



Global Leadership & the U.S. Role in World Affairs

February 20 – 22, 2009

Conference Book List

As of November 24, 2008

The list is developed with the Camden Conference Program Committee. Books are selected from a list of over 100 possibilities, and each book is listed alphabetically by first named author. We have placed each in one of four sections: (1) Our Top Picks, (2) Also Highly Recommended, (3) Selected Specific Issues (e.g. energy, global warming, Middle East, etc.), (4) Other Possibilities.

As new relevant books are published, we will continue to add them as the crazy election season continues to unfold.

Comments are welcome, especially recommendations you would like us to consider. Please e-mail samton1@verizon.net.

(1) Our Top Picks

Madeleine Albright. *Memo to the President-Elect: How We Can Restore America's Reputation and Leadership*, Harper, January 2008.

The next president, whether Democrat or Republican, will face the daunting task of repairing America's core relationships and tarnished credibility after the damage caused during the past seven years. In *Memo to the President Elect*, former secretary of state and author Madeleine Albright offers provocative ideas about how to confront the striking array of challenges that the next commander-in-chief will face and how to return America to its rightful role as a source of inspiration across the globe.

Drawing on her extensive experience as an advisor to two presidents and a key figure in four presidential transitions, she provides an insider's analysis of U.S. options in addressing the decisive issues of our era: terrorism, wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, rivalries in the Middle East, the potential for nuclear war, and headaches created by such troublesome leaders as Iran's Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, Russia's Vladimir Putin, Venezuela's Hugo Chávez, and North Korea's Kim Jong-il.

Philip Bobbitt, *Terror and Consent. The Wars for the Twenty-First Century*, Knopf, April, 2008.

Bobbitt provides a provocative analysis of the West's ongoing struggle against terrorism. He writes that, the primary "driver" of terrorism is not Islam but the emergence of the market state. "Market states" (such as the U.S.) are characterized by their emphasis on deregulation, privatization (of prisons, pensions, armies), abdication of typical nation-state duties (providing welfare or health care) and adoption of corporate models of "operational effectiveness." While market states are too militarily formidable to be challenged conventionally, they have allowed for the sale of weapons on the international market, thereby losing their monopoly on mass destruction; furthermore they are disproportionately vulnerable to "destabilizing, delegitimizing, demoralizing" terror. Bobbitt asserts that this situation requires a shift from a strategy of deterrence and containment to one of preclusion. States must recast concepts of sovereignty and legitimacy to define what levels of force they may deploy in seeking and suppressing terrorists. Domestically, the shift involves accepting that in order to protect citizens; the state must strengthen its powers in sensitive areas like surveillance. International alliances can be a major advantage in a war waged not against terrorists, but terror itself. Bobbit is professor and Director for the Center for National Security at Columbia University. **Edited from www.publishersweekly.com.**

Zbigniew Brzezinski. *Second Chance: Three Presidents and the Crisis of American Superpower*, Basic Books, 2007.

Former National Security Adviser Brzezinski offers a story of wasted opportunity and squandered prestige: a critique of the last three U.S. presidents' foreign policy. His is a reasoned but unsparing assessment of the last three presidential administrations' foreign policy. Though spanning less than two decades, these administrations cover a vitally important turning point in world history: the period in which the United States, having emerged from the Cold War with unprecedented power and prestige, managed to squander both in a remarkably short time.

This is a tale of decline: from the competent but conventional thinking of the first Bush administration, to the well-intentioned self-indulgence of the Clinton administration, to the mortgaging of America's future by the "suicidal statecraft" of the second Bush administration. Brzezinski concludes with a chapter on how America can regain its lost prestige. This scholarly yet highly opinionated book is sure to be both controversial and influential. **Edited from the publisher.**

Zbigniew Brzezinski and Brent Scowcroft, with David Ignatius as moderator. "America and the World: Conversations on the Future of American Foreign Policy, Basic 2008.

The status of the United States as a world power, and the nature of power itself, are at a historic turning point. It is essential that we understand and adapt to the new security environment in which we find ourselves.

Two respected figures in American foreign policy are Zbigniew Brzezinski and Brent Scowcroft—both former National Security Advisors under markedly different administrations. They dissect, in spontaneous and unscripted conversations moderated by David Ignatius, the most significant foreign policy challenges facing the U.S.: the Middle East, Russia, China, Europe, the Developing World, the changing nature of power in a globalized world, and what Brzezinski has called the "global political awakening." While one author is a Republican and the other a Democrat, they broadly agree on the need to adapt to a new international environment. Where they disagree, their exchanges are always both deeply informed and provocative.

America and the World will define the center of responsible opinion on American foreign policy at a time when the nation's decisions could determine how long it remains a superpower. **From the publisher.**

Amy Chua. *Day of Empire: How Hyperpowers Rise to Global Dominance--and Why They Fall*, Doubleday, 2007.

In a little over two centuries, America has grown from a regional power to a superpower, and to what is today called a hyperpower. But can America retain its position as the world's dominant power, or has it already begun to decline?

Now, in this history of globally dominant empires Chua explains how hyperpowers rise and fall. She examines history's hyperpowers—Persia, Rome, Tang China, the Mongols, the Dutch, the British, and the United States—and reveals the reasons behind their success, as well as the roots of their ultimate demise.

For all their differences, every one of these world-dominant powers was, at least by the standards of its time, extraordinarily pluralistic and tolerant. Each one succeeded by harnessing the skills and energies of individuals from very different backgrounds, and by attracting and exploiting highly talented groups that were excluded in other societies.

