

The Amateur Study Guide

The Amateur by Richard Harding Davis

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Plot Summary

"The Amateur" is a 2012 book written by Ed Klein, former editor-in-chief of the New York Times Magazine. The book is an extended attempt to analyze and criticize the character of American President Barack Hussein Obama and his advisers. The general thesis of the book is that Barack Obama is an "amateur," someone who was uniquely unprepared for the presidency when he was elected and who has not learned from his mistakes over time. This "expose" also paints Obama as introverted, easily provoked and arrogant person with delusions of grandeur. Further, he is backed by a series of personally unsavory characters that reinforce his poor character and decisions, including but not limited to his wife, Michelle Obama, and advisers Valerie Jarrett, Samantha Power, Rahm Emmanuel and David Axelrod.

The book, following its introduction and prologue, proceeds in five parts with twenty-two relatively brief chapters. Part I, "Chicago, That Toddlin' Town" contains chapters 1-5 and tells the story of Obama's rise to the presidency, unsavory personal and political details on full display. Klein argues that Obama was indifferent to those who helped him rise to power and threw them under the bus when it proved convenient for him. These chapters include interesting testimony from a number of figures, including Obama's controversial former pastor, Jeremiah Wright.

Part II, "Amateur Hour at the White House," includes Chapters 6-12. It focuses on the early years of the Obama presidency, showing how many members of the media and "liberal elites" drank the "Obama Kool-Aid" and so overlooked his initial bungling of the job. In this part, Klein also develops biting critiques of Valerie Jarrett and Michelle Obama, not only in their political roles but their personalities as well.

Part III, "With Friends Like These," including Chapters 13-16, and focuses on arguing that Obama betrayed and alienated many of those who had supported his candidacy. Perhaps the most sordid of these stories is the Obamas' relationship with Oprah Winfrey, who arguable earned Obama a million additional votes by endorsing him. But Obama also snubbed the Kennedy family and American Jews.

Part IV, "The Obama Doctrine" criticizes Obama's foreign policy, especially the baleful influence of Samantha Power and his mistreatment of military officials such as General Jones. This part contains Chapters 17-19. Part V, "A One-Term Proposition?" shows that both the "Old Obama" of the 2008 campaign and the "New Obama" of the 2012 campaign are both fraudulent. Klein concludes that Obama does not deserve a second-term.

Readers should be prepared for a highly politicized work of a right-of-center author. Klein has far more criticism than praise for Obama and makes a concerted effort to paint him in a negative light. Further, the entire book is not focused on demonstrating that Obama is an "amateur." Rather, it is a wide-ranging criticism of Obama's character and those actions and character of his closest advisers.



Introduction, The Dark Side of Obama, Prologue, As Bill Sees It

Introduction, The Dark Side of Obama, Prologue, As Bill Sees It Summary and Analysis

Edward Klein begins "The Amateur" by introducing himself as a reporter who, though years of interviews and research, has concluded that Barack Obama is "temperamentally" unsuited to be President of the United States. In other words, the reason that Obama is unsuited to the presidency is due to his core character traits, which demonstrate that he is arrogant, easily provoked, petty, dishonest and suffers from delusions of grandeur. He is not the centrist, pragmatic leader he pretended to be in the 2008 election. Rather, he has been a different man all along. It is Obama's character that had led him to "revolt" against American values. The challenge for conservatives is that, based on his personality and ideology, Obama wants to be "transformative" in the sense that he wants to make the United States into a European-style welfare state. The connection between Obama's character and ideology is left unclear.

The prologue opens with a recounting of a conversation in 2011 between Bill and Hillary Clinton, relayed to Klein through reports of friends who were present. Bill strongly encourages Hillary to leave the State Department and run against Obama. Her numbers were strong, he claimed, but she said that she wanted to be a statesman by finishing her term and that the time was not right. Bill had already privately commissioned a poll demonstrating her popularity and Hillary worried that information about the poll would leak. So Bill thinks little of Obama and Hillary says little either way. Instead, Hillary breaks off the conversation when her two Blackberries ring.

Just then their daughter Chelsea arrives and finds her parents arguing. She takes Hillary outside and makes clear that she agrees with her father. Chelsea was still nursing a grudge about how Hillary won more votes in the Democratic primaries than Obama, but had still lost due to superdelegates. When Hillary returned, Bill insisted that Obama was inadequate to the job and that she would be much better. And then, realizing his audience was spellbound, claimed that Obama was an amateur, a political novice.

What seems clear from the text is that Klein has significantly stylized the conversation to make his point and justify the title of his book. But his general point is that even a Democrat, Bill Clinton, "the master politician of his age", sees weakness in Obama. Even a Democrat sees that he is an "amateur." This point sets the stage for the rest of the book, which is why it lies in the prologue. If Clinton thinks that Obama is an amateur, and they're in the same party and share some of the same ideas, then that is good evidence, or at least suggests that Obama is an amateur after all according to the author.



Part I, Chicago, That Toddlin' Town, Chapters 1-4, Hollow at the Core, A Ghostly Presence,

Part I, Chicago, That Toddlin' Town, Chapters 1-4, Hollow at the Core, A Ghostly Presence, Summary and Analysis

In Chapter 1, Klein introduces the reader to Dr. David Scheiner, Barack Obama's personal physician for twenty-two years. Scheiner's an unreconstructed leftist, and supports a single-payer health insurance plan. To Klein's surprise, Scheiner is a significant Obama critic. He both criticizes Obamacare for having no cost control mechanisms and argues that Obama's healthcare experts are not sufficiently knowledgeable. It's clear, also, that Klein nurses a grudge against Obama because he was not invited to his inauguration. Finally, he comments that he never got to know Obama after twenty-two years. Obama was always gracious and polite, but he was also private. Scheiner says that this is due to his overly academic, University of Chicago-style persona as personally disconnected.

