**Pericles of Athens**

**Vincent Azoulay**

Translated by Janet Lloyd

With a foreword by Paul Cartledge

Pericles has had the rare distinction of giving his name to an entire period of history, embodying what has often been taken as the golden age of the ancient Greek world. “Periclean” Athens witnessed tumultuous political and military events, and achievements of the highest order in philosophy, drama, poetry, oratory, and architecture. *Pericles of Athens* is the first book in more than two decades to reassess the life and legacy of one of the greatest generals, orators, and statesmen of the classical world.

In this compelling critical biography, Vincent Azoulay provides an unforgettable portrait of Pericles and his turbulent era, shedding light on his powerful family, his patronage of the arts, and his unrivaled influence on Athenian politics and culture. He takes a fresh look at both the classical and modern reception of Pericles, recognizing his achievements as well as his failings while deftly avoiding the adulatory or hypercritical positions staked out by some scholars today. From Thucydides and Plutarch to Voltaire and Hegel, ancient and modern authors have questioned the great statesman’s relationship with democracy and Athenian society. Did Pericles hold supreme power over willing masses or was he just a gifted representative of popular aspirations? Was Periclean Athens a democracy in name only, as Thucydides suggests? This is the enigma that Azoulay investigates in this groundbreaking book.

*Pericles of Athens* offers a balanced look at the complex life and afterlife of the legendary “first citizen of Athens” who presided over the birth of democracy.

Vincent Azoulay is assistant professor of ancient Greek history at the Université Paris-Est Marne-la-Vallée and a leading expert on the politics of classical Greece.

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“Remarkable in every way.”
—Roger-Pol Droit, *Le Monde*

“Rigorous and finely argued.”
—Pascal Payen, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*

“This impressive book successfully strikes a critical balance between the excessive praise and hypercriticism that have dominated scholarship in recent decades.”
—Kurt Raaflaub, author of *The Discovery of Freedom in Ancient Greece*
BYZANTINE MATTERS

AVERIL CAMERON

For many of us, Byzantium remains “byzantine”—obscure, marginal, difficult. Despite the efforts of some recent historians, prejudices still deform popular and scholarly understanding of the Byzantine civilization, often reducing it to a poor relation of Rome and the rest of the classical world. In this book, renowned historian Averil Cameron presents an original and personal view of the challenges and questions facing historians of Byzantium today.

The book explores five major themes, all subjects of controversy. “Absence” asks why Byzantium is routinely passed over, ignored, or relegated to a sphere of its own. “Empire” reinserts Byzantium into modern debates about empire, and discusses the nature of its system and its remarkable longevity. “Hellenism” confronts the question of the “Greekness” of Byzantium, and of the place of Byzantium in modern Greek consciousness. “The Realms of Gold” asks what lessons can be drawn from Byzantine visual art, and “The Very Model of Orthodoxy” challenges existing views of Byzantine Christianity.

Throughout, the book addresses misconceptions about Byzantium, suggests why it is so important to integrate the civilization into wider histories, and lays out why Byzantium should be central to ongoing debates about the relationships between West and East, Christianity and Islam, Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy, and the ancient and medieval periods. The result is a forthright and compelling call to reconsider the place of Byzantium in Western history and imagination.

Averil Cameron is professor emeritus of late antique and Byzantine history at the University of Oxford and former warden of Keble College, Oxford. Her books include The Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity, The Byzantines, and The Later Roman Empire.

“In this brilliant and remarkably refreshing book, one of the most distinguished living Byzantinists describes what has changed and what still needs to change in our approach to Byzantium. Personal, direct, and written with extraordinary acuity, Byzantine Matters will be essential reading for all those interested in the future of classical, medieval, and Byzantine studies.”

—Peter Sarris, author of Empires of Faith: The Fall of Rome to the Rise of Islam, 500–700

MAY

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HISTORY

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“A tour de force. Cross and Scepter is a short, readable, and deeply learned introduction to the political and constitutional history of Scandinavia, written by Scandinavia’s foremost medieval historian. No one else but Bagge could have achieved this with such apparent ease.”

