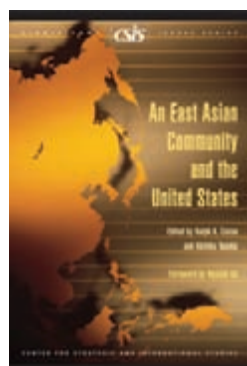
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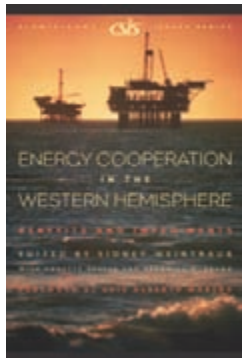


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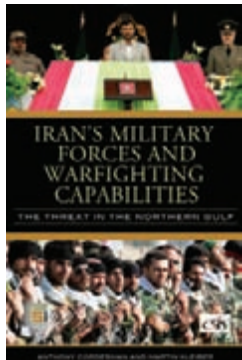
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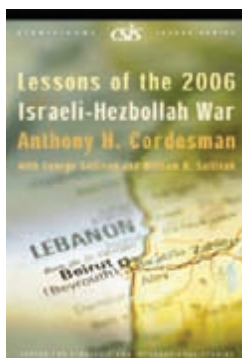
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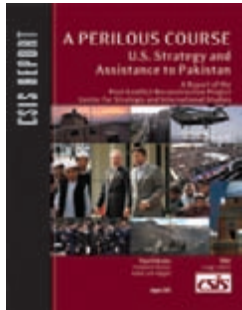


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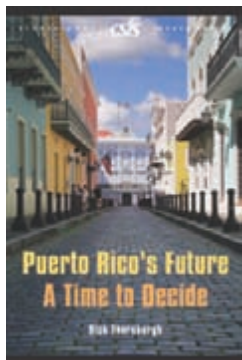
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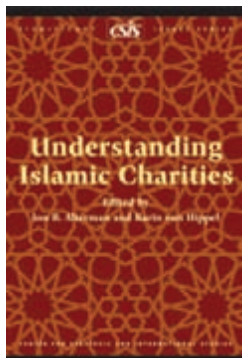


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