Chapter 2 opens with an interview with Douglas Baird, dean of the University of Chicago Law School, who had heard good things about Obama and gave him a visiting lecturer's position so that he could write. Law professor Richard Epstein says that Obama had a practically ghostly presence around the faculty, as he rarely showed up to meetings. Further, he had no intellectual curiosity and, contrary to reports, never came up for tenure as he never wrote a scholarly article. He was a political animal from the beginning, never taking intellectual risks. Baird counters that the whole point of Obama's position was to let him be a law lecturer while he wrote and practiced law. Baird said he was a great teacher and charismatic. But that, Baird says, does not make him a good leader. His experience as a law professor did not really prepare him for leadership.

Chapter 3 begins by noting that in 1996, Obama was elected to the Illinois Senate. He was a "ghostly presence" there as well, not even showing up for picture day. Instead, all he liked to do was to give speeches on the Senate floor. However, he did find time to vote against a bill restricting partial birth abortion, not once, but twice.

In 2000, Obama's political ambitions got ahead of him and he decided to run for Congress and unseat four-term representative Bobby Rush in the Democratic primary. Rush dismissed him and trounced him 2-to-1. The election was such a burden on his family that, according to one of Michelle Obama's friends, she had divorce papers drawn up. Obama had wasted a lot of their money, more than she knew. During this time, some thought Obama suicidal until a wealthy financier, Jim Reynolds, decided to induct him into Chicago's African-American elite so that Obama could run for US



Senate. Thus, black business leaders, as Klein documents, launched Obama. Reynolds then connected him with Jesse Jackson, who helped him hone his speaking skills, a debt he never acknowledged publicly. This was not the only connection he ignored.

Still we see Klein building his case that Obama had a poor character, that he cared most about advancing his own political agenda, and that he was willing to do what it took to do so, even when it meant putting his own family at risk of bankruptcy. Klein also argues that Obama paid little attention to the University of Chicago faculty when he was there, and was absent throughout much of his career in the Illinois Senate. Obama was also prepared to ditch people who helped him to get where he wanted to go. Klein paints a picture of Obama as a man so ambitious that he couldn't even bide his time to prepare himself for the offices he ran for.



Part I, Chapter 5, The Man Who Prepared Obama For the Presidency

Part I, Chapter 5, The Man Who Prepared Obama For the Presidency Summary and Analysis

Chapter 5 explores Obama's relationship with Jeremiah Wright. Klein's clear aim is to associate the men as tightly as possible in an implicit guilt-by-association argument. Klein claims that Obama was associated with Wright before he and Michelle Obama were married in 1991. Wright took Obama under his wing at his church, and taught him "Black Liberation Theology" which in Klein's crude rendition teaches that American Blacks are and always will be victims of white oppression. Further, Wright's theology included a heavy dose of economic justice, where God requires the redistribution of wealth. Trinity United Church of Christ was Barack Obama's spiritual and ideological home and Jeremiah Wright was the person who fulfilled Obama's "father-hunger" built up his ego and helped ready him to run for president.

Klein then turns to argue that through a Reverend Lacy Kirk, who thought Obama needed to get to know a preacher who was smarter than he was, Obama came to work closely with Jeremiah Wright. Klein feigns reservations over meeting with Wright due to his sermons that were so controversial in 2008. Wright told him that Obama came to him as a community organizer, not as a person in search of a relationship with Jesus. Wright was not even sure Obama was a genuine convert but he believed he convinced Obama that he could affirm a Christian identity without putting down the Muslim part of his family or his Muslim friends.

After the 2004 DNC speech, Obama became incredibly popular and his book, "Dreams from My Father", shot to the top of the bestseller lists. Yet he remained a member of Trinity, - why? Not because he was part of black culture. Liberals have different theories trying to absolve him from guilt, but Wright believes that Trinity helped get Obama a black base.

In 2007, before Obama launches his candidacy for the presidency, Wright is giving controversial speeches and sermons. After the launch, David Axelrod gets wind of one of Wright's more explosive sermons and pushes Obama to try and get Wright to shut up. It then appears that Rolling Stone had gotten hold of some of Wright's sermons and sent it to Hillary Clinton's people, who weren't too interested in it at the time. But it was enough to drive a wedge between Obama and Wright. The wedge only widened when Brian Ross at ABC broke the implicit media agreement not to run stories critical of Obama. The media lit up and everyone was eating Wright "alive." One of Obama's advisers tries to pay Wright off not to preach until November, but Wright refuses. Eventually Obama comes to see him in order to try and get him to not "hurt the campaign." Wright again refuses and Obama tells him that his problem is that "You have to tell the truth."



In this chapter, again, Klein's goal is to show that the association between Obama and Wright is deeply personal and proved influential on Obama's thinking but that when the going got tough, Obama abandoned his connection with Wright as well. One complication in this chapter is that while Klein wants to paint Obama as someone interested in power first and foremost, he also wants to suggest that Obama agreed with some of Wright's ideas. But in the end, the theme of Obama's lust for power wins out when Klein emphasizes that Wright thought Obama only came to Trinity to build his black base.



Part II, Amateur Hour at the White House, Chapter 6, Drinking the Obama Kool-Aid, Chapter 7, Bungler-in-Chief

Part II, Amateur Hour at the White House, Chapter 6, Drinking the Obama Kool-Aid, Chapter 7, Bungler-in-Chief Summary and Analysis

Chapter 6 begins with a depiction of a dinner with Obama and nine famous American historians. Obama was enjoying great popularity at the time, 2009, and wanted to know how he could become a transformational president. His goals were to quiet problems in the Middle East, bring Iran and North Korea to the bargaining table and, in domestic policy, right the financial crisis through a more equitable distribution of wealth, revolutionize healthcare and change the energy industry. The historians pointed out how hard it was for LBJ to run domestic and foreign policy at the same time, but Obama would not have any of it, as he was simply too confident in himself - narcissistic even.