Cross and Scepter
The Rise of the Scandinavian Kingdoms from the Vikings to the Reformation

Sverre Bagge

Christianity and European-style monarchy—the cross and the scepter—were introduced to Scandinavia in the tenth century, a development that was to have profound implications for all of Europe. Cross and Scepter is a concise history of the Scandinavian kingdoms from the age of the Vikings to the Reformation, written by Scandinavia’s leading medieval historian. Sverre Bagge shows how the rise of the three kingdoms not only changed the face of Scandinavia, but also helped make the territorial state the standard political unit in Western Europe. He describes Scandinavia’s momentous conversion to Christianity and the creation of church and monarchy there, and traces how these events transformed Scandinavian law and justice, military and administrative organization, social structure, political culture, and the division of power among the king, aristocracy, and common people.

Bagge sheds important new light on the reception of Christianity and European learning in Scandinavia, and on Scandinavian history writing, philosophy, political thought, and courtly culture. He looks at the reception of European impulses and their adaptation to Scandinavian conditions, and examines the relationship of the three kingdoms to each other and the rest of Europe, paying special attention to the inter-Scandinavian unions and their consequences for the concept of government and the division of power.

Cross and Scepter provides an essential introduction to Scandinavian medieval history for scholars and general readers alike, offering vital new insights into state formation and cultural change in Europe.

Sverre Bagge is professor emeritus of medieval history at the University of Bergen in Norway. His books include Kings, Politics, and the Right Order of the World in German Historiography.
In Search of Sacred Time

Jacques Le Goff

Translated by Lydia G. Cochrane

It is impossible to understand the late Middle Ages without grasping the importance of The Golden Legend, the most popular medieval collection of saints’ lives. Assembled for clerical use in the thirteenth century by Genoese archbishop Jacobus de Voragine, the book became the medieval equivalent of a best seller. By 1500, there were more copies of it in circulation than there were of the Bible itself. Priests drew on The Golden Legend for their sermons, the faithful used it for devotion and piety, and artists and writers mined it endlessly in their works. In Search of Sacred Time is the first comprehensive history and interpretation of this crucial book. Jacques Le Goff, one of the world’s most renowned medievalists, provides a lucid, compelling, and unparalleled account of why and how The Golden Legend exerted such a profound influence on medieval life.

In Search of Sacred Time explains how The Golden Legend—an encyclopedic work that followed the course of the liturgical calendar and recounted the life of the saint for each feast day—worked its way into the fabric of medieval life. Le Goff describes how this ambitious book was carefully crafted to give sense and shape to the Christian year, under scoring its meaning and drama through the stories of saints, miracles, and martyrs. Ultimately, Le Goff argues, The Golden Legend influenced how medieval Christians perceived the passage of time, Christianizing time itself and reconciling human and divine temporality.

Authoritative, eloquent, and original, In Search of Sacred Time is a major reinterpretation of a book that is central to comprehending the medieval imagination.

Jacques Le Goff is a world-renowned historian of the Middle Ages. His books include Medieval Civilization, 400–1500, The Birth of Europe, The Medieval Imagination, Money and the Middle Ages, The Birth of Purgatory, Saint Francis of Assisi, and Intellectuals in the Middle Ages.

“This is a comprehensive and innovative interpretation of The Golden Legend. Jacques Le Goff—one of the world’s finest medieval historians—has produced a most engaging and important book. It combines utter authority, intellectual vigor, beautiful prose, and countless rich insights into medieval culture. Taking the approach of a cultural historian, Le Goff shows why the vastly ambitious Golden Legend had such a tremendous purchase on the medieval imagination.”

—Miri Rubin, Queen Mary University of London

Also available—the only complete English edition of The Golden Legend

The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints

Jacobus de Voragine

Translated by William Granger Ryan

With an introduction by Eamon Duffy

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816 pages. 6 x 9.
“Joseph Mazur teaches us that the history of mathematical notation is the history of human civilization.”
—Kenneth A. Ribet, University of California, Berkeley

Enlightening Symbols
A Short History of Mathematical Notation and Its Hidden Powers

Joseph Mazur

While all of us regularly use basic math symbols such as those for plus, minus, and equals, few of us know that many of these symbols weren’t available before the sixteenth century. What did mathematicians rely on for their work before then? And how did mathematical notations evolve into what we know today? In Enlightenment Symbols, popular math writer Joseph Mazur explains the fascinating history behind the development of our mathematical notation system. He shows how symbols were used initially, how one symbol replaced another over time, and how written math was conveyed before and after symbols became widely adopted.