But Chua also shows that in virtually every instance, multicultural tolerance eventually sowed the seeds of decline, and diversity became a liability, triggering conflict, hatred, and violence. The United States is the quintessential example of a power that rose to global dominance through tolerance and diversity. The secret to America's success has always been its unsurpassed ability to attract enterprising immigrants. Today, however, concerns about outsourcing and uncontrolled illegal immigration are producing a backlash against our tradition of cultural openness. Chua is a law professor at Yale. Is author of *World on Fire*. **Edited from publisher.**

Niall Ferguson. *The War of the World: Twentieth-Century Conflict and the Descent of the West*, Penguin, September 21, 2006; paper 2007.

Ferguson's broadest work to date, this sprawling [880 page] book folds the author's previous theories of empire and economics into an international history of twentieth-century violence. **From Booklist.**

The 20th-century "war of the world" ended, [Harvard professor] Ferguson argues, with the conclusion of the Korean War in 1953, though as he says, it is "absurd for us to remember the cold war fondly as a time of peace and stability" when "between 1945 and 1983 around 19 or 20 million people were killed in around 100 major military conflicts." Now, with the cold war over, "it is China," Ferguson says, "that is the rising power." But his real conclusion is a warning to the West. We must study the 20th century, he insists, because in different ways, it could all happen again: "We shall avoid another century of conflict only if we understand the forces that caused the last one — the dark forces that conjure up ethnic conflict and imperial rivalry out of economic crisis, and in doing so negate our common humanity. They are forces that stir within us still." Copyright The New York Times Company. **From NYT's review by Simon Sebag Montefiore.**

Lawrence Freedman, *A Choice of Enemies*, Public Affairs, 2008 (640 pp).

In *A Choice of Enemies*, Lawrence Freedman provides a sense of the pressures and trade-offs facing American presidents over the past few decades. Here he takes one of the most analyzed and controversial subjects in modern politics – US policy towards the Middle East. Sir Lawrence Freedman, professor of war studies at King's College, London, presents a fast-paced introduction for lay readers and a fresh analysis that will appeal to experts.

The book's title, *A Choice of Enemies*, captures what he sees as the central dilemma facing US policymakers: there are so many sources of potential trouble in the region that policymakers constantly have to juggle priorities – and choose whom to befriend and whom to confront. Efforts to deal with one problem create another – leading to sudden shifts in policy. So after the debacle of the Iran-Contra affair, in which the Reagan administration sent arms to Iran in an effort to free American hostages in Lebanon, there was a compensatory lurch towards Iraq and "the United States became a virtual ally of Iraq in its naval war with Iran".

Freedman makes a brave stab at being non-partisan. He writes modestly that his aim is "to provide a reasonably thorough account of how successive presidents ... engaged with the Middle East". **Adapted from Gideon Rachman's review in the Financial Times, 6/14/08.**

Richard N. Haass. *The Opportunity: America's Moment to Alter History's Course*, Public Affairs, 2005.

As the president of the Council on Foreign Relations, one of the country's most influential nongovernmental organizations and the publisher of the essential policy journal *Foreign Affairs*, Haass has a unique seat from which to weigh the direction of the U.S.'s relations with the rest of the world. In this book, he covers a lot of familiar territory: the collapse of the bipolar world, the advent of terrorism, the unprecedented possibilities for global political cooperation (that follow on the economic), the lessons to be drawn from the way the war in Iraq has been conducted. Haass ends up arguing not just that the U.S. has terrific opportunities to integrate itself politically with the rest of the world, but that it must do so—in order to preserve its economic integrity if nothing else. The final chapter, titled "The Necessity," argues that if that integration does not

2009 Camden Conference Book List (11/24/08)

happen, "The principal challenges of this era...will come to overwhelm the United States." Coming as they do from a carefully calibrated source, those are sobering words. **From Publishers Weekly.**

Henry A. Kissinger. *Does America Need a Foreign Policy? Toward a New Diplomacy for the 21st Century*, Simon & Schuster, 2001. Paper editions follow.

The question is rhetorical: this is Henry ("Have foreign policy, will travel") Kissinger, after all. Here, he takes America to task for its lack of vision in foreign policy, and maps the playing field for diplomatic consideration. Kissinger has always been a flexible realist when it came to the delicate work of foreign relations, an approach he continues to champion as an invitation to dialogue between nation-states and multinational groups. He is dismayed by the way the US government force-feeds its values to other countries (particularly those with whom we do not share ideological footing), and he considers US sanctions-often the result of domestic pressure groups-nothing more than the bullying of a self-satisfied, prosperous, smug colossus that sees itself as "both the source and the guarantor of democratic institutions around the globe." He is appalled that the US deals with foreign policy on a case-by-case basis, with no strategic design, for the inevitable transformations in the international scene will require a supple, subtle, and historically informed policy.

Here, Kissinger the student of political history rushes to the fore, detailing major shifts in the 300-year-old policy of noninterference in the domestic affairs sovereign states (witness Haiti, Bosnia, Somalia, etc.), as well as the eclipse of both the Wilsonian ideal of common devotion to international order and the Hamiltonian faith that American foreign policy was "motivated by principles higher than those of the Old World." And while he vigorously speaks to the balancing of values and interests-more than once he speaks of the "moral elevation" of foreign policy - don't get him wrong: "What, for our survival, must we seek to prevent no matter how painful the means?" Richly opinionated and controversial: a strong addition to the contemporary debate over America's direction in the new century. **From Kirkus Reviews.** See also Kissinger's longer 1994 work, *Diplomacy*.

