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Following a century-long practice of adapting to radically changing international circumstances, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace is undertaking a fundamental redefinition of its role and mission. Carnegie aims to transform itself from a think tank on international issues to the first truly multinational—ultimately global—think tank.

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Four new books from the Carnegie Endowment reflect our global mission and commitment:


- Dmitri V. Trenin, *Getting Russia Right*, sheds new light on our understanding of contemporary Russia.


THÉRÈSE DELPECH
TRANSLATED BY GEORGE HOLOCH

Savage Century
Back to Barbarism

Thérèse Delpech, one of France’s foremost thinkers on international security, has dared what historians no longer attempt: a grand sweep through 20th-century European history as prelude to an equally brilliant analysis of the grave, even existential challenges facing the West today.

—JOSEF JOFFE, PUBLISHER-EDITOR, DIE ZEIT

Thérèse Delpech’s Savage Century is a book of passion and reason: a bold study of the sources of global political savagery, and a fierce argument against repeating the mistakes that have led to our dire straits.

—PETER BROOKS, STERLING PROFESSOR OF COMPARATIVE LITERATURE, YALE UNIVERSITY

Savage Century debunks the happy talk of globalization in a way that is compelling, corrective and dazzlingly literate. She grabs us by the scruff of the neck and makes us look, as she does, gimlet-eyed at the past century, the present state of affairs, and the potential for an even more savage century ahead. In short, she is a constructive pessimist. If the world were to act on the warnings and prescriptions she offers in this masterly book, we may avoid the worst and perhaps even achieve the best future possible. In which case, she—and we—might have reason to be optimists.

—STROBE TALBOTT, PRESIDENT, THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

At the dawn of the twentieth century, observers heralded a new era of social progress, seemingly limitless technological advances, and world peace. But within only a few years, the world was perched on the brink of war, revolution, and human misery on an unprecedented scale. Is it possible that today, in the early twenty-first century, we are on the verge of similar, tumultuous times?

Blending a detailed knowledge of international security affairs with history, philosophy, psychology, and literature, Thérèse Delpech vividly reminds us of the signs and warnings that were missed as the “civilized” world failed to prevent the world wars, Holocaust, Soviet death camps, and Cambodian killing fields that made the twentieth century so deadly. Drawing a parallel between 1905 and 2005, Delpech warns that it could happen again in this current era of increasing international violence and global lawlessness. She looks ahead to imagine various scenarios and regions that could provide flashpoints in the future.

—AN ALARMING ASSESSMENT OF RECENT HISTORY

THÉRÈSE DELPECH is director of strategic affairs at the French Atomic Energy Commission and senior research fellow at the Center for International Studies (CERI—Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques) Paris. She is also a commissioner of the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission, member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies’ Council, member of RAND Europe’s Advisory Board, and international advisor to the International Committee of the Red Cross. In 1999 she chaired the UN Advisory Board for Disarmament Matters and from 1995–1997 served as advisor to French Prime Minister Alain Juppé for politico-military affairs.

GEORGE HOLOCH has been a teacher and a lawyer. He is now a free-lance translator, who has translated nineteen books, most recently Secularism Confronts Islam by Olivier Roy and Notes on the Occupation by Eric Hazan.
DMITRI V. TRENIN

Getting Russia Right

“It is a pleasure to read a serious analysis by a Russian of contemporary Russia and its foreign policy that is not distorted by at best thinly veiled imperial nostalgia. One can agree with Trenin on many points and disagree also on many, but throughout one knows that one is dealing with a serious interlocutor, seriously concerned about the future of his important country—and who in some ways foreshadows the kind of elite that eventually will take Russia into the democratic West.”

—ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI, COUNSELOR AND TRUSTEE, CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES AND NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER TO PRESIDENT CARTER FROM 1977 TO 1981

“Dmitri Trenin distills an enormous amount of wisdom in this concise, well-written book. Russia matters, and the West needs to view it as an emerging capitalist society rather than a failed democratic polity. Property rights, a new middle class, and integration into world markets promise a way forward. Everyone interested in Russia should read this excellent book.”

