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LEON PANETTA

with JIM NEWTON

WORTHY FIGHTS

A Memoir of
Leadership in War
and Peace



Worthy Fights A Memoir Of Leadership In War And Peace

David Kilcullen, Greg Mills



Worthy Fights A Memoir Of Leadership In War And Peace:

Worthy Fights Leon Panetta, Jim Newton, 2015-09-15 Leon Panetta has had two of the most consequential careers of any American public servant in the past fifty years His first beginning as an army intelligence officer and including a run as one of Congress s most powerful and respected members lasted 35 years and culminated in his role as Clinton s budget czar and White House chief of staff He then retired to establish the Panetta Institute to serve on the Iraq Study Group and to protect the California coast In 2009 he accepted what many said was a thankless task returning to public office as the director of the CIA

The Art of War and Peace David Kilcullen, Greg Mills, 2024-08-01 How have the character and technology of war changed in recent times Why does battlefield victory often fail to result in a sustainable peace What is the best way to prevent fight and resolve future conflict The world is becoming a more dangerous place Since the fall of Kabul and Russia s invasion of Ukraine the US led liberal international order is giving way to a more chaotic contested and multipolar world system Western credibility and deterrence are diminishing in the face of wars in Europe the Middle East and Africa tensions across the Taiwan Strait and rising populism and terrorism around the world Can peace mutual respect and democracy survive or are we destined to a new permanent chaos in which authoritarians and populists thrive Based on their decades of experience as policy advisors in conflicts in Afghanistan Iraq Colombia and across Africa and on recent fieldwork in Israel Ukraine Ethiopia and Taiwan the authors analyse the nature of modern war considering both large scale high intensity state on state conflicts as well as limited objective irregular low intensity conflicts that often include both inter and intra state dimensions The book investigates how technology can be a leveller for small powers against larger aggressors how one can shape and sustain a viable narrative to ensure public and international support the balance between self reliance and alliance commitment and the role of leadership intelligence diplomacy economic assistance Weighing up past lessons present observations and predictions about the future *The Art of War and Peace* explores how wars can be won on the battlefield and how that success can be translated into a stable and enduring peace

The Long Game Derek Chollet, 2016-06-28 In this inside assessment of Barack Obama s foreign policy legacy Derek Chollet tackles the prevailing consensus to argue that Obama has profoundly altered the course of American foreign policy for the better and positioned the United States to lead in the future *The Long Game* combines a deep sense of history with new details and compelling insights into how the Obama Administration approached the most difficult global challenges With the unique perspective of having served at the three national security power centers during the Obama years the White House State Department and Pentagon Chollet takes readers behind the scenes of the intense struggles over the most consequential issues the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan the meltdown of Syria and rise of ISIS the Ukraine crisis and a belligerent Russia the conflict in Libya the tangle with Iran the turbulent relationship with Israel and the rise of new powers like China An unflinching fast paced account of U S foreign policy *The Long Game* reveals how Obama has defied the Washington establishment to redefine America s role in the world

offering important lessons for the next president *Cycles in US Foreign Policy since the Cold War* Thomas H. Henriksen, 2017-01-25 This book describes how American international policy alternates between engagement and disengagement cycles in world affairs These cycles provide a unique way to understand assess and describe fluctuations in America s involvement or non involvement overseas In addition to its basic thesis the book presents a fair minded account of four presidents foreign policies in the post Cold War period George H W Bush Bill Clinton George W Bush and Barack Obama It suggests recurring sources of cyclical change along with implications for the future An engaged or involved foreign policy entails the use of military power and diplomatic pressure against other powers to secure American ends A disengaged on noninvolved policy relies on normal economic and political interaction with other states which seeks to disassociation from entanglements **Choosing the Leader** Matthew N. Green, Douglas B. Harris, 2019-01-01 The first comprehensive study in more than forty years to explain congressional leadership selection How are congressional party leaders chosen In the first comprehensive study since Robert Peabody s classic *Leadership in Congress* political scientists Matthew Green and Douglas Harris draw on newly collected data about U S House members who have sought leadership positions from the 1960s to the present data including whip tallies public and private vote commitments interviews and media accounts to provide new insights into how the selection process truly works Elections for congressional party leaders are conventionally seen as a function of either legislators ideological preferences or factors too idiosyncratic to permit systematic analysis Analyzing six decades worth of information Harris and Green find evidence for a new comprehensive model of vote choice in House leadership elections that incorporates both legislators goals and their connections with leadership candidates This study will stand for years to come as the definitive treatment of a crucial aspect of American politics **Courts at War** Gregory Burnep, 2021 On June 28 2004 the US Supreme Court broke with a long standing tradition of deference to the executive in wartime national security cases and became an important actor in an armed conflict By declining to rubber stamp the executive branch s actions the judiciary would henceforth play a major role in shaping national security policies in the war on terror After the September 11 2001 terrorist attacks lawyers lawsuits and court decisions have repeatedly altered the landscape in the policy areas of detention and military commissions In *Courts at War* Gregory Burnep explores how after 9 11 lawyers and judges became deeply involved in an armed conflict with important consequences for presidential authority the separation of powers and the treatment of individuals suspected of posing a threat to the United States *Courts at War* goes beyond the post 9 11 armed conflict It analyzes the changes in the position of courts vis vis the other branches of government courts in conflict with the executive the legislature or both even courts in conflict with other courts The consequences included increased checks on presidential authority and greater levels of due process for suspected belligerents held in US custody But Burnep also shows that there are unintended consequences that accompany these developments Burnep innovatively applies an interbranch perspective to persuasively argue that litigation and judicial involvement have important