Melvyn Leffler, Jeffrey Legro. *To Lead the World: American Strategy after the Bush Doctrine*. Oxford University Press, 2008.

Leffler and Legro bring together eleven of America's most esteemed writers and thinkers to offer concrete, historically grounded suggestions for how America can regain its standing in the world and use its power more wisely than it has during the Bush years. Best-selling authors, such as David Kennedy, Niall Ferguson, Robert Kagan, Francis Fukuyama, John Ikenberry, and Samantha Power address such issues as how the US can regain its respect in the world, respond to the biggest threats now facing the country, identify reasonable foreign policy goals, manage the growing debt burden, achieve greater national security, and successfully engage a host of other problems left unsolved and in many cases exacerbated by the Bush Doctrine. Representing a wide range of perspectives, the writers from left and right gathered here place the current foreign-policy predicament firmly in the larger context of American and world history.

Anne-Marie Slaughter, co-director of Princeton Project on National Security, Princeton University, adds: "If you have to choose only one book to read on American foreign policy, this should be it. A superb group of scholars and practitioners have crystallized the basic strategic choices and policy options facing a new administration. They disagree sharply among themselves, but these are exactly the debates that Americans, and people around the world, should be having." **Edited from the publisher.**

Anatol Lieven, John Hulsman. *Ethical Realism: A Vision for America's Role in the World*, Pantheon, 2006.

Lieven (New American Foundation) and Hulsman Heritage Foundation), partisan think-tank researchers from opposing ends of the political spectrum, unite to provide an alternative to current U.S. foreign policy, based on "the core teachings of ethical realism - prudence, patriotism, responsibility, study, humility, and 'a decent respect' to views and interests of other nations."

This "new strategic vision" presents a foundation for "a consensual and stable international order" along the lines of old-fashioned American neighborliness. Their arguments are rooted in lessons from the founders of ethical realism, Reinhold Niebuhr, Hans Morgenthau and George Kennan; the Christian intellectual tradition of Thomas Aquinas and St. Augustine; and successful international policy implemented by leaders like Harry S. Truman and Dwight Eisenhower.

The authors emphasize the need to qualify national interests against universal ethics, and for statesman who "act in ways that will serve the good as far as possible, and to observe certain strict limits as to what they are prepared to do on behalf of their states. "Though they make some sweeping statements that beg critical examination, and their heavy-handed criticism of the Administration's foreign policy-calling the war in Iraq a failure "not just of strategy ...but of the whole American way of looking at the world" - can be alienating, this refreshing, ambitious work proposes some practical and much-needed solutions for America's compromised reputation abroad. **From Publishers Weekly.**

Edward Lucas, *The New Cold War: Putin's Russia and the Threat to the West*. Palgrave, 2008.

Russia, Lucas argues, has fallen under the control of a team of former KGB men, led by the president himself. They represent a threat to their own citizens, a clear danger to the west and, above all, to the former communist countries of Eastern Europe. The new cold warriors are not interested in military invasions. They pursue their ends through applying political and economic pressure, above all, by exploiting Russia's position as the continent's dominant energy supplier. Their aim is to restore Russia's dominance of the former Soviet states and extend its influence deep into Western Europe.

The book is a self-avowed polemic – a call to the west to stop underestimating the Russian threat. Lucas, central and east European correspondent of The Economist, urges the west to respond by showing more solidarity with the vulnerable states of eastern Europe, more unity within the European Union and more courage in defending western values – liberty, democracy and the rule of law. Otherwise, there will be no stopping the Kremlin. "The less resistance Russia meets, the more assertive it becomes ... The limits of the tolerable are constantly changing, and in one direction only. The uncomfortable but unavoidable question is where this will end." If Russia gets what it wants in the Caucasus or the Baltics, Lucas argues, the Balkans and central Europe will be next. "And what then? The Arctic? Western Europe? Slice by slice, the Kremlin is adding to its sphere of influence." **From Stefan Wagstyl's commentary in FT.** *This recommendation would normally appear in our "Specific Issues section, but because of recent developments we have moved it to our "Top Picks."*

Kishore Mahbubani. *The New Asian Hemisphere: The Irresistible Shift of Global Power to the East*, Public Affairs, 2008.

For centuries, the Asians (Chinese, Indians, Muslims, and others) have been bystanders in world history. Now they are ready to become co-drivers.

Asians have finally understood, absorbed, and implemented Western best practices in many areas: from free-market economics to modern science and technology, from meritocracy to rule of law. They have also become innovative in their own way, creating new patterns of cooperation not seen in the West.

Will the West resist the rise of Asia? The good news is that Asia wants to replicate, not dominate, the West. For a happy outcome to emerge, the West must gracefully give up its domination of global institutions, from the IMF to the World Bank, from the G7 to the UN Security Council.

History teaches that tensions and conflicts are more likely when new powers emerge. This, too, may happen. But they can be avoided if the world accepts the key principles for a new global partnership spelled out in *The New Asian Hemisphere*. Mahbubani is with National University of Singapore; was his country's ambassador to UN. **From the publisher.**

Joseph S. Nye. *The Powers to Lead*, Oxford University Press, 2008.