Traversing mathematical history and the foundations of numerals in different cultures, Mazur looks at how historians have disagreed over the origins of the numerical system for the past two centuries. He follows the transfigurations of algebra from a rhetorical style to a symbolic one, demonstrating that most algebra before the sixteenth century was written in prose or in verse employing the written names of numerals. Mazur also investigates the subconscious and psychological effects that mathematical symbols have had on mathematical thought, moods, meaning, communication, and comprehension. He considers how these symbols influence us (through similarity, association, identity, resemblance, and repeated imagery), how they lead to new ideas by subconscious associations, how they make connections between experience and the unknown, and how they contribute to the communication of basic mathematics.

From words to abbreviations to symbols, this book shows how math evolved to the familiar forms we use today.

Joseph Mazur is the author of Euclid in the Rainforest (Plume), which was a finalist for the PEN/Martha Albrand Award, as well as The Motion Paradox (Penguin) and What’s Luck Got to Do with It? (Princeton). He lives with his wife, Jennifer, in Vermont.
Dream Interpretation
Ancient and Modern

Notes from the Seminar Given in 1936–1941

C. G. Jung

Edited by John Peck, Lorenz Jung & Maria Meyer-Grass

Translated by Ernst Falzeder with the collaboration of Tony Woolfson

From 1936 to 1941, C. G. Jung gave a four-part seminar series in Zurich on children’s dreams and the historical literature on dream interpretation. This book completes the two-part publication of this landmark seminar, presenting the sessions devoted to dream interpretation and its history. Here we witness Jung as both clinician and teacher: impatient and sometimes authoritarian but also witty, wise, and intellectually daring, a man who, though brilliant, could be vulnerable, uncertain, and humbled by life’s mysteries. These sessions open a window on Jungian dream interpretation in practice, as Jung examines a long dream series from the Renaissance physician Girolamo Cardano. They also provide the best example of group supervision by Jung the educator. Presented here in an inspired English translation commissioned by the Philemon Foundation, these sessions reveal Jung as an impassioned teacher in dialogue with his students as he developed and refined the discipline of analytical psychology.

An invaluable document of perhaps the most important psychologist of the twentieth century at work, this splendid book is the fullest representation of Jung’s interpretations of dream literatures, filling a critical gap in his collected works.

John Peck is a Jungian analyst in private practice. He is a cotranslator of Jung’s Red Book and the author of ten books of poetry, including Contradance. Lorenz Jung, now deceased, was a grandson of C. G. Jung and a Jungian analyst in private practice. Maria Meyer-Grass is a Jungian analyst in private practice. Ernst Falzeder is lecturer at the University of Innsbruck and senior editor at the Philemon Foundation. He is the editor of The Complete Correspondence of Sigmund Freud and Karl Abraham, 1907–1925.

This is a very important book that adds a critical dimension to the Jungian literature. It provides a look into how Jung formulated his thinking in a group setting, and how he tried to put forward his conceptualizations. Readers will encounter Jung’s darker side, but they will also become acquainted with his creative genius for interpreting dreams, his wide scholarship, and his penetrating intuition.”

—Brian Feldman, Jungian psychoanalyst

PHILEMON FOUNDATION SERIES

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328 pages. 2 tables. 6 x 9.
PSYCHOLOGY

PRESS.PRINCETON.EDU
“Unputdownable” is a word more often used of novels than of books on general equilibrium theory, but it describes this book. Written in a style accessible to nonmathematicians, Finding Equilibrium makes fascinating reading for anyone interested in the rise of mathematical economics after the Second World War.”

—Roger Backhouse, author of The Ordinary Business of Life: A History of Economics from the Ancient World to the Twenty-First Century

Finding Equilibrium explores the post–World War II transformation of economics by constructing a history of the proof of its central dogma—that a competitive market economy may possess a set of equilibrium prices. The model economy for which the theorem could be proved was mapped out in 1954 by Kenneth Arrow and Gerard Debreu collaboratively, and by Lionel McKenzie separately, and would become widely known as the “Arrow-Debreu Model.” While Arrow and Debreu would later go on to win separate Nobel prizes in economics, McKenzie would never receive it. Till Düppe and E. Roy Weintraub explore the lives and work of these economists and the issues of scientific credit against the extraordinary backdrop of overlapping research communities and an economics discipline that was shifting dramatically to mathematical modes of expression.