implications for changing patterns of policy development in a wide range of national security policy areas including surveillance interrogation targeted killings and President Trump's travel ban

A World in Disarray Richard Haass, 2018-01-02 A valuable primer on foreign policy a primer that concerned citizens of all political persuasions not to mention the president and his advisers could benefit from reading Michiko Kakutani The New York Times An examination of a world increasingly defined by disorder and a United States unable to shape the world in its image from the president of the Council on Foreign Relations Things fall apart the center cannot hold The rules policies and institutions that have guided the world since World War II have largely run their course Respect for sovereignty alone cannot uphold order in an age defined by global challenges from terrorism and the spread of nuclear weapons to climate change and cyberspace Meanwhile great power rivalry is returning Weak states pose problems just as confounding as strong ones The United States remains the world's strongest country but American foreign policy has at times made matters worse both by what the U.S. has done and by what it has failed to do The Middle East is in chaos Asia is threatened by China's rise and a reckless North Korea and Europe for decades the world's most stable region is now anything but As Richard Haass explains the election of Donald Trump and the unexpected vote for Brexit signals that many in modern democracies reject important aspects of globalization including borders open to trade and immigrants In A World in Disarray Haass argues for an updated global operating system call it world order 2.0 that reflects the reality that power is widely distributed and that borders count for less One critical element of this adjustment will be adopting a new approach to sovereignty one that embraces its obligations and responsibilities as well as its rights and protections Haass also details how the U.S. should act towards China and Russia as well as in Asia Europe and the Middle East He suggests too what the country should do to address its dysfunctional politics mounting debt and the lack of agreement on the nature of its relationship with the world A World in Disarray is a wise examination one rich in history of the current world along with how we got here and what needs doing Haass shows that the world cannot have stability or prosperity without the United States but that the United States cannot be a force for global stability and prosperity without its politicians and citizens reaching a new understanding

9/11 and the War on Terror Paul J. Springer, 2016-10-03 The attacks of September 11 and the resulting War on Terror have defined the first decade and a half of the 21st century This text closely examines and analyzes the primary documents that provide the historical background of today's worldwide War on Terror 9/11 and the War on Terror A Documentary and Reference Guide provides readers with a rare opportunity to read and examine a variety of primary documents related to the September 11 2001 attacks and the larger War on Terror both in the United States and globally Thematically organized into chapters each document comes with an introduction and analysis written by an expert in the field that supplies the crucial historical background for the users of this title to learn about the complexities of the global War on Terror This book showcases key primary documents that follow the trajectory of events of the 9/11 attacks and the subsequent War on Terror Through the

examination of various types of documents such as speeches diplomatic exchanges military communications and government reports issued by opposing sides in the global conflict readers will gain valuable insight into how these primary sources influenced the 21st century world Each primary source is prefaced by an introduction and followed by an analysis written by a scholar specializing in the field The accompanying analyses enable readers to better gauge the role of diplomacy military strategy national security concerns and ideological propaganda in the global War on Terror