—JOSEPH S. NYE, JR., UNIVERSITY DISTINGUISHED SERVICE PROFESSOR AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY, AND AUTHOR OF SOFT POWER: THE MEANS TO SUCCESS IN WORLD POLITICS

In the early 1990s, Russia seemed on the brink of fully shedding its authoritarian and communist past. It made significant progress through engaging the world community as an emerging market democracy, a returning friend and neighbor to Europe and the West, and a strategic partner of the United States. The ensuing fifteen years of Russian history have witnessed several booms, such as the buoyancy provided by high oil revenues, and busts that resulted in retrenchment and centralization of power. What is the real Russia? Is the nation going in the wrong direction and becoming a threat in waiting, or is it moving along, and even forward, in a familiar pattern of three steps forward and two steps back?

In Getting Russia Right, Dmitri Trenin sheds new light on our understanding of contemporary Russia, providing Western audiences with an insider’s explanation of how the country has arrived at its current position and how the United States and Europe can deal with it more productively. Trenin looks beyond Russia’s famous leaders to the economic and cultural spaces outside the Kremlin where promising changes are taking place. Russia is probably not going to join the West, but it is on a path toward becoming Western; capitalist even if not democratic; European in terms of civilization, rather than as part of the EU; and gradually more Western than pro-United States. Insightful and optimistic, Getting Russia Right offers policy makers, students and stakeholders in the U.S.-Russia relationship an understanding of what Russia is—and is not. Russia will matter in the foreseeable future, and Trenin’s innovative and objective analysis provides an understanding that is crucial to rebuilding relationships among the world’s key players.
LILIA SHEVTSOVA
TRANSLATED BY ARCH TAIT

Russia—Lost in Transition
The Yeltsin and Putin Legacies

“A serious contribution to the understanding of Russia’s transition throughout the last two decades. Highly recommended to all who deliberate on Russia’s future.”

—MIKHAIL GORBACHEV, FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE SOVIET UNION, NOBEL PEACE PRIZE WINNER, AND PRESIDENT OF THE GORBACHEV FOUNDATION

“With Russia—in Lilia Shevtsova’s words—moving both forwards and backwards at the same time, and once again emerging as an actor on the international stage, the need to understand the nature of the uncertain policies of the country is indeed urgent. With a regime of personalized power, the present phase of transition to a new president is obviously of key importance. Lilia Shevtsova has previously given us invaluable guides to the Yeltsin and Putin periods, and her thoughts and analysis now give us new help in understanding a country we simply have to understand.”

—CARL BILDT, MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AND FORMER PRIME MINISTER, SWEDEN

“Once again, Lilia Shevtsova has proved herself to be a unique source of wisdom about what is happening in Russia—and why it is happening, and why it matters so much to all of us. In this, her most comprehensive book to date, her insights into the Yeltsin and Putin years range from the political dynamics of the leadership, to the paradox—and vulnerabilities—of “bureaucratic capitalism,” to the Kremlin’s domestication of the oligarchs, to the resurgence of feistiness in Russian foreign policy. An indispensable, timely and compelling contribution on what is still, though in new and unpredictable ways, one of the most important countries on earth.”

—STROBE TALBOTT, PRESIDENT, THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

Russian history is first and foremost a history of personalized power. As Russia startles the international community with its assertiveness and faces both parliamentary and presidential elections, Lilia Shevtsova searches the histories of the Yeltsin and Putin regimes. She explores within them conventional truths and myths about Russia, paradoxes of Russian political development, and Russia’s role in the world. Russia—Lost in Transition discovers a logic of government in Russia—a political regime and the type of capitalism that were formulated during the Yeltsin and Putin presidencies and will continue to dominate Russia’s trajectory in the near term. Looking forward as well as back, Shevtsova speculates about the upcoming elections as well as the self-perpetuating system in place—the legacies of Yeltsin and Putin—and how it will dictate the immediate political future. She also explores several scenarios for Russia’s future over the next decade.