All of Obama's actions displayed his amateurism, as his incredibly short list of political accomplishments did not warrant his self-confidence. Klein describes Obama as running too much decision-making himself and ignoring old friends. He was also surrounded with amateur advisers David Axelrod, David Plouffe, Robert Gibbs and Valerie Jarrett, all of who praised him, with the exception of Rahm Emmanuel.

The dinner conversation made clear that Obama didn't know who he was, why he was president or how to act like a commander in chief. But Obama had really only been elected due to fears about the economy, Americans being fed up with Bush and the Iraq War, among other issues. Instead, Obama thought his own personality got him elected based on his messianic complex, something his acolytes only reinforced, as Klein demonstrates.

During the dinner, Obama made clear that he preferred a corporatist political system where big employers, big unions and government run the economy - state capitalism, in other words. This idea was not new. In 2011, Klein actually met with one of the historians for two hours. The historian admits that Obama was a big disappointment. He cannot connect with voters.

In Chapter 7, Klein opens up a more direct attack on Obama as an amateur. He qualifies his claim, as Obama has a good political sense for who his enemies are and how to strategize, but he's an amateur leader. He does not know how to lead. Now, amateurism can be cultivated as an asset, which Obama used to place himself supposedly above the fray. He is in reality a "bungler-in-chief." Klein blames Obama for the breakdown of the deficit reduction negotiation with the Republican Congress, among

other lesser but still significant political errors. But his biggest error was trying to reform healthcare, making it his first priority rather than promoting the economy and jobs.

The challenges for the reader in Chapters 6 and 7 are significant. First, Klein's conception of what makes for an amateur is actually complicated, so much so that it's not clear that Obama is any more of an amateur than any first-term president. Klein cites Obama's errors, though he identifies them in question-begging ways by referring to Obama's policies in pejorative language. Another critical challenge is trying to figure out how Klein got so many important figures to talk about Obama being somehow in over his head or an amateur. The quotes are presented with little context, and so one is left wondering whether Klein simply prompted them to make remarks that would fit with his pre-formulated thesis.



Chapters 8-10, Clark Kent, Ground Zero, Valerie v. Rahm

Chapters 8-10, Clark Kent, Ground Zero, Valerie v. Rahm Summary and Analysis

Chapter 8 opens with a contrast between Reagan and Obama, both of whom inherited troubles in finance. But Reagan had the sense to focus on the economy, whereas Obama turned to healthcare. And Obama's organization of his own political meetings further illustrates that he is primarily interested in policy issues as reflected by his progressive ideology. But he could not bring those aims to fruition, as prior to the presidency he had not run anything at all. Many liberals thought Obama would be able to make up his executive deficiencies with rhetoric, but in office Obama proved to be a poor communicator.

Now Klein admits that other presidents have come to the presidency as amateurs, such as JFK, as illustrated by the Bay of Pigs. But Obama is, of course, different as JFK grew into the job, but Obama did not. Klein's explanation? That Obama has the wrong "temperament for the presidency." Despite his academic credentials, he is not cut out to lead the free world. He doesn't even enjoy being president, as he is an introvert. He rarely reaches outside of his advisers. He contrasts with Bill Clinton in this way.

Historian Robert Dallek thinks that effective presidents have five qualities: vision, political pragmatism, national consensus, personal connection with the people and credibility. On Klein's view, Obama has no credibility due to the fact that he cares more about his own thoughts than the ideas of those he should serve, the people.

Chapter 9 concerns Obama's most trusted adviser, Valeria Jarrett. She has incredible influence, and many titles. She can go to any presidential meeting, be it national security or budgets. She is the only person who vacations with the Obamas and is one of the only people in the world who can call Obama by his first name. She is Obama's "ground zero." One of Jarrett's duties is to keep the administration in contact with the rest of the world, but apparently she is much better at giving others the cold shoulder than being welcoming. And she disrespects businessmen, like Obama. Despite many personnel changes, Jarrett has remained indispensable.

Jarrett is a mysterious person, however, as her hold on the president is unclear. One explanation might be that she is an excellent watchdog who protects Obama from critics. No one gets past her if they have a problem with him. She is also a voice of authentic blackness for a man whose sense of his own blackness has always been unclear.

Klein then departs into an unattractive discussion of Jarrett's influence among blacks as an especially light-skinned African American, who holds social influence over darker



blacks as a result. Jarrett comes from the most respected and distinguished black families in America. Unlike the Obamas, she was a political insider in Chicago and connected the Obamas to all the right people. Jarrett had little connection to actual working class blacks. And her social credentials were poor in Chicago, as she was involved in several scandals. But she has turned failures into successes, failing "upward" as Klein puts it.

Chapter 10 concerns the fights between Valerie Jarrett and Rahm Emmanuel. When Emmanuel left the administration to run for mayor of Chicago, he pointed out to an old Chicago politician, who Klein later interviewed, that Jarrett was one of the reasons he couldn't do more good. She was responsible for public engagement, but she failed. Nearly everyone Klein interviewed said as much. And in bitter fights between Jarrett and Emanuel, who has more experience, Obama nearly always sided with Jarrett and ignored Emanuel. According to Klein, in many cases Emanuel had better judgment, but Obama didn't listen. He then points out how Jarrett botched a number of key issues, including Solyndra. She is also inexperienced internationally.

Klein argues that Jarrett is just a good illustration of a broader phenomenon: the Chicago people Obama brought with him to the White House were themselves amateurs more focused on jockeying for power. And Jarrett is at the top of it all, creating problems just to solve them and controlling and manipulating others.

Chapter 8 continues to make the case that Obama is an amateur, but Chapters 9 and 10 depart into attacks on Valeria Jarrett, Obama's closest adviser. It is not so clear why she is relevant to Klein's thesis. Is the idea that she too is an amateur? Or is it that Obama is an amateur because he relies on her? These points are not made clear.