Reconsidering Judicial Finality Louis Fisher, 2023-07-21 Federal judges legal scholars pundits and reporters frequently describe the Supreme Court as the final word on the meaning of the Constitution The historical record presents an entirely different picture A close and revealing reading of that record from 1789 to the present day Reconsidering Judicial Finality reminds us of the unalterable fact as Chief Justice Rehnquist once remarked that our judicial system like the human beings who administer it is fallible And a Court inevitably prone to miscalculation and error as this book clearly demonstrates cannot have the incontrovertible last word on constitutional questions In this deeply researched sharply reasoned work of legal myth busting constitutional scholar Louis Fisher explains how constitutional disputes are settled by all three branches of government and by the general public with the Supreme Court often playing a secondary role The Court's decisions have of course been challenged and reversed in numerous cases involving slavery civil rights child labor legislation Japanese internment during World War II abortion and religious liberty What Fisher shows us on a case by case basis is how the elected branches scholars and American public regularly press policies contrary to Court rulings and regularly prevail although the process might sometimes take decades From the common misreading of Marbury v Madison to the mistaken understanding of the Supreme Court as the trusted guardian of individual rights to the questionable assumptions of the Court's decision in Citizens United Fisher's work charts the distance and the difference between the Court as the ultimate arbiter in constitutional matters and the judgment of history The verdict of Reconsidering Judicial Finality is clear to treat the Supreme Court's nine justices as democracy's last hope or as dangerous activists undermining democracy is to vest them with undue significance The Constitution belongs to all three branches of government and finally to the American people

Delegated Diplomacy David Lindsey, 2023-03-14 Why do states still need diplomats Despite instantaneous electronic communication and rapid global travel the importance of ambassadors and embassies has in many ways grown since the middle of the nineteenth century However in theories of international relations diplomats are often neglected in favor of states or leaders or they are dismissed as old fashioned David Lindsey develops a new theory of diplomacy that illuminates why states find ambassadors indispensable to effective intergovernmental interaction He argues that the primary diplomatic challenge countries face is not simply communication it is credibility Diplomats can often communicate credibly with their host countries even when their superiors cannot because diplomats spend time building the trust that is vital to cooperation Using a combination of history game theory and statistical analysis Lindsey explores the logic of delegating authority to diplomats He argues that countries tend to appoint diplomats

who are sympathetic to their host countries and share common interests with them Ideal diplomats hold political preferences that fall in between those of their home country and their host country and they are capable of balancing both sets of interests without embracing either point of view fully Delegated Diplomacy is based on a comprehensive dataset of more than 1 300 diplomatic biographies drawn from declassified intelligence records as well as detailed case studies of the U S ambassadors to the United Kingdom and Germany before and during World War I It provides a rich and insightful account of the theory and practice of diplomacy in international relations

The Day After Brendan R. Gallagher, 2019-09-15

Since 9 11 why have we won smashing battlefield victories only to botch nearly everything that comes next In the opening phases of war in Afghanistan Iraq and Libya we mopped the floor with our enemies But in short order things went horribly wrong We soon discovered we had no coherent plan to manage the day after The ensuing debacles had truly staggering consequences many thousands of lives lost trillions of dollars squandered and the apparent discrediting of our foreign policy establishment This helped set the stage for an extraordinary historical moment in which America s role in the world along with our commitment to democracy at home and abroad have become subject to growing doubt With the benefit of hindsight can we discern what went wrong Why have we had such great difficulty planning for the aftermath of war In *The Day After* Brendan Gallagher an Army lieutenant colonel with multiple combat tours to Iraq and Afghanistan and a Princeton Ph D seeks to tackle this vital question Gallagher argues there is a tension between our desire to create a new democracy and our competing desire to pull out as soon as possible Our leaders often strive to accomplish both to keep everyone happy But by avoiding the tough underlying decisions it fosters an incoherent strategy This makes chaos more likely *The Day After* draws on new interviews with dozens of civilian and military officials ranging from US cabinet secretaries to four star generals It also sheds light on how in Kosovo we lowered our postwar aims to quietly achieve a surprising partial success Striking at the heart of what went wrong in our recent wars and what we should do about it Gallagher asks whether we will learn from our mistakes or provoke even more disasters Human lives money elections and America s place in the world may hinge on the answer

The Battle for Pakistan Shuja Nawaz, 2020-04-10 *The Battle for Pakistan* showcases a marriage of convenience between unequal partners The relationship between Pakistan and the United States since the early 1950s has been nothing less than a whiplash inducing rollercoaster ride Today surrounded by hostile neighbors with Afghanistan increasingly under Indian influence Pakistan does not wish to break ties with the United States Nor does it want to become a vassal of China and get caught in the vice of a US China rivalry or in the Arab Iran conflict Internally massive economic and demographic challenges as well as the existential threat of armed militancy pose huge obstacles to Pakistan s development and growth Could its short run political miscalculations in the Obama years prove too costly Can the erratic Trump administration help salvage this relationship Based on detailed interviews with key US and South Asian leaders access to secret documents and operations and the author s personal relationships and deep knowledge of the region this book untangles the complex web of

the US Pakistani relationship and identifies a clear path forward showing how the United States can build better partnerships in troubled corners of the world