Based on recently opened archives, Finding Equilibrium shows the complex interplay between each man’s personal life and work, and examines compelling ideas about scientific credit, publication, regard for different research institutions, and the awarding of Nobel prizes. Instead of asking whether recognition was rightly or wrongly given, and who were the heroes or villains, the book considers attitudes toward intellectual credit and strategies to gain it vis-à-vis the communities that grant it.

Telling the story behind the proof of the central theorem in economics, Finding Equilibrium sheds light on the changing nature of the scientific community and the critical connections between the personal and public rewards of scientific work.

Till Düppe is assistant professor of economics at the Université du Québec à Montréal. He is the author of The Making of the Economy. E. Roy Weintraub is professor of economics at Duke University. He is the author of How Economics Became a Mathematical Science.
Complexity science—made possible by modern analytical and computational advances—is changing the way we think about social systems and social theory. Unfortunately, economists’ policy models have not kept up and are stuck in either a market fundamentalist or government control narrative. While these standard narratives are useful in some cases, they are damaging in others, directing thinking away from creative, innovative policy solutions. Complexity and the Art of Public Policy outlines a new, more flexible policy narrative, picturing society as a complex evolving system that is uncontrollable but that can be influenced.

David Colander and Roland Kupers describe how economists and society became locked into the current policy framework, and lay out fresh alternatives for framing policy questions. Offering original solutions to stubborn problems, the complexity narrative builds on broader philosophical traditions, such as those in the work of John Stuart Mill, to suggest initiatives that the authors call “activist laissez-faire” policies. Colander and Kupers develop innovative bottom-up solutions that, through new institutional structures such as for-benefit corporations, channel individuals’ social instincts into solving societal problems, making profits a tool for change rather than a goal. They argue that a central role for government in this complexity framework is to foster an ecostructure within which diverse forms of social entrepreneurship can emerge and blossom.

David Colander is College Professor in the Department of Economics at Middlebury College, where he was the Christian A. Johnson Distinguished Professor of Economics from 1982 to 2013. His many books include The Making of an Economist, Redux (Princeton). Roland Kupers is an associate fellow in the Smith School of Enterprise and the Environment at the University of Oxford and was a senior executive at AT&T and Shell from 1987 to 2010. He is the coauthor of The Essence of Shell Scenarios: Reframing Strategy.

“This accessible and well-researched book argues that the world in which our leaders govern has become increasingly complex and interconnected, with the potential for unexpected, harmful events, such as market crashes and political uprisings. Complexity, though, should not be avoided. Properly harnessed, the drivers of complexity can produce constant innovation while maintaining system-level robustness. Achieving those ends requires an understanding of the bottom-up thinking so engagingly presented in this book.”

—Scott Page, University of Michigan
“Filled with fascinating anecdotes and information about U.S. policy toward the science and engineering workforce, this powerful book shows that officials, industry lobbyists, and leading members of the scientific establishment have time and again tried to make the case that the United States needs more scientists and engineers when there is no evidence of this. With verve and clarity, Falling Behind? raises the level of discourse on science workforce issues.” —Richard Freeman, Harvard University

Is the United States falling behind in the global race for scientific and engineering talent? Are U.S. employers facing shortages of the skilled workers that they need to compete in a globalized world? Such claims from some employers and educators have been widely embraced by mainstream media and political leaders, and have figured prominently in recent policy debates about education, federal expenditures, tax policy, and immigration. Falling Behind? offers careful examinations of the existing evidence and of its use by those involved in these debates.

These concerns are by no means a recent phenomenon. Examining historical precedent, Michael Teitelbaum highlights five episodes of alarm about “falling behind” that go back nearly seventy years to the end of World War II. In each of these episodes the political system responded by rapidly expanding the supply of scientists and engineers, but only a few years later political enthusiasm or economic demand waned. Booms turned to busts, leaving many of those who had been encouraged to pursue science and engineering careers facing disheartening career prospects. Their experiences deterred younger and equally talented students from following in their footsteps—thereby sowing the seeds of the next cycle of alarm, boom, and bust.