Chapters 11-12, The Wrath of Michelle, Out to Lunch

Chapters 11-12, The Wrath of Michelle, Out to Lunch Summary and Analysis

Chapter 11 focuses on the understated role of Michelle Obama as an influential person in the Obama Administration and the Obama White House. Klein argues that the media have sanitized her to make her unlike Hillary Clinton, as a woman who was politically hands off but who cared about childhood obesity. But in fact, good journalism reveals her to be a major player.

Michelle is in many ways Obama's progressive ideological conscience. She encourages him to stay focused on moral imperatives while his advisers tell him to pay more attention to political reality. This was of particular import during the fight for Obamacare. She encourages his messiah complex.

While the "chattering classes" think that Michelle actually discourages Obama from seeking political office, she arguably has encouraged him. Otherwise, Klein claims, it is hard to explain why she has had so little success and why she hitched her wagon to his star in the first place. In fact, Michelle was raised in a political family that was hurt and scorned by Mayor Daley in Chicago. This left her with a grudge against powerful whites that did not recognize the value of black people.

These attitudes were encouraged not just by her father, Fraser Robinson, but by her mother, Marian Robinson, as well. It was Marian's fiery attitude, and her unwillingness to let the moral failures of others go, that was transmitted to Michelle. And Michelle exercises this power over Obama, often chastising him for his failures. Klein then cites several anonymous sources whose testimony confirms his claims. In general, she has pushed Obama to strive for more, often using her anger as motivation.

According to Klein, it was Michelle who got Obama to pick Joe Biden as Vice-President rather than Hillary Clinton and that it was Michelle who pushed Obama to nominate Sonia Sotomayor as a Supreme Court Justice. And she frequently communicates through her best friend, Valerie Jarrett. Things were particularly tense between her and Rahm Emanuel, which Klein thinks led to his resignation.

And on occasion, her real character shines through to the public, which Klein illustrates, and he also adds that she is both acquisitive and materialistic.

Chapter 12 begins by introducing Bill Daley, the son and nephew of the two corrupt Mayor Daleys of Chicago, who Barack Obama made his chief of staff in 2011, following Emanuel's exit. Daley was more laid-back and congenial but he had little legislative experience and so did not do well helping Obama negotiate the "Grand Bargain" on

deficit reduction in the summer of 2011. When the bargain fell through, Jarrett tried to destroy Daley by placing blame on him, which largely worked. Before he resigned, Daley took a swipe at Jarrett, who with Michelle Obama and Kathleen Sebelius, the Health and Human Services Secretary, supported Obama's attempt to force Catholic institutions to finance contraception. Daley privately organized a meeting with Catholic American Archbishop Dolan, and with Joe Biden, all Catholics, tried to bring Obama over to the side of religious freedom. But Daley failed again.

Klein then argues that the Daley "debacle" illustrates that after three years in office, Obama's administration is still "amateurish." Obama simply doesn't care to receive advice from anyone who disagrees with him and won't tolerate dissension from outside parties, as Klein illustrates with some quotes from a Republican aide to a Congressman. The aide, among others, found the Obama Administration opaque and hard to predict. In the end, Obama is just an introvert who prefers speeches to backroom "retail politics" which makes him a poor leader.



Part III, With Friends Like These, Chapters 13-14, Oprah's Sacrifice, Snubbing Caroline

Part III, With Friends Like These, Chapters 13-14, Oprah's Sacrifice, Snubbing Caroline Summary and Analysis

Chapter 13 focuses on the role that Oprah Winfrey played in getting Obama elected and the fallout afterward. Oprah had thrown her influence behind Obama early on, which caused her favorable ratings to fall. She lost ratings and lowered the price that she charged advertisers. But two economists at University of Maryland, College Park, argue that Oprah's endorsement netted Obama more than one million votes. Early on, he always took her calls, but things changed a month after his inauguration when Oprah and her friend Gayle King went to visit him.

Apparently both Jarrett and Michelle were threatened by Oprah's power, charisma and influence over Obama. Initially he often seemed to prioritize her advice over Michelle's, pulling back television appearances when she said he was getting exposed. Jarrett didn't like Oprah eclipsing her influence, so she started trying to turn Michelle against Oprah. This was not difficult, given how controlling Michelle is over Obama and how little she trusts him. And so Obama pulled back.

So when Oprah attempted to secure an interview with Obama in 2009, she and Gayle went to the White House together, whether they were treated like ordinary VIPs. And when Michelle greeted them, she directed her conversation mostly towards Gayle, partly ignoring Oprah. Oprah did not care for this, so she fired back at Michelle by asking whether she and Obama were still arguing a lot. Michelle was taken aback and ultimately answered that their arguments had been a point of "growth" in their relationship.

Later in the term, when Michelle started to talk more about childhood obesity, Oprah offered to help by getting her millions of viewers to listen to Michelle's views on obesity. But Michelle thought Oprah's yo-yo dieting would be a bad example for children, who would think it was ok to be "fat." When Oprah found out that Michelle had said this, she was furious. Klein asked a White House insider to explain Michelle's animus towards Oprah. Apparently it is due to the fact that Obama would still make late night calls to her, asking her how to improve his popularity. It's no longer clear that Oprah will go out of her way for Obama in 2012, partly because of being snubbed and partly because she would risk the popularity of her struggling OWN network.



Chapter 14 attempts to tell a similar story about Obama's relationship with Caroline Kennedy. In late 2009, Ted Kennedy, then dying over incurable brain cancer, convened the Kennedy Clan at their Hyannisport compound to unite the family over an important division. He and Caroline had supported Obama, whereas Robert Kennedy, Jr. supported Hillary Clinton. It was so important to Ted Kennedy, that he spent his dying breath on it. Robert was furious that Obama had tried to make Bill Clinton out to be a racist in the primary and thought Obama didn't take environmental issues seriously enough. When Ted and Caroline toasted Obama, Robert fumed.