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OCTOBER 2007 368 PP.
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The Chinese Military and Taiwan’s Security

Thorough, stimulating and often provocative, the chapters in this volume provide a unique assessment of the complexities surrounding Taiwan’s security … the most important book yet published on this critical security problem.

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No recent development has aroused more concern among U.S. policy makers and military officials than China’s military buildup, which is viewed as a threat to Taiwan and which contains the potential for war between China and the U.S. But what is the nature of the threat? This multifaceted and in-depth examination by top experts provides the best available answer to one of the most critical issues today.

—ELLIS JOFFE, PROFESSOR EMERITUS OF CHINESE STUDIES, HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM

Since at least the early 1950s, the entire Asia-Pacific region has struggled with the complicated and complex relationship between China and Taiwan—today the Taiwan question is considered a potential flashpoint for a much larger international conflict.

Bringing together experts from the U.S. and Taiwan, Assessing the Threat provides a comprehensive look at the dangers of military escalation in the Taiwan Strait, the latest advances in capabilities of the People’s Liberation Army, and China’s security relationship with the United States and the Asia-Pacific. There is increasing concern that Beijing is steadily shifting the balance of power across the Taiwan Strait in its favor. Recent advances in Chinese air and naval power, along with changes in PLA doctrine, have the potential to weaken deterrence and destabilize the cross-strait military balance. At this critical juncture, there is no question that this issue requires sustained, detailed analysis, and that many measures can and should be taken to reduce the threat of conflict between China, Taiwan, and the United States. Assessing the Threat offers such analysis, as well as concrete suggestions and crisis management practices for government and military leaders in Washington, D.C., Beijing, and Taipei.

Contributors
Michael D. Swaine (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace), Andrew N. D. Yang (Chinese Council of Advanced Policy Studies), Evan S. Medeiros (RAND Corporation), Oriana Skylar Mastro (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace), Kenneth W. Allen (CNA Corporation), Dean Cheng (CNA Corporation), Roger Cliff (RAND Corporation), Bernard D. Cole (National War College), Lonnie D. Henley (Office of the Director of National Intelligence), Roy D. Kamphausen (National Security Affairs), Justin Liang (National Bureau of Asian Research), Alex Liebman (Harvard University), James Mulvenon (DGI’s Center for Intelligence Research and Analysis), Brad Roberts (Institute for Defense Analyses), and Alan D. Romberg (Henry L. Stimson Center).

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—JAMES B. STEINBERG, DEAN, LYNDON B. JOHNSON SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN, AND FORMER DEPUTY NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER TO PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON

The Taiwan Strait. The Korean War and Vietnam. The bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade. The Sino-U.S. aircraft collision incident. U.S.-China relations have witnessed significant tensions and conflict.

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Contributors

Wang Jisi (Peking University), Zhang Baijia (Party History Research Center of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party), Richard Weitz (Hudson Institute), Robert L. Suettinger (Centra Technology, Inc.), Dennis C. Blair (Institute for Defense Analyses), David V. Bonfili (Institute for Defense Analyses), Xu Hui (National Defense University), Kurt M. Campbell (Center for Strategic and International Studies), Jonathan Wilkenfeld (University of Maryland), Xia Liping (Shanghai Institute for International Studies), Wu Baiyi (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences), Niu Jun (Peking University), Zhang Tuosheng (China Foundation for International and Strategic Studies), and Michael D. Swaine (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace).

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Confronting the Weakest Link is a pathbreaking study of international aid for political parties. Beginning with a penetrating analysis of party shortcomings in developing and postcommunist countries, Thomas Carothers draws on extensive field research to diagnose chronic deficiencies in party aid, assess its overall impact, and offer practical ideas for doing better. This critical analysis, which spans Latin America, Central and Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia, sheds invaluable light on a major element of the contemporary challenge of democracy-building, a subject now occupying center stage in the international policy arena.

