



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

February 20 – 22, 2009

### Conference Book List\*

## (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](http://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 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 statesmen 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.**