Two months later, after Kennedy died, the clan had no leader and the remaining Kennedys were split. Caroline still supported Obama but she had no interest in elected office. However, she wanted to become an education adviser for the Administration. Her communications got no response. After another snub, she felt insulted. The White House treated other Kennedys similarly. And what's worse, many Kennedy family friends in the White House told the family that the Obamas had said bad things about them. Caroline's views on Obama began to change, such that she now thinks of him as dishonest.

Finally, in late 2011, Caroline was invited to the White House for a reception for the White House Historical Society's fiftieth anniversary, an organization her mother founded. The reception was closed and Caroline was only briefly greeted. Michelle was especially cold towards her. Caroline must support Obama in 2012 for ideological reasons, but she hates that she has no alternative.



Part III, Chapters 15-16, The Jewish Problem with Obama, All in the Family

Part III, Chapters 15-16, The Jewish Problem with Obama, All in the Family Summary and Analysis

Chapter 15 opens at the last G-20 meeting, Obama greeted a number of important leaders, including French President Nicholas Sarkozy. Sarkozy mentioned to Obama that he didn't like Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, and Obama replied that he liked him even less, but this was caught on an open microphone and was made known.

Klein argues that this admission signals Obama's broader attitude to American Jews, who he cares little for despite the fact that Jews supported Obama over McCain by a 57-point margin. In fact, since FDR, Jews have been major supporters of Democrats but due to Obama's apparent indifference to America's relationship with Israel and his call for Israel to respect its original 1967 borders created great hostility towards him in the Jewish community, among whom he seems to have lost about a third of his support. And at one point more Jews disapproved of Obama than approved.

The trouble began early in Obama's presidency, when he decided to try to put together an alliance of moderate Muslim nations to reign in Iran. But he had to dissociate the U.S. from its close ties with Israel first, so as to make the loose alliance possible. This led Obama to criticize Israel and to single it out among others for the cause of the conflict. Anti-Defamation League president Abe Foxman told Klein that the president seems interested in fundamentally changing the relationship between Israel and the United States, and while the ADL and other organizations started criticizing Obama, many Jews stayed loyal.

Klein follows up by recounting one of Netanyahu's negative experiences at the White House, where Obama and Hillary Clinton made it clear that he had to change Israel's policies on a number of issues or accept that the U.S. and Israel no longer had common interests. This led many American Jews not only wondering if the U.S. President was a friend of Israel but whether he was a friend of American Jews.

In the next section, Klein argues that Obama's experience as a black man in Chicago after the 1960s led him to be hostile to Israel because of Israel's support of the Apartheid regime in South Africa. While Obama is not anti-Israel, he acquired an inability to understand the importance of Israel to the Jewish people and did not have the affinity for them that previous administrations had. Klein then cites a number of figures who confirm his view, along with a transcript of some of Obama's remarks at a meeting with a number of prominent Jewish congressmen and women. This attitude was softened, though, by the negative impact of the 2010 elections, so Obama's

relationship with American Jews has somewhat improved. And yet his changes are only strategic, not substantive.

Chapter 16 turns to discuss Obama's relationship with the black community, which were nowhere near as good as one might have expected. This was clearly on display with the Shirley Sherrod fiasco, where Obama fired a black director of rural development in Georgia based merely on a dishonestly edited tape of her giving a speech. After this, Obama's relationship with the black leadership in government changed, as blacks no longer held their tongues. His relationship with black businessmen is even worse. But as the 2012 election came around, Obama started inviting prominent blacks to the White House again.



Part IV, The Obama Doctrine, Chapters 17-19, The War on General Jones, Mind-Meld, The Rise of the Humanitarian Vulcans

Part IV, The Obama Doctrine, Chapters 17-19, The War on General Jones, Mind-Meld, The Rise of the Humanitarian Vulcans Summary and Analysis

James Jones, a retired four-star Marine Corps general, combat veteran in Vietnam, serves as supreme allied commander in Europe. He was a trusted military adviser to both parties. And yet a few months after he became Obama's first national security adviser, a whispering campaign brought him down saying that he didn't work hard. He ultimately felt had had to defend himself in the press and said that Obama's Chicago team made it impossible for him to do his job. The problem with Jones was that he was non-ideological and that he did not know Obama well at all. He would endure a number of different humiliations. He could rarely see the president and didn't get to choose his own staff, as two examples. After Obama spoke more with his assistant than him, he resigned after nineteen months.

In Chapter 18, Klein turns to criticize Obama's foreign policy, which he regards as a failure, in large part because it goes too far in repudiating Bush's foreign policy of democracy promotion and unilateral international action. This has led, in Klein's view, to an inconsistent foreign policy. These include a doctrine that began in the Clinton Administration known as the Tarnoff Doctrine. But it was Samantha Power who had the most impact on Obama's foreign policy, whose relationship with Obama took off in 2005 when they met. Power was a Harvard professor who had before that time steered clear of politicians. This was the case until Power was caught calling Hillary Clinton a "monster" during the primary campaign in 2008. Though she resigned from the campaign, Obama hired her to the National Security Council to this day. It was Power who encouraged Obama to adopt a "mea culpa" foreign policy to gain the world's approval. This also led to Obama's supposedly conciliatory speech in Cairo in 2009, which illustrates Obama's overly friendly attitude towards Muslims.