The Ghosts of Langley John Prados, 2017-11-07 The Ghosts of Langley offers a detail rich often relentless litany of CIA scandals and mini scandals and a prayer that the CIA learn from and publicly admit its mistakes rather than perpetuate them in an atmosphere of denial and impunity The Washington Post From the writer Kai Bird calls a wonderfully accessible historian the first major history of the CIA in a decade published to tie in with the seventieth anniversary of the agency's founding During his first visit to Langley the CIA's Virginia headquarters President Donald Trump told those gathered I am so behind you there's nobody I respect more hinting that he was going to put more CIA operations officers into the field so the CIA could smite its enemies ever more forcefully But while Trump was making these promises behind the scenes the CIA was still reeling from blowback from the very tactics that Trump touted including secret overseas prisons and torture that it had resorted to a decade earlier during President George W Bush's war on terror Under the latest regime it seemed that the CIA was doomed to repeat its past failures rather than put its house in order The Ghosts of Langley is a provocative and panoramic new history of the Central Intelligence Agency that relates the agency's current predicament to its founding and earlier years telling the story of the agency through the eyes of key figures in CIA history including some of its most troubling covert actions around the world It reveals how the agency over seven decades has resisted government accountability going rogue in a series of highly questionable ventures that reach their apotheosis with the secret overseas prisons and torture programs of the war on terror Drawing on mountains of newly declassified documents the celebrated historian of national intelligence John Prados throws fresh light on classic agency operations from Poland to Hungary from Indonesia to Iran Contra and from the Bay of Pigs to Guantánamo Bay The halls of Langley Prados persuasively argues echo with the footsteps of past spymasters to the extent that it resembles a haunted house Indeed every day that the militarization of the CIA increases the agency drifts further away from classic arts of espionage and intelligence analysis and its original mission while pushing dangerously beyond accountability The Ghosts of Langley will be essential reading for anyone who cares about the next phase of American history and the CIA's evolution as its past informs its future and a president of impulsive character prods the agency toward new scandals and failures

The Inheritance Mara E. Karlin, 2021-12-14 Exploring how the U S military can move beyond Iraq and Afghanistan Since the September 11 2001 attacks the U S military has been fighting incessantly in conflicts around the globe often with inconclusive results The legacies of these conflicts have serious implications for how the United States will wage war in the future Yet there is a stunning lack of introspection about these conflicts Never in modern U S history has the military been at war for so long And never in U S history have such long wars demanded so much of so few The legacy of wars without end include a military that feels the painful effects of war but often feels alone The public is less connected to the military now than at any point in modern U S history The national security apparatus seeks to pivot away from these engagements and to move on to the next

threats notably those emanating from China and Russia Many young Americans question whether it even makes sense to invest in the military At best there are ad hoc unstructured debates about Iraq or Afghanistan Simply put there has been no serious organized stock taking by the public politicians opinion leaders or the military itself of this inheritance Despite being at war for the longest continuous period in its history the military is woefully unprepared for future wars But the United States cannot simply hit the reset button This book explores this inheritance by examining how nearly two decades of war have influenced civil military relations how the military goes to war how the military wages war who leads the military and who serves in it how the military thinks about war and above all the enduring impact of these wars on those who waged them If the U S military seeks to win in the future it must acknowledge and reconcile with the inheritance of its long and inconclusive wars This book seeks to help them do so The American Century and Beyond George C. Herring,2017 U S Foreign Relations from 1893 to the Present is the second part of From Colony to Superpower an international narrative that blends political diplomatic and military history with economic cultural and religious history It includes a new introduction and a new chapter that brings the narrative up to the present *Subordinating Intelligence* David P. Oakley,2019-03-15 In the late eighties and early nineties driven by the post Cold War environment and lessons learned during military operations United States policy makers made intelligence support to the military the Intelligence Community s top priority In response to this demand the CIA and DoD instituted policy and organizational changes that altered their relationship with one another While debates over the future of the Intelligence Community were occurring on Capitol Hill the CIA and DoD were expanding their relationship in peacekeeping and nation building operations in Somalia and the Balkans By the late 1990s some policy makers and national security professionals became concerned that intelligence support to military operations had gone too far In *Subordinating Intelligence The DoD CIA Post Cold War Relationship* David P Oakley reveals that despite these concerns no major changes to national intelligence or its priorities were implemented These concerns were forgotten after 9 11 as the United States fought two wars and policy makers increasingly focused on tactical and operational actions As policy makers became fixated with terrorism and the United States fought in Iraq and Afghanistan the CIA directed a significant amount of its resources toward global counterterrorism efforts and in support of military operations *The Cambridge History of Warfare* Geoffrey Parker,2020-06-04 The new edition of *The Cambridge History of Warfare* written and updated by a team of eight distinguished military historians examines how war was waged by Western powers across a sweeping timeframe beginning with classical Greece and Rome moving through the Middle Ages and the early modern period down to the wars of the twenty first century in Afghanistan Iraq and Syria The book stresses five essential aspects of the Western way of war a combination of technology discipline and an aggressive military tradition with an extraordinary capacity to respond rapidly to challenges and to use capital rather than manpower to win Although the focus remains on the West and on the role of violence in its rise each chapter also examines the military effectiveness of its adversaries and the regions in which the