NEW CARNEGIE REPORT

U.S. DEMOCRACY PROMOTION DURING AND AFTER BUSH
THOMAS CAROTHERS
SEPTEMBER 2007

Despite sweeping rhetoric about the global spread of democracy, the Bush Administration has significantly damaged U.S. democracy promotion efforts and increased the number of close ties with "friendly tyrants." Security interests, such as the war on terrorism and U.S. energy needs, have led the Bush Administration to maintain friendly, unchallenged relations with more than half of the forty-five “non-free” countries in the world. In U.S. Democracy Promotion During and After Bush, Thomas Carothers argues that the main U.S. presidential candidates have voiced support for democracy promotion while avoiding isolationist retreat, but have not outlined plans to put it back on track. Carothers analyzes the Bush Administration’s record on democracy promotion and its effect on democracy worldwide, and then presents fresh ideas about the role democracy promotion can and should play in future U.S. policies.

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SHAHRAM CHUBIN

Iran’s Nuclear Ambitions

“A concise resource for anyone interested in understanding the current nuclear situation. As the world watches to see whether current diplomacy can resolve the issue, such understanding will only become more important.”
—THE MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL

“Highly recommended.”
—CHOICE

“Shahram Chubin provides a concise and insightful look into why Iran wants nuclear capability and how it intends to go about getting it.”
—THE NEW REPUBLIC

“This short, sharp, balanced and informed book provides the necessary material not only to make sense of the current crisis over Iran’s nuclear programme but also to follow it as it develops further over the coming months and years.”
—SIR LAWRENCE FREEDMAN, PROFESSOR OF WAR STUDIES, KING’S COLLEGE LONDON

“Dr. Chubin has written a valuable study of Iran, its political development, its nuclear ambitions and its relations with America and the rest of the world. He offers much thoughtful and well-informed advice on how Iran should be managed and its nuclear ambitions held in at least some sort of check.”
—THE RT HON THE LORD PATTEN OF BARNES, CH, CHANCELLOR, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

Iran alarms the world as it seeks nuclear energy technology that could be used for weapons. The concern stems in part from Iran’s uncertain intentions and recent history. Does it remain a revolutionary power determined to subvert its Sunni Arab neighbors, destroy Israel, and spread theocratic government to other lands; or would an Iran with nuclear weapons merely defend its territory from foreign aggression and live in peace with its neighbors? Are Iranian leaders and society willing to negotiate limits on nuclear capability and normalize relations with the West, or will they resist accommodation?

Iran’s Nuclear Ambitions provides a rare look into the motivations, perceptions, and domestic politics swirling around Iran. Shahram Chubin, an Iranian-born security expert, narrates the recent history of Iran’s nuclear program and diplomacy and argues that the central problem is not nuclear technology but rather Iran’s behavior as a revolutionary state with ambitions that collide with the interests of its neighbors and the West.

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ALEXEI ARBATOV AND VLADIMIR DVORKIN
FOREWORD BY JOHN D. STEINBRUNER

Beyond Nuclear Deterrence
Transforming the U.S.-Russian Equation

For nearly fifty years—and the decade and a half since the end of the Cold War—deterrence has remained the central nuclear arms control policy between the United States, Russia, and other principal nuclear powers. The question today is: Has it outlived its usefulness?

In Beyond Nuclear Deterrence, two of Russia’s top nonproliferation and international security experts, Alexei Arbatov and Vladimir Dvorkin, critically assess the history of deterrence as it emerged between the Soviet Union and the U.S. and evolved through the Cold War to include an expanding nuclear club. The authors argue that while deterrence as a concept has always been paradoxical, it is poorly equipped to handle today’s most significant nuclear challenges: proliferation and terrorism. Nuclear arms control must move beyond the deadlock of deterrence. The U.S. and Russia need to take the first bilateral steps to remove mutual nuclear deterrence as the foundation of their strategic relationship and implement changes that can be exported internationally.