In Chapter 19, Klein doubles down on his criticism of Obama's foreign policy, arguing that he violated his own foreign policy commitments by intervening in Libya, largely to curry favor. Obama also had no idea how to respond to the Arab Spring. But Power created a doctrine "responsibility to protect" to justify intervention, the idea of fighting only "humanitarian wards." This view was shared by her "ideological bedfellow" Susan Rice, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. Due to political pressure, Obama however would not even commit to follow this doctrine, pretending to intervene without

really intervening. Klein insists on criticizing Obama in these ways, though it is unclear where a Republican of Klein's variety could genuinely disagree with his decisions, as at every point Obama has intervened in Arab affairs and adopted a great deal of George W. Bush's foreign policies. But Klein continues, citing neoconservative Robert Kagan, who argues that global order can only be imposed by violence by the greatest world powers, and that by retreating from full-blown empire-building, the Obama Administration threatens to leave the world in chaos.

Obama failed to adequately grasp the Arab Spring, intervened in Libya in a half-hearted fashion, failed to lead Europe out of its own financial mess, withdrew from Iraq and creating a "vacuum of power." It is really quite striking that Klein has doubled down here, almost in any attempt to find fault with every single decision Obama has made. What's worse, it is now completely impossible to see how the book is making a sustained case that Obama is an "amateur" rather than a President who behaves in ways Klein disapproves of. So the thread of argument is gradually being lost. But what is clear is Klein's belief that unless the world has a single dominant power, the United States, it will collapse into chaos.



Part V, A One-Term Proposition?, Chapters 20-22, The

Part V, A One-Term Proposition?, Chapters 20-22, The Summary and Analysis

Klein begins Chapters 20 by pointing out that a common liberal defense of Obama is that all presidents come to office unprepared in various respects, so Obama's failures are not his fault. Anyone would make mistakes. But while this is not true, Klein argues that Obama has failed to learn from his mistakes. Klein thinks that rather than simply asserting this claim, that he should make the case that Obama has not grown in office. Klein interviewed dozens of people, experts, across the country about this view. Beginning with the media, he found that their liberal views led them to claim that he has grown in office. But they say that Obama has thought that he needs to repackage himself, much as Nixon attempted. But there is no "New Obama" save in the minds of the left.

Klein argues in Chapter 21 that there never was an "old Obama" either, rather David Axelrod invented a narrative of Obama as a national healer, someone who could bring everyone together and make change happen. But in fact Obama is simply a standard progressive, who believes in government control of the economy, which he has bungled in various ways, as Klein argues. Obama, however, admits no more than "tactical" mistakes and failures to communicate. He ends by contrasting Obama, unfavorably, with Ronald Reagan.

In the final chapter, Klein turns to the current rhetoric in the election. He begins by setting up the 2012 as a "seventh political realignment" in American politics, making this the most important election of the present generation. He then proceeds to do, just as major party candidates do, to encourage listeners to think that this election will have striking and critical consequences, negative if Obama leads. Klein is on full attack here, arguing that Obama and his advisers will do everything they can to keep Republicans from focusing on the economy too much. Republicans must focus on not letting the American people forget his failures. Of course, Klein ends by stressing that Republicans must remind the American people that Obama is an "amateur," but at this point it is clear that "amateur" just means "bad."



Characters

President Barack Obama

Born in 1961, Barack Hussein Obama, is at the time of this guide's composition the 44th President of the United States of America, the first African-American to serve in the United States' highest political office. Obama is the subject of "The Amateur" and an object of intense criticism by author Edward Klein. Klein's contention throughout the book is that Obama is an "amateur," in that he was not prepared intellectually and personally to be president of the United States. Further, he has continued to be an "amateur" due to his thin-skinned character and messiah complex, which have led him to be unwilling and unable to learn from his mistakes.

Throughout the book, Obama is painted in an extremely negative light. On Klein's view, his poor character, inexperience and morally dubious advisers, including even his wife, affect everything Obama has done. Obama is portrayed as arrogant and disloyal to his friends and allies who helped him get into office. Further, much of Obama's public persona is a political fiction, and was a fiction from the beginning of his political career. Obama, on Klein's view, is not well-suited to political office and due to his ideology and character must not be reelected in 2012, given the negative impact he is likely to have on the country. Not only are his policies bad, but they flow from a personality that is fundamentally poor and undeserving of such high distinction.

Michelle Obama

The wife of Barack Obama and his most trusted adviser. Klein goes to great length to undermine what he sees as Michelle Obama's carefully crafted public persona. While she is portrayed as the intelligent, kind, non-political individual, well suited to her public missions of supporting American military families and fighting childhood obesity, she is anything but.

In Klein's view, Michelle Obama, born and raised in a middle-class black family in Chicago, grew up bearing the burden of racism against her parents. She was determined early on to fight back against an oppressive white culture, which continues to make her angry and bitter to this day. Klein argues that Michelle Obama frequently emasculates Obama in front of others, especially early in his career and their marriage. And while she is sometimes said to have opposed Obama's political career, Klein argues that she is a political animal herself, who tied herself to him early on, knowing full well his political ambitions.

Klein goes out of his way to confirm every negative stereotype of Michelle Obama ever brought out in American political culture, especially the stereotype of the angry, mean, domineering black woman who constantly criticizes and embarrasses her husband. Klein also paints her as catty and jealous, especially of Oprah Winfrey, who Obama



apparently admired and whose influence Michelle Obama resisted at the behest of Valerie Jarrett. Further, Michelle is seen as pushing Obama to stay ideological even when practical politics demands a more pragmatic approach.

Valerie Jarrett

Perhaps Obama's closest and most trusted senior adviser. She has a number of roles, not least among these a close relationship with Michelle Obama. Jarrett was a major figure in Chicago politics when she first connected with the Obamas. Klein routinely criticizes Jarrett for destructive, personal, venomous behavior, and creating needless acrimony and conflict in the Obama White House, especially with Oprah and Rahm Emanuel.

David Axelrod

A Chicago-based political consultant, adviser to Bill Clinton, campaign adviser to Obama and presently senior strategist for Obama's reelection campaign after serving as one of Obama's senior advisers. Axelrod is seen as just one more corrupt member of Obama's senior staff.