What qualities make a leader succeed in business or politics? In an era when the information revolution has dramatically changed the playing field, when old organizational hierarchies have given way to fluid networks of contacts, and when mistrust of leaders is on the rise, our ideas about leadership are clearly due for redefinition. With *The Powers to Lead*, Harvard's Joseph Nye offers a sweeping look at the nature of leadership in today's world, in an illuminating blend of history, business case studies, psychological research, and more. As he observes, many now believe that the more authoritarian and coercive forms of leadership--the hard power approaches of earlier military-industrial eras--have been largely supplanted in postindustrial societies by soft power approaches that seek to attract, inspire, and persuade rather than dictate.

Nye argues, however, that the most effective leaders are actually those who combine hard and soft power skills in proportions that vary with different situations. He calls this *smart power*. **From the publisher.**

Dennis Ross. *Statecraft, And How to Restore America's Standing in the World*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007; paper 2008.

How did it come to pass that, not so long after 9/11 brought the free world to our side, U.S. foreign policy is in a shambles? In this thought-provoking book, the renowned peace negotiator Dennis Ross argues that the Bush administration's problems stem from its inability to use the tools of statecraft -- diplomatic, economic, and military -- to advance our interests.

Statecraft is as old as politics: Plato wrote about it, Machiavelli practiced it. After the demise of Communism, some predicted that statecraft would wither away. But Ross explains that in the globalized world -- with its fluid borders, terrorist networks, and violent unrest -- statecraft is necessary simply to keep the peace.

Ross outlines how statecraft helped shape a new world order after 1989. He shows how the failure of statecraft in Iraq and the Middle East has undercut the United States internationally, and makes clear that only statecraft can check the rise of China and the danger of a nuclear

Iran. He draws on his expertise to reveal the art of successful negotiation. And he shows how the next president could resolve today's problems and define a realistic, ambitious foreign policy. Ross was U.S. Middle East ambassador and Peace Negotiator. **From publisher.**

Anne-Marie Slaughter. *The Idea that Is America: Keeping Faith with Our Values in a Dangerous World*, Basic, 2007.

A leading voice in global affairs calls us back to America's founding principles--and shows how they can guide us forward into the twenty-first century.

George W. Bush waged war in Iraq in the name of American values--liberty and democracy. His critics in the United States and around the world also use the language of values, and attack him for deceiving a nation to wage an unjust war. What are the values that America truly stands for? Slaughter reminds us of the essential principles on which our nation was established: liberty, democracy, equality, tolerance, faith, justice, and humility. Our ongoing struggle to live up to America's great promise matters not only to us, but also to the billions of men and women everywhere who look to the United States to lead, protect, and inspire the world. In *The Idea That Is America*, Anne-Marie Slaughter shows us the way forward. She is Dean of the Woodrow Wilson School and Bert G. Kerstetter Professor of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton University. **From publisher.**

Fareed Zakaria. *The Post-American World*, Norton, 2008.

Zakaria argues that the "rise of the rest" is the great story of our time.

This is not a book about the decline of America, but rather about the rise of everyone else, he says. So begins Fareed Zakaria's important new work on the era we are now entering. Following on the success of his best-selling *The Future of Freedom*, Zakaria, the editor of Newsweek International, describes with equal prescience a world in which the United States will no longer dominate the global economy, orchestrate geopolitics, or overwhelm cultures. He sees the "rise of the rest"—the growth of countries like China, India, Brazil, Russia, and many others—as the great story of our time, and one that will reshape the world. The tallest buildings, biggest dams, largest-selling movies, and most advanced cell phones are all being built outside the United States. This economic growth is producing political confidence, national pride, and potentially international problems. How should the United States understand and thrive in this rapidly changing international climate? What does it mean to live in a truly global era? **From publisher.**

"Growing inequality is the signature feature of the new era fueled by a triple force - the knowledge economy, information technology, and globalization. Perhaps most worryingly, Americans are borrowing 80 percent of the world's surplus savings and using it for consumption. In other words, we are selling off our assets to foreigners to buy a couple more lattes a day. These problems have accumulated at a bad time because, for all its strengths, the American economy now faces its strongest challenge in history." **From the book.**

(2) Also Highly Recommended

Andrew Bacevich. *The Limits of Power: The End of American Exceptionalism*, Metropolitan, 2008.

From a conservative historian and former military officer, a bracing call for a pragmatic confrontation with the nation's problems. Bacevich offers a historical perspective on the illusions that have governed American policy since 1945. The realism he proposes includes respect for power and its limits; sensitivity to unintended consequences; aversion to claims of exceptionalism; skepticism of easy solutions, especially those involving force; and a conviction that the books will have to balance. Only a return to such principles, He argues, can provide common ground for fixing America's urgent problems before the damage becomes irreparable. Bacevich is professor of history and international relations at Boston University. **From publisher.**

Ronald Brownstein. *The Second Civil War: How Extreme Partisanship Has Paralyzed Washington and Polarized America*, Penguin 2007 (496 pp).

Los Angeles Times political correspondent and columnist Brownstein dissects the hyper-partisanship that has unnecessarily inflamed our differences and impeded progress against our most pressing challenges. The first half of the book examines the roots of this hyperpartisanship, beginning with the 1896 election of William McKinley. The 1938 resurgence of the Republican Party marked the start of the age of bargaining, with presidents and legislators crossing party lines to govern through consensus. Both parties became more ideologically consistent during the 1960s, resulting in a sorting out of the electorate that eventually led to today's partisan divisiveness. This history lays the groundwork for Brownstein's analysis of the contemporary Republican and Democratic parties. He resists blaming any one party or president for the state of contemporary American politics, instead attributing partisan divisions to interest groups, changes in congressional rules and practices and the realignment of the parties and electorate. **Edited from Publishers Weekly; starred review.**

Kurt Campbell and Michael O'Hanlon. *Hard Power: The New Politics of National Security*, Basic Books, 2006. The authors are with newly created Center for New American Security.