ALEXEI ARBATOV is scholar-in-residence and program co-chair of Nuclear Nonproliferation at the Carnegie Moscow Center and head of the Center for International Security at the Institute for International Economy and International Relationships of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

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“An outstanding reference, replete with ample tables, maps, and appendices that might well make this book a definitive research resource in this field for some time to come.”
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Deadly Arsenals provides the most up-to-date and comprehensive assessment available on global proliferation dangers, with a critical evaluation of international enforcement efforts. An invaluable resource for academics, policy makers, students, and the media, this atlas includes strategic and historical analysis; maps, charts, and graphs of the spread of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons and missile delivery systems; descriptions of the weapons and regimes—and policies to control them; and data on countries that have, want, or have given up weapons of mass destruction. A CHOICE outstanding academic title from one of the premier nonproliferation research teams. The new edition addresses the recent, dramatic developments in Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, and the nuclear black market, analyzing strategic and policy implications.

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GEORGE PERKOVICH is vice president for studies at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. JESSICA T. MATHEWS is president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. JOSEPH CIRINCIONE is a senior fellow and director for nuclear policy at the Center for American Progress and formerly director for nonproliferation at the Carnegie Endowment. ROSE GOTTEMOELLER is director of the Carnegie Moscow Center. JON B. WOLFSTHAL is senior fellow with the Center for Strategic Studies International Security Program and formerly deputy director for nonproliferation at the Carnegie Endowment.

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THOMAS CAROTHERS AND MARINA OTTAWAY, EDITORS

Uncharted Journey
Promoting Democracy in the Middle East

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The United States faces no greater challenge today than successfully fulfilling its new ambition of helping bring about a democratic transformation of the Middle East. Uncharted Journey contributes a wealth of concise, illuminating insights on this subject, drawing on the contributors’ deep knowledge of Arab politics and their substantial experience with democracy-building in other parts of the world.

Contributors
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New Carnegie Middle East Center website
http://www.carnegie-mec.org

In both English and Arabic, the Carnegie Middle East Center website presents the work of its various scholars and provides news of upcoming and ongoing programs and events.

The Carnegie Middle East Center is a public policy think tank and research center based in Beirut, Lebanon. It was established in 2006 by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The Middle East Center is concerned with the challenges facing political and economic development and reform in the Arab region. It brings together senior researchers from the region to work on in-depth research relating to critical matters facing the countries and peoples of the region. The Center aims to better inform the process of political change in the Arab Middle East and deepen understanding of the complex economic and security issues that affect it.

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Carnegie Paper, December 2006
Julia Choucair

FRÉDÉRIC GRARE
Rethinking Western Strategies Toward Pakistan
An Action Agenda for the United States and Europe
JULY 2007

Without Pakistan’s active and full cooperation, the United States and the broader international community cannot reconstruct Afghanistan, defeat the Taliban, and turn the tide of international terrorism. Yet most observers agree that Pakistan has not provided the fullest possible cooperation. Debate is growing about whether the Pakistani state is merely unable to do better or is actively undermining international efforts in Afghanistan and against terrorism.

In Rethinking Strategies Toward Pakistan: An Action Agenda for the United States and Europe, Frédéric Grare analyzes the cost of continued military rule in Pakistan and presents new guidelines for Western policies. Grare argues that while Pakistan may partially cooperate with the West against terrorism, without democratization Pakistan will continue in its ways and the region’s security and stability will continue to suffer.

To access a PDF file of the report, go to www.CarnegieEndowment.org/pubs

HUSAIN HAQQANI
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ALBERT KEIDEL is a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment where he specializes in China economic issues and related U.S. policy. He served as deputy director and acting director at the U.S. Department of Treasury’s Office of East Asian Nations. Before joining Treasury, he was senior economist at the World Bank office in Beijing.
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ROBERT 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.

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