Rahm Emanuel

The present mayor of Chicago and once White House Chief of Staff for the Obama Administration. Rahm is also a member of the "Chicago gang" but resigned when it became clear that he and Valerie Jarrett simply could not get along.

Samantha Power

A special assistant to Obama who sits on the National Security Council. A trusted foreign policy adviser, she and Obama developed a close working relationship soon after his election. Klein criticizes Obama for accepting Power's more liberal foreign policy views.

Bill Clinton

The 42nd president of the United States who Klein argues is critical of Obama privately while supporting him publicly.

Hillary Clinton

Secretary of State and wife of Bill Clinton. Hillary ran against Obama in the 2008 primary and lost. He named her Secretary of State.



Oprah Winfrey

The famous African American talk show host and television personality who threw her considerable national influence behind the Obamas in 2008. They did not return the favor when the time came.

Caroline Kennedy

Wife of the late Senator Ted Kennedy who initially supported the Obamas but who later felt betrayed by them.

American Jews

Prominent American Jews were among Obama's most critical financial backers, but Klein argues he has not promoted their interests while in office.

General Jones

General James Jones, a decorated 4-star Marine Corps general, was brought into the Obama Administration only after being more or less forced to leave by Valerie Jarrett, on Klein's telling.

Jeremiah Wright

The Pastor Emeritus at Trinity United Church of Christ in Chicago, Illinois. Wright was a formative religious and political influence on Obama long before his controversial comments led Obama to distance himself from him.

American Blacks

Obama never felt quite at home with American blacks and has stepped on them and their interests in his rise to power.

Edward Klein

The author of "The Amateur" and a former editor of the New York Times Magazine, foreign editor of Newsweek and a number of other publications. He has also written a number of highly political books, many of which have been heavily criticized by persons on the left and the right.



Objects/Places

Chicago, Illinois

The city where Obama rose to power and met many of his current most trusted advisers.

Washington, D.C.

Where Obama and his advisers presently reside.

Trinity United Church of Christ

The African American church where Jeremiah Wright preached and where Obama was a member.

The White House

Obama's home, and traditional office of the presidency, in D.C.

The 2008 Campaign

Obama won the 2008 campaign for the presidency with a lofty message of hope and change that did not materialize in office, Klein argues.

The 2012 Campaign

Obama's new campaign will be based on personal attacks and hiding his record, Klein argues. It is a campaign he must not win.

Amateurism

To be an amateur, on Klein's view, is to be personally and professionally unprepared for one's job. Obama is in this sense an amateur, which is not mitigated by his experience as president given that, for Klein, he has not learned from his mistakes.

Klein's Transcripts

Klein put together his research for the book from hours of transcripts from interviews he conducted with various Obama associates.



Progressive

Obama is said to be a progressive, one who favors a powerful federal government that controls the American economy and who favors a multilateral, "weak" approach to foreign policy.

Political Relationships

Obama, in Klein's view, sees all political relationships as instrumental to his own goals. He does not pay back his friends with help or acknowledgement.

The Affordable Care Act/Obamacare

Obama's 2009 bill to "take over the healthcare industry," and an act that Klein criticizes in detail.

The 2009 Stimulus Bill

A bill Obama passed that sent billions of federal dollars to Obama's political allies and to inefficient companies like Solyndra.



Themes

Amateurism

The title of "The Amateur" immediately suggests that the core theme of the book is that Barack Obama is, in some sense, an amateur. Klein begins the book by arguing that Barack Obama, when he took office as president, was an amateur, meaning that he was politically inexperienced, not ready to hold the nation's highest office. Klein uses Bill Clinton's own description of Obama in this regard, as Clinton spoke these words when encouraging Hillary to run for president.

In the beginning of the book, the notion of an amateur is fairly straightforward, close to its dictionary meaning. But Klein faces a problem as the book progresses through Obama's time in office. After all, all presidents start off not knowing the details of the job very well. But Obama is supposed to still be an amateur after four years of being president. How could this possibly be? Klein's argument is that Obama has not removed those features of himself that made him an amateur in the first place. Due to his arrogance and insularity, he refuses to learn from his mistakes, in contrast to other presidents. Consequently, Obama remains an amateur.

The difficulty with Klein's maneuver is that it stretches the concept of an amateur to its breaking point, to denoting poor character or advocating policies that Klein disapproves of. Thus, the linchpin concept in the book is not adequately explicated. Nonetheless, it remains a clear theme.

Criticisms of President Obama

As stated in the previous theme, "The Amateur" slowly segues from an argument that Obama's actions as a senator, candidate and president are those of an amateur to another, distinct argument that Obama has pushed a number of bad policies and hired a number of bad senior staff. This latter argument is really a set of arguments, each focused on the perils of a particular staff pick for Obama, such as Valerie Jarrett, Rahm Emanuel or Samantha Power, or on policies that Klein dislikes, such as Obama's foreign policy, Obamacare or the stimulus bill.

These personal and political criticisms are really the core of the book. The idea of amateurism seems to be mostly window-dressing and advertising. Instead, the exposes of Obama's staff and the challenges presented by Obama's policies take center stage throughout. This makes sense in a way, as the plausibility that Obama remains an amateur even after spending four years in the White House is shaky.

Klein's criticisms of Obama are what you would expect from a popular American right-wing pundit in the early 21st century. He is primarily focused on attacking the person and attitudes of his opponent by claiming that they exhibit the arrogance and ignorance of a particular stereotype of the "tax and spend" liberal. Klein criticizes Obama, for



instance, for big government at home but not advocating a big and powerful enough government abroad, a complicated tension in contemporary popular American right-wing thought.