Our ideas about national security have changed radically over the last five years. It has become a political tool, a "wedge issue," a symbol of pride and fear. It is also the one issue above all others that can make or break an election. And this is why the Democratic Party has been steadily losing power since 2001. In *Hard Power*, Michael O'Hanlon, an expert on foreign policy at the Brookings Institution, and Kurt Campbell, an authority on international security at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, explain how the Democrats lost credibility on issues of security and foreign policy, how they can get it back--and why they must. They recall the successful Democratic military legacy of past decades, as well as recent Democratic innovations--like the Homeland Security Office and the idea of nation-building--that have been successfully co-opted by the Republican administration. And, most importantly, they develop a broad national security vision for America, including specific defense policies and a strategy to win the war on terror. **From publisher.**

Helena Cobban. *Re-Engage! American and the World after Bush; An Informed Citizen's Guide*. Paradigm, 2008.

Since 9/11, the United States has pursued a foreign policy some have called a control paradigm a unilateral domination of world affairs through military means that tries to keep the lid on insecurity without addressing root causes or protecting human rights.

The Bush administration's energetic use of this approach has ripped the fabric of America's relationship with the rest of the world. In this concise guide, veteran journalist Cobban proposes moving the United States away from the control paradigm to a policy of global inclusion. It involves moving away from the language of threats and fear to a language of challenge and possibility. It outlines how a global inclusion policy would address key challenges faced not only by Americans but by the 95 percent of humanity who are not Americans: Challenges of terrorism and weapons proliferation, Growing global inequality, Rights abuses worldwide, Climate change, and Shifting international power balances. Cobban currently serves as a friend in Washington for the Friends Committee on National Legislation. **Edited from publisher.**

Ivo H. Daalder (Editor). *Beyond Preemption: Force and Legitimacy in a Changing World*, Brookings, 2007.

America's recent wars in Kosovo, Afghanistan, and Iraq have raised profound questions about military force: When is its use justifiable? For what purpose? Who should make the decision on whether to go to war? *Beyond Preemption* moves this debate forward with thoughtful discussion of what these guidelines should be and how they apply in the face of today's most pressing geopolitical challenges: terrorism, WMD proliferation, and humanitarian emergencies. Ivo H. Daalder and his colleagues draw on three years of cross-national dialogue with politicians, military officials and strategists, and international lawyers in presenting specific proposals on forging a new international consensus regarding preemption and the proper use of force in today's world. **From publisher.**

Larry Diamond. *The Spirit of Democracy: The Struggle to Build Free Societies Throughout the World*, Times, 2008.

Diamond charts the future prospects for freedom around the world in the aftermath of Iraq and deepening authoritarianism. Over three decades, the world was transformed. In 1974, nearly three-quarters of all countries were dictatorships; today, more than half are democracies. Yet recent efforts to promote democracy have stumbled, and many democratic governments are faltering.

Diamond cautions that arrogance and inconsistency have undermined America's aspirations to promote democracy. To spur a renewed democratic boom, he urges vigorous support of good governance-the rule of law, security, protection of individual rights, and shared economic prosperity-and free civic organizations. **Edited from publisher.**

Bill Emmott. *Rivals: How the Power Struggle Between China, India and Japan Will Shape Our Next Decade*. Harcourt, 2008.

The former editor in chief of the *Economist* lays out an entirely fresh analysis of the growing rivalry between China, India, and Japan and what it will mean for America, the global economy, and the twenty-first-century world.

Though books such as *The World Is Flat* and *China Shakes the World* consider them only as individual actors, Emmott argues that these three political and economic giants are closely intertwined by their fierce competition for influence, markets, resources, and strategic advantage. *Rivals* explains and explores the ways in which this sometimes bitter rivalry will play out over the next decade—in business, global politics, military competition, and the environment—and reveals the efforts of the United States to manipulate and benefit from this rivalry. Identifying the biggest risks born of these struggles, *Rivals* also outlines the ways these risks can and should be managed by all of us. **From publisher.**

Noah Feldman. *The Fall and Rise of the Islamic State* (Council on Foreign Relations), Princeton University Press, 2008.

Perhaps no other Western writer has more deeply probed the bitter struggle in the Muslim world between the forces of religion and law and those of violence and lawlessness as Noah Feldman. His scholarship has defined the stakes in the Middle East today. Now Feldman tells the story behind the increasingly popular call for the establishment of the shari'a--the law of the traditional Islamic state--in the modern Muslim world.

Western powers call it a threat to democracy. Islamist movements are winning elections on it. Terrorists use it to justify their crimes. What, then, is the shari'a? Given the severity of some of its provisions, why is it popular among Muslims? Can the Islamic state succeed--should it? Feldman reveals how the classical Islamic constitution governed through and was legitimated by law. He shows how executive power was balanced by the scholars who interpreted and administered the shari'a, and how this balance of power was finally destroyed by the tragically incomplete reforms of the modern era. The result has been the unchecked executive dominance that now distorts politics in so many Muslim states. Feldman argues that a modern Islamic state could provide political and legal justice to today's Muslims, but only if new institutions emerge that restore this constitutional balance of power.

Feldman gives us the sweeping history of the traditional Islamic constitution--its noble beginnings, its downfall, and the renewed promise it could hold for Muslims and Westerners alike. Feldman teaches law at New York University. **From Publisher.**

Tony Judt. *Reappraisals: Reflections on the Forgotten Twentieth Century*, A collection of his essays. Penguin 2008.