Falling Behind? examines these repeated cycles up to the present, shedding new light on the adequacy of the science and engineering workforce for the current and future needs of the United States.

Michael S. Teitelbaum is a Wertheim Fellow in the Labor and Worklife Program at Harvard Law School and senior advisor to the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation in New York. Until 2011 he was vice president of the Sloan Foundation. His previous books include The Global Spread of Fertility Decline, A Question of Numbers, The Fear of Population Decline, and The British Fertility Decline.
**Philology**

The Forgotten Origins of the Modern Humanities

James Turner

Many today do not recognize the word, but “philology” was for centuries nearly synonymous with humanistic intellectual life, encompassing not only the study of Greek and Roman literature and the Bible but also all other studies of language and literature, as well as religion, history, culture, art, archaeology, and more. In short, philology was the queen of the human sciences. How did it become little more than an archaic word? In *Philology*, the first history of Western humanistic learning as a connected whole ever published in English, James Turner tells the fascinating, forgotten story of how the study of languages and texts led to the modern humanities and the modern university.

This compelling narrative traces the development of humanistic learning from its beginning among ancient Greek scholars and rhetoricians, through the Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Enlightenment, to the English-speaking world of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Turner shows how evolving researches into the texts, languages, and physical artifacts of the past led, over many centuries, to sophisticated comparative methods and a deep historical awareness of the uniqueness of earlier ages. But around 1800, he explains, these interlinked philological and antiquarian studies began to fragment into distinct academic fields. These fissures resulted, within a century or so, in the new, independent “disciplines” that we now call the humanities. Yet the separation of these disciplines only obscured, rather than erased, their common features.

The humanities today face a crisis of relevance, if not of meaning and purpose. Understanding their common origins—and what they still share—has never been more urgent.

James Turner is the Cavanaugh Professor of Humanities at the University of Notre Dame, where he teaches in the History Department and the doctoral program in history and philosophy of science. He is the author of *The Liberal Education of Charles Eliot Norton* and *Religion Enters the Academy*, and the coauthor of *The Sacred and the Secular University* (Princeton).

“This fascinating book makes a powerful argument: that the modern humanities derived in large part from the broad tradition of philology. This genealogy, Turner shows, clarifies the origins of both the modern research university and its disciplines, and explains similarities between such apparently diverse fields as history and comparative religion…. This is a gripping intellectual detective story.”

—Anthony Grafton, Princeton University

**JUNE**

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544 pages. 6 x 9.

HISTORY I EDUCATION

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“Courageous, remarkably erudite, and deeply moving, this important book is the work of a thinker and activist at the height of her powers. Read it for rich historical perspective, wise legal analysis, and practical policy recommendations that address the vulnerabilities of children in the international landscape today.”

—Linda K. Kerber, author of *No Constitutional Right to Be Ladies: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship*

**Child Migration and Human Rights in a Global Age**

Jacqueline Bhabha

Why, despite massive public concern, is child trafficking on the rise? Why are unaccompanied migrant children living on the streets and routinely threatened with deportation to their countries of origin? Why do so many young refugees of war-ravaged and failed states end up warehoused in camps, victimized by the sex trade, or enlisted as child soldiers? This book provides the first comprehensive account of the widespread but neglected global phenomenon of child migration, exploring the complex challenges facing children and adolescents who move to join their families, those who are moved to be exploited, and those who move simply to survive.

Spanning several continents and drawing on the actual stories of young migrants, the book shows how difficult it is for children to reunite with parents who left them behind to seek work abroad. It looks at the often-insurmountable obstacles we place in the paths of adolescents fleeing war, exploitation, or destitution; the contradictory elements in our approach to international adoption; and the limited support we give to young people brutalized as child soldiers. Part history, part in-depth legal and political analysis, this powerful book challenges the prevailing wisdom that widespread protection failures are caused by our lack of awareness of the problems these children face, arguing instead that our societies have a deep-seated ambivalence to migrant children—one we need to address head-on.

*Child Migration and Human Rights in a Global Age* offers a road map for doing just that, and makes a compelling and courageous case for an international ethics of children’s human rights.


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978-0-691-14360-6
400 pages. 7 halftones. 6 x 9.
CURRENT AFFAIRS | LAW

PRESS.PRINCETON.EDU
There Goes the Gayborhood?