West's military edge has been and continues to be challenged **The Gatekeepers** Chris Whipple, 2018-03-06 Now with a chapter on the chaos in the Trump administration the New York Times bestselling behind the scenes look at the White House Chiefs of Staff whose actions and inactions have defined the course of our country What do Dick Cheney and Rahm Emanuel have in common Aside from polarizing personalities both served as chief of staff to the president of the United States as did Donald Rumsfeld Leon Panetta and a relative handful of others The chiefs of staff often referred to as the gatekeepers wield tremendous power in Washington and beyond they decide who is allowed to see the president negotiate with Congress to push POTUS's agenda and most crucially enjoy unparalleled access to the leader of the free world Each chief can make or break an administration and each president reveals himself by the chief he picks Through extensive intimate interviews with eighteen living chiefs including Reince Priebus and two former presidents award winning journalist and producer Chris Whipple pulls back the curtain on this unique fraternity In doing so he revises our understanding of presidential history showing us how James Baker's expert managing of the White House the press and Capitol Hill paved the way for the Reagan Revolution and conversely how Watergate the Iraq War and even the bungled Obamacare rollout might have been prevented by a more effective chief Filled with shrewd analysis and never before reported details **The Gatekeepers** offers an essential portrait of the toughest job in Washington **Dangerous Doctrine** Robert G. Kaufman, 2016-05-13 Much like Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan President Barack Obama came to office as a politician who emphasized conviction rather than consensus During his 2008 presidential campaign he pledged to transform the role of the United States abroad His ambitious foreign policy goals included a global climate treaty the peaceful withdrawal of American military forces from Iraq and Afghanistan and a new relationship with Iran Throughout Obama's tenure pundits and scholars have offered competing interpretations of his grand strategy while others have maintained that his policies were incoherent or at best ad hoc In **Dangerous Doctrine** political scientist Robert G. Kaufman argues that the forty fourth president has indeed articulated a clear consistent national security policy and has pursued it with remarkable fidelity Yet Kaufman contends that President Obama has imprudently abandoned the muscular internationalism that has marked US foreign policy since the end of World War II Drawing on international relations theory and American diplomatic history Kaufman presents a robust critique of the Obama doctrine as he situates the president's use of power within the traditions of American strategic practice Focusing on the pivotal regions of Europe the Middle East and Asia this provocative study demonstrates how current executive branch leadership threatens America's role as a superpower weakening its ability to spread democracy and counter threats to geopolitical order in increasingly unstable times Kaufman proposes a return to the grand strategy of moral democratic realism as practiced by presidents such as Harry S. Truman Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush with the hope of reestablishing the United States as the world's dominant power *Voices of the Afghanistan War* Brian L. Steed, Sheri Steed, 2023-06-15 The War in Afghanistan was the longest military conflict in American history In a diverse collection of

primary documents this book explores the evolving legacy of the war and its impact on the countless lives it changed forever Following the terrorist attacks on September 11 2001 the United States spent almost 20 years at war in Afghanistan until it officially withdrew its military forces in August 2021 As the longest war in American history the War in Afghanistan cost trillions of dollars to sustain and claimed the lives of thousands of American soldiers and many more Afghan civilians This book tells the story of the war from its varied perspectives including documents from American and Afghan politicians high ranking military officers and diplomats The topics covered are even more diverse ranging from the building and training of security forces and the use of drones in modern warfare to the importance of education and the role of women in combat What the editors lead readers to understand is that the peoples referred to as Afghans have little in common beyond the land itself a simple basic and ultimately ignored reality at the heart of the U S invasion occupation and frustration in Afghanistan

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