Historian and political commentator Judt warns against the temptation to look back upon the twentieth century as an age of political extremes, of tragic mistakes and wrongheaded choices; an age of delusion from which we have now, thankfully, emerged. In this *collection of 24 previously printed essays* (nearly all from the *New York Review of Books* and the *New Republic*), Judt pleads with readers to remember that the past never completely disappears and that the coming century is as fraught with dangers as the last. He draws upon an impressively broad array of subjects. He begins by describing the eclipse of intellectuals as a public force before reminding his audience of the immense power of ideas by discussing the now inexplicable attractions of Marxism in the 20th century. In the book's penultimate section, Judt examines the rise of the state in the politics and economics of Western nations before finally tackling the United States, its foreign policy and the fate of liberalism. **From Publishers Weekly, starred review.**

Robert Kagan. *The Return of History and the End of Dreams*, Knopf, 2008.

Kagan gives us a picture of the world today in all its complexity and its simplicity. This is a world where America is dominant but cannot dominate, where the struggle for power and prestige goes on as it always has. Power is at the service of ideas, but the key ideas are also ideas about power: democracy and autocracy. All this in a hundred pages, with style, energy and panache. By Robert Cooper, Director-General for External and Politico-Military Affairs, the Council of the European Union. From publisher.

Kagan is senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Transatlantic Fellow at the German Marshall Fund, and a columnist for *The Washington Post*. **From publisher.**

Parag Khanna. *The Second World: Empires and Influence in the New Global Order*, Random House, 2008.

Khanna takes readers on a global tour, one that shows how America's dominant moment has been suddenly replaced by a geopolitical marketplace. This contest is hottest and most decisive in the Second World: pivotal regions in Eastern Europe, Central Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, and East Asia. Khanna explores the evolution of geopolitics through the recent histories of such underreported, fascinating, and complicated countries as Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Colombia, Libya, Vietnam, and Malaysia—nations whose resources will ultimately determine the fate of the three superpowers, but whose futures are perennially uncertain as they struggle to rise into the first world or avoid falling into the third.

Along the way, Khanna also explains how Arabism and Islamism compete for the Arab soul, reveals how Iran and Saudi Arabia play the superpowers against one another, unmasks Singapore's inspirational role in East Asia, and psychoanalyzes the second-world leaders whose decisions are reshaping the balance of power. He captures the most elusive formula in international affairs: how to think like a country. Khanna directs the Global Governance Initiative in the American Strategy Program of the New America Foundation. **From publisher.**

Michael T. Klare. *Rising Powers, Shrinking Planet: The New Geopolitics of Energy*, Metropolitan, April 2008.

"Once again, Michael Klare has vividly spelled out the geopolitical ramifications of resource scarcity as he did in both *Blood and Oil* and *Resource Wars*. His new book deals with our pending clash as we enter an unprecedented time of surging demand for oil while its conventional supply peaks. The book is a serious must read for any student of geopolitics." **From Matthew Simmons, author of *Twilight in the Desert*.**

Klare is noted author, a regular contributor to *Harper's*, *Foreign Affairs*, and the *Los Angeles Times*; is the defense analyst for *The Nation* and the director of the Five College Program in Peace and World Security Studies at Hampshire College in Amherst.

Joseph E. Stiglitz and Linda J. Bilmes. *The Three Trillion Dollar War: The True Cost of the Iraq Conflict*. Norton, 2008.

The true cost of the Iraq War is \$3 trillion—and counting—rather than the \$50 billion projected by the White House.

Apart from its tragic human toll, the Iraq War will be staggeringly expensive in financial terms. This sobering study by Nobel Prize winner Stiglitz and Harvard professor Bilmes casts a spotlight on expense items that have been hidden from the U.S. taxpayer, including not only big-ticket items like replacing military equipment (being used up at six times the peacetime rate) but also the cost of caring for thousands of wounded veterans—for the rest of their lives. Shifting to a global focus, the authors investigate the cost in lives and economic damage within Iraq and the region. Finally, the authors measure what the U.S. taxpayer's money would have produced if instead it had been invested in the further growth of the U.S. economy.

Winner of the 2001 Nobel Prize in Economics, Stiglitz of Columbia University is the author of *Making Globalization Work* and *Globalization and Its Discontents*. Bilmes, a professor of public finance at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, is a former assistant secretary for management and budget in the U.S. Department of Commerce.

(3) Specific Issues

Energy, global warming/climate change, nuclear proliferation, Iran, Iraq, poverty, etc.

Michael Axworthy. *Empire of the Mind: A History of Iran*. Basic, 2008.

Axworthy explains the military, political, religious, and cultural forces that have shaped one of the oldest continuing civilizations in the world. Concluding with an assessment of the immense changes the nation has undergone since the revolution in 1979. He covers the years since then with keen insights. He offers general readers an essential point of entry into a troubled region. **Edited from publisher.** Axworthy is Honorary Fellow at the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies at the University of Exeter in England. He served as a British Foreign Service officer; and from 1998 to 2000 was Head of Iran Section of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

Robert Bryce. *Gusher of Lies: The Dangerous Delusions of Energy Independence*, Public Affairs, 2008.

Everybody is talking about "energy independence." But is it really achievable? Is it actually even desirable? In this controversial, meticulously researched book, Bryce exposes the false promises behind the rhetoric while blasting nearly everybody— Republicans, Democrats, environmentalists, and war-mongering neoconservatives—for misleading voters about our energy needs. In the text he adds, "Energy independence is hogwash."