Amin Ghaziani

Gay neighborhoods, like the legendary Castro District in San Francisco and New York’s Greenwich Village, have long provided sexual minorities with safe havens in an often unsafe world. But as our society increasingly accepts gays and lesbians into the mainstream, are “gayborhoods” destined to disappear? Amin Ghaziani provides an incisive look at the origins of these unique cultural enclaves, the reasons why they are changing today, and their prospects for the future.

Drawing on a wealth of evidence—including census data, opinion polls, hundreds of newspaper reports from across the United States, and more than one hundred original interviews with residents in Chicago, one of the most paradigmatic cities in America—There Goes the Gayborhood? argues that political gains and societal acceptance are allowing gays and lesbians to imagine expansive possibilities for a life beyond the gayborhood. The dawn of a new post-gay era is altering the character and composition of existing enclaves across the country, but the spirit of integration can coexist alongside the celebration of differences in subtle and sometimes surprising ways. More diverse options for how to structure gay and lesbian lives mean not the death of gayborhoods but rather their unexpected growth.

Exploring the intimate relationship between sexuality and the city, this cutting-edge book reveals how gayborhoods, like the cities that surround them, are organic and continually evolving places. Gayborhoods have nurtured sexual minorities throughout the twentieth century and, despite the unstoppable forces of flux, will remain resonant and revelatory features of urban life.

Amin Ghaziani is associate professor of sociology at the University of British Columbia. He is the author of The Dividends of Dissent: How Conflict and Culture Work in Lesbian and Gay Marches on Washington.

PRINCETON STUDIES IN CULTURAL SOCIOLOGY
Paul J. DiMaggio, Michèle Lamont, Robert J. Wuthnow, and Viviana A. Zelizer, Series Editors

“What happens to cities when gay life moves out of the closet and into the streets? In this important book, Amin Ghaziani examines the cultural politics and political economy of the gayborhood, charting its emergence as a safe space in a hostile environment and its evolving role in the gentrifying metropolis. There Goes the Gayborhood? is original, timely, and provocative. It’s destined to spark a heated debate.”

—Eric Klinenberg, author of Going Solo and Heat Wave

AUGUST

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360 pages. 5 halftones. 2 line illus.
15 tables. 6 maps. 6 x 9.
URBAN STUDIES I SOCIOLOGY

PRESS.PRINCETON.EDU
“Zimmerman makes a unique and innovative contribution to our thinking about the evolution of Soviet and Russian politics since 1917. With brilliance and welcome flashes of wry humor, he leads readers through the history of both Soviet and post-Soviet politics, right through to today. Ruling Russia is an important book.”
—George W. Breslauer, author of Gorbachev and Yeltsin as Leaders

When the Soviet Union collapsed, many hoped that Russia’s centuries-long history of autocratic rule might finally end. Yet today’s Russia appears to be retreating from democracy, not progressing toward it. Ruling Russia is the only book of its kind to trace the history of modern Russian politics from the Bolshevik Revolution to the presidency of Vladimir Putin. It examines the complex evolution of communist and post-Soviet leadership in light of the latest research in political science, explaining why the democratization of Russia has all but failed.

William Zimmerman argues that in the 1930s the USSR was totalitarian but gradually evolved into a normal authoritarian system, while the post-Soviet Russian Federation evolved from a competitive authoritarian to a normal authoritarian system in the first decade of the twenty-first century. He traces how the selectorate—those empowered to choose the decision makers—has changed across different regimes since the end of tsarist rule. The selectorate was limited in the period after the revolution, and contracted still further during Joseph Stalin’s dictatorship, only to expand somewhat after his death. Zimmerman also assesses Russia’s political prospects in future elections. He predicts that while a return to totalitarianism in the coming decade is unlikely, so too is democracy.

Rich in historical detail, Ruling Russia is the first book to cover the entire period of the regime changes from the Bolsheviks to Putin, and is essential reading for anyone seeking to understand why Russia still struggles to implement lasting democratic reforms.

William Zimmerman is professor emeritus of political science at the University of Michigan, where he is also research professor emeritus at the Institute for Social Research. This is his fourth book with Princeton University Press, his most recent being The Russian People and Foreign Policy: Russian Elite and Mass Perspectives, 1993–2000.
Strategic Reassurance and Resolve
U.S.-China Relations in the Twenty-First Century

James Steinberg & Michael E. O’Hanlon

After forty years of largely cooperative Sino-U.S. relations, policymakers, politicians, and pundits on both sides of the Pacific see growing tensions between the United States and China. Some go so far as to predict a future of conflict, driven by the inevitable rivalry between an established and a rising power, and urge their leaders to prepare now for a future showdown. Others argue that the deep economic interdependence between the two countries and the many areas of shared interests will lead to more collaborative relations in the coming decades.

In this book, James Steinberg and Michael O’Hanlon stake out a third, less deterministic position. They argue that there are powerful domestic and international factors, especially in the military and security realms, that could well push the bilateral relationship toward an arms race and confrontation, even though both sides will be far worse off if such a future comes to pass. They contend that this pessimistic scenario can be confidently avoided only if China and the United States adopt deliberate policies designed to address the security dilemma that besets the relationship between a rising and an established power. The authors propose a set of policy proposals to achieve a sustainable, relatively cooperative relationship between the two nations, based on the concept of providing mutual strategic reassurance in such key areas as nuclear weapons and missile defense, space and cyber operations, and military basing and deployments, while also demonstrating strategic resolve to protect vital national interests, including, in the case of the United States, its commitments to regional allies.

James Steinberg is dean and professor of social science, international affairs, and law at Syracuse University and former deputy secretary of state in the Obama administration. His books include An Ever Closer Union. Michael E. O’Hanlon is a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution who specializes in national security policy. His books include The Science of War (Princeton). Steinberg and O’Hanlon are the authors of Protecting the American Homeland.

“This excellent book makes an elegant statement on the stakes involved in achieving strategic coexistence between the established power, the United States, and the rising power, China. The authors provide a specific set of guidelines for avoiding unnecessary competition.”
—Patrick M. Cronin, Center for a New American Security

JUNE
Cloth $29.95S
978-0-691-15951-5
320 pages. 3 line illus. 8 tables. 1 map. 6 x 9.
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS • POLITICS

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“Filled with striking examples, this ambitious book offers a new perspective on globalization—in particular, the need for policy responses that recognize the challenges presented by the globalization of many domains, from health to finance. The message about the need for coordination to overcome systemic problems will strike a chord with readers.”
—Diane Coyle, author of The Soulful Science: What Economists Really Do and Why It Matters

“This fascinating and useful book provides interesting examples and connections across a range of fields and areas of study.”
—Danny Quah, London School of Economics and Political Science

Global hyperconnectivity and increased system integration have led to vast benefits, including worldwide growth in incomes, education, innovation, and technology. But rapid globalization has also created concerns because the repercussions of local events now cascade over national borders and the fallout of financial meltdowns and environmental disasters affects everyone. The Butterfly Defect addresses the widening gap between systemic risks and their effective management. It shows how the new dynamics of turbo-charged globalization has the potential and power to destabilize our societies. Drawing on the latest insights from a wide variety of disciplines, Ian Goldin and Mike Mariathasan provide practical guidance for how governments, businesses, and individuals can better manage risk in our contemporary world.

Goldin and Mariathasan assert that the current complexities of globalization will not be sustainable as surprises become more frequent and have widespread impacts. The recent financial crisis exemplifies the new form of systemic risk that will characterize the coming decades, and the authors provide the first framework for understanding how such risk will function in the twenty-first century. Goldin and Mariathasan demonstrate that systemic risk issues are now endemic everywhere—in supply chains, pandemics, infrastructure, ecology and climate change, economics, and politics. Unless we are better able to address these concerns, they will lead to greater protectionism, xenophobia, nationalism, and, inevitably, deglobalization, rising conflict, and slower growth.

The Butterfly Defect shows that mitigating uncertainty and systemic risk in an interconnected world is an essential task for our future.

Ian Goldin is director of the Oxford Martin School and professor of globalization and development at the University of Oxford. He has served as vice president of the World Bank and advisor to President Nelson Mandela. His many books include Divided Nations, Globalization for Development, and Exceptional People (Princeton). Mike Mariathasan is assistant professor of finance at the University of Vienna.