Consumers concerned about peak oil and the future of global energy supplies need to understand that energy security depends on embracing free markets and the realities of interdependence. *Gusher of Lies* is illuminating, vital reading. Bryce is one of America's foremost energy journalists. **Edited from publisher.**

Jimmy Carter. *Palestine Peace Not Apartheid*, Simon & Schuster, 2006.

In essence, [former president Carter presents a history of Arab-Israeli discord since the British mandate over Palestine terminated and the 60-year search] for a successful resolution of the conflict. He cites the lack of permanent peace in the Middle East as a "persistent threat to global peace" and posits that the stumbling blocks to a lasting cessation of armed conflict are to be found within two contexts: Israel's unwillingness to comply with international law and honor its previous peace commitments, and Arab nations' refusal to openly acknowledge Israel's right to live undisturbed. The former president's ideas are expressed with perfect clarity; his book, of course, represents a personal point of view, but one that is certainly grounded in both knowledge and wisdom. His outlook on the problem not only contributes to the literature of debate surrounding it but also, just as importantly, delivers a worthy game plan for clearing up the dilemma. **By Brad Hooper, for Booklist.**

Joseph Cirincione. *Bomb Scare: The History and Future of Nuclear Weapons*, Columbia University Press, 2007.

Since their inception, nuclear weapons have multiplied at an alarming rate, leaving everyone from policymakers to concerned citizens wondering what it will take to slow, stop, or even reverse their spread. Cirincione presents an even-handed look at the history of nuclear proliferation and an optimistic vision of its future, providing a comprehensive survey of the wide range of critical perspectives.

Though nuclear weapons have not been used in war since August 1945, there is no guarantee this good fortune will continue. A unique blend of history, theory, and security analysis, *Bomb Scare* is an engaging text that not only supplies the general reader and student with a clear understanding of this issue but also provides a set of tools policymakers and scholars can use to prevent the cataclysmic consequences of another nuclear attack. **Edited from publisher.**

Gwynne Dyer. *After Iraq: Anarchy and Renewal in the Middle East*. Thomas Dunne, 2008.

The United States has lost the will to maintain the status quo in the Middle East, and the forces unleashed by the destruction of Iraq will go on to shape the future of the region in a way that no one can predict.

Dyer argues that the Middle East is about to change fundamentally, and everything is now up for grabs: regimes, ethnic pecking orders within states, even national borders themselves are liable to change without notice. Five years from now there could be an Islamic Republic of Arabia, an independent Kurdistan, a Muslim cold war between Sunnis and Shias, almost anything you care to imagine.

After Iraq is for anyone wanting an informed historical perspective on the future of one of the most important and volatile regions in the world. **Dyer** has worked as a freelance journalist on international affairs for more than twenty years. He served in three navies and has held academic appointments at the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst and at Oxford University. **Edited from publisher.**

Thomas L. Friedman. *Hot, Flat, and Crowded: Why We Need a Green Revolution - and How It Can Renew America*. Farrar, Straus & Giroux, September 2008.

As in his *The World Is Flat* and *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, Friedman explains the future we are facing through an illuminating account of recent events. He explains how 9/11, Hurricane Katrina, and the flattening of the world by the Internet, which has brought three billion new consumers onto the world stage, have combined to bring the climate and energy issues to main street. But they have not really gone down main street yet. Indeed, it is Friedman's view that we are not really having the green revolution that the press keeps touting, or, if we are, "it is the only revolution in history where no one got hurt." No, to the contrary, he argues, we're actually having a "green party." We have not even begun to be serious yet about the speed and scale of change that is required. **From the Publisher.**

Marshall Goldman, *Petrostate: Putin, Power, and the New Russia*, Oxford, 2008.

Based on extensive research, including several interviews with Vladimir Putin, this revealing book chronicles Russia's dramatic reemergence on the world stage, illuminating the key reason for its rebirth: the use of its ever-expanding energy wealth to reassert its traditional great power ambitions. In his deft, informative narrative, Marshall Goldman traces how this has come to be, **2009 Camden Conference Book List (11/24/08)**

and how Russia is using its oil-based power as a lever in world politics. The book provides an informative overview of oil in Russia, traces Vladimir Putin's determined effort to reign in the upstart oil oligarchs who had risen to power in the post-Soviet era, and describes Putin's efforts to renationalize and refashion Russia's industries into state companies and his vaunted "national champions" corporations like Gazprom, largely owned by the state, who do the bidding of the state. Goldman is Professor of Economics Emeritus at Wellesley College and Senior Scholar at the Davis Center for Russian Studies at Harvard University. **Edited from Publisher.**

Al Gore. *The Assault on Reason: The Crisis of Global Warming*, Penguin, 2007.

Former Vice President, Al Gore presents a visionary analysis of how the politics of fear, secrecy, cronyism, and blind faith has combined with the degradation of the public sphere to create an environment dangerously hostile to reason

Never has there been a worse time for us to lose the capacity to face the reality of our long-term challenges, from national security to the economy, from issues of health and social welfare to the environment. As *The Assault on Reason* shows us, we have precious little time to waste. **Edited from publisher. (The DVD edition is also highly recommended)**

Linda Robinson. *Tell Me How This Ends: General David Petraeus and the Search for a Way Out of Iraq*. Public Affairs, October 2008

After a series of disastrous missteps in its conduct of the war, the White House in 2006 appointed General David Petraeus as the Commanding General of the coalition forces. *Tell Me How This Ends* is an inside account of his attempt to turn around a failing war.

Linda Robinson conducted extensive interviews with Petraeus and his subordinate commanders and spent weeks with key U.S. and Iraqi divisions. The result is the only book that ties together military operations in Iraq and the internecine political drama that is at the heart of the civil war.

Replete with dramatic battles, behind-doors confrontations, and astute analysis, the book tells the full story of the Iraq War's endgame, and lays out the options that will be facing the next president when he takes office in January 2009.

Robinson is author in residence at the Johns Hopkins School for Advanced International Studies' Strategic Studies Program and a Contributing Editor for *US News and World Report*.

Jeffrey D. Sachs. *Common Wealth: Economics for a Crowded Planet*, Penguin, March 18, 2008.

Sachs explains the most basic economic reckoning that the world faces. We can address poverty, climate change, and environmental destruction at a very modest cost today with huge benefits for shared and sustainable prosperity and peace in the future, or we can duck the issues today and risk a potentially costly reckoning in later years. Despite the rearguard opposition of some vested interests, policies to help the world's poor and the global environment are in fact the very best economic bargains on the planet. **From Al Gore.**

David M. Smick. *The World Is Curved: Hidden Dangers to the Global Economy*. Portfolio, 2008.

"In his astonishingly prescient book, *The World Is Curved: Hidden Dangers to the Global Economy*, **David M. Smick** argues that we have inherited an impressive global economic system. It, with the U.S. as the hub, has produced unprecedented levels of global prosperity. But it has now spun wildly out of control. It can't be fixed with the shock and awe of a \$700 billion rescue package, Smick says. The fundamental architecture needs to be reformed.

"It will take, he suggests, a global leadership class that can answer essential questions: How much leverage should be allowed? Can we preserve the development model in which certain nations pile up giant reserves and park them in the U.S.?"

"Until these and other issues are addressed, the global markets will lack confidence in asset values. Bankers will cower, afraid to lend. America's role as the global hub will be threatened. Europeans will drift toward nationalization. Neomercantilists will fill the vacuum." By David Brooks, NYT, 10/7/08.

Joseph E. Stiglitz. *Making Globalization Work (Paper)*, Norton, 2007.

Stiglitz's *Globalization and Its Discontents* (2002) argued that globalization has not benefited as many people as it could, a failure attributable to structural flaws in international financial institutions as well as limited information and imperfect competition. With this selection, the Nobel Prize-winning economist suggests a host of solutions by which globalization can be "saved from its advocates" and made safe and worthwhile for the poor and rich alike. Each chapter examines, in some depth, an obstacle to equitable globalization (the burden of massive national debt, for example) and provides a set of possible solutions (a return to countercyclical lending and development of international bankruptcy laws, for example). Many of Stiglitz's proposals echo the familiar litanies of developing nations in the Doha round of international trade talks, but several, such as those drawing upon East Asia's experiments in contained progress, are innovative enough to warrant books of their own. Fairly accessible for a work of macroeconomics, this is a worthy counterpoint to Thomas Friedman's popular *The World Is Flat* (2005). **By Brendan Driscoll for Booklist.**

Martin Wolf. *Why Globalization Works*, Yale University Press, 2004.

One of its 'best books for 2004.' The fullest and most sophisticated case yet for globalisation, by the chief economics commentator of the *Financial Times*. In plain, taut English, Martin Wolf argues that alleviating global poverty is the challenge of the age, and that the poorest countries in the world are poor not because of the baneful effects of too much globalization, but rather because they stand outside the global economic system altogether. Mr. Wolf pays a lot of attention to the interdependence of states and markets—and to the vital, even if limited, role that the state needs to play if countries are to prosper. The poorest countries, after all, are often failed states. **From The Economist.**

Bob Woodward. *The War Within: A Secret White House History 2006-2008*. Simon & Schuster, September 2008.

Woodward's fourth book about the Bush presidency at war declassifies the secrets of America's political and military involvement in Iraq.

He covers events from mid-2006, when the White House began to realize that the Iraq strategy was not working, through the decision to surge another 30,000 troops in 2007, and into mid-2008, when the war became a fault line in the presidential election. During this period, Woodward concludes with, "*The president was engaged in the war rhetorically but maintained an odd detachment from its management. He never got a full handle on it, and over these years of war, too often he failed to lead.*" **Edited from the Publisher.**

(4) Other Possibilities

William J. Bernstein. *A Splendid Exchange: How Trade Shaped the World*, Atlantic, April 2008.

Jagdish Bhagwati. *Termites in the Trading System: How Preferential Agreements Undermine Free Trade*. Oxford University Press, 2008.

Douglas J. Feith. *War and Decision: Inside the Pentagon at the Dawn of the War on Terrorism*, Harper 2008.

Chuck Hagel, *America: Our Next Chapter: Tough Questions, Straight Answers*, Ecco 2008.

Fred Kaplan. *Daydream Believers: How a Few Grand Ideas Wrecked American Power*, Wiley, February 2008.

Stanley Meisler. *Kofi Annan: A Man of Peace in a World of War* (Paper), 2008.

Peter Navarro. *The Coming China Wars: Where They Will Be Fought and How They Can Be Won*. FT-Prentice Hall, 2006.

Richard A. Posner. *Preventing Surprise Attacks: Intelligence Reform in the Wake of 9/11*, Rowman & Littlefield, July 2005.

David Rothkopf. *Superclass: The Global Power Elite and the World They Are Making*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2008.