Poor Character

If anything, "The Amateur" is an extended argument that Obama and his senior staff have poor characters, that they tend to have many vices that make them ill suited to lead. Obviously Klein's Exhibit A is Barack Obama. Obama is chock full of vices in Klein's eyes. First, he has a messiah complex that has followed him throughout his adult life. He believes that he is in some broad sense God's gift to the world. Beyond that, he is guilty of more mundane forms of arrogance. Obama is also disloyal; when he has benefited from someone's help politically he's prepared to ignore them, or worse, throw them under the bus when it suits him.

But the case against Obama's character is not complete without an indictment of the character of those who surround him. Klein's cases begin with people who helped Obama get into power, such as Jeremiah Wright. But his key targets are Michelle Obama and Valerie Jarrett. None come in for more criticism. Michelle Obama is characterized as an angry, emasculating black woman with deep progressive commitments, rushes to judgment, jealousy and pettiness. Valerie Jarrett is worse, as Klein thinks she seems to enjoy stirring up trouble in the White House, defeating her political enemies and is easily threatened by anyone that they will take away her political power.

Of course, Klein also criticizes others, such as Rahm Emanuel, Samantha Power and David Axelrod, but Michelle and Valerie are his key supplementary targets.

Style

Perspective

Edward Klein, a prominent journalist who served as foreign editor for Newsweek and that editor in chief of the New York Times Magazine, is the author of "The Amateur" and his political and personal views define the perspective of the book. To put Klein's political views in a broader, historically significant context, we can view him as a late 20th century/early 21st century member of the American center-right. He is a believer in the main values shared by members of the Republican Party, and buys into their standard views about President Obama's character and his policies. The policy views are in some ways more significant, as they arguably drive Klein's inclination to criticize Obama.

The American center-right attempts to integrate three generic socio-political points of view: the first on economic policy, the second on social policy and the third on foreign policy. On economic policy, Klein has a moderate libertarian or conservative view. He tends to believe more in free-markets than the standard progressive and rejects as inefficient and unjust Obama's intervention into healthcare, his stimulus package and a number of other policies. He is conservative on social policy, in that he opposed legalized abortion, defends extensive religious liberty for people of faith and opposes policies aimed at generating racial equality like affirmative action, though social policy does not a central feature of the book. In foreign policy, he believes that the United States has a rightful place as the world's only global superpower and believes that the U.S. should use this power to forcibly make the world better, and so Klein's foreign policy views arguably come under the heading of "neo-conservative." To understand Klein's problem with Obama's policies, which really are a key if not the key element of the book, you need merely consult these three views that, somehow, have been knitted together as a single ideology in the United States.

Beyond that, Klein's perspective is deeply tented by a personal disdain for Obama, as he sees Obama as an "amateur" with serious, deep character flaws. The book is written, arguably, to expose the "real Obama" and make the case against a second-term for the Obama Administration. So the reader should expect a heavy degree of personal bias and an interest in ad hominem attacks.

Tone

The tone of the book is most influenced by Klein's sense of Obama's history, personality and self-presentation. Obviously the book is a criticism of President Obama and his closest associates, and while Klein attempts to sound dispassionate in developing these criticisms, his disgust and condescension shine through the text. It is clear that Klein is not only disgusted with Obama's character and policies but that he does not respect



Obama as a person. The tone is also accusatory, making clear attacks and implicit attacks on nearly everything significant Obama and his aids have done.

The reader should expect this sort of tone for the particular genre of book "The Amateur" is in. It is a right-wing pundit's book and, as such, and not unlike left-wing pundits' books, it is negative bordering on nasty, uncharitable, full of mockery, derision and cheap shots. The book is meant to entertain those who already agree with Klein's point of view, to make them laugh or angry and to drive them to do as Klein wants them to do - get Obama thrown out of office. So another way to understand the tone of the book is to pay close attention to Klein's goals in writing the book. That is, the tone follows the perspective of the book in combination with particular facts of the story, such as the details of Obama's rise to the presidency.

Structure

"The Amateur" is a relatively moderately sized books, at around two hundred and fifty pages of text. The text itself is divided into five broad parts, preceded by an introduction and prologue. The beginning of the book sets up the aim theme with a description of Klein's reasons for embarking on the project and a scene where Bill Clinton calls Obama and amateur. Then the book's twenty-two main chapters round out the rest of the book. These chapters are divided (unequally) into five parts.

Part I contains Chapters 1-5 and follows Obama's early political career, stretching roughly from his arrival in Chicago to his election to the presidency. Here Klein tries to argue that Obama's character traits in office follow from his previous experiences. It is here that Klein is perhaps least unkind to Obama, as exploring the roots of Obama's insecurities and arrogance make one a bit sympathetic towards him.

Part II, which contains Chapters 6-12, starts at the beginning of the Obama administration, showing how the media drank the "Obama Kool-Aid" during the 2008 campaign, how Obama "bungled" early legislative initiatives and how he mistakenly hired Valerie Jarrett as one of his senior advisers. Part II also overviews Klein's criticisms of Michelle Obama.

In Part III, Chapters 13-16, Klein's simple aim is to show that Obama was disloyal to a number of groups and individuals who helped him succeed, including Oprah Winfrey, Caroline Kennedy, American Jews and blacks. Part IV, Chapters 17-19, are a brief and somewhat out of place criticism of Obama's foreign policy. And Part V, Chapters 20-22, brings together the case against Obama by showing that his self-presentation is deceptive and that he does not deserve a second term.



Quotes

"Bound in dozens of four-inch-thick three-ring notebooks, my transcribed notes run for almost a thousand pages and tell the story of a man who is at bottom temperamentally unsuited to be the chief executive and commander in chief of the United States of American." (1-2)

"Listening to Bill Clinton, the master politician of his age, soliloquize about politics was an awesome experience, and everyone in the barn, including Hillary, hung on his every word." (10)

"Barack Obama, said Bill Clinton, is an amateur." (12)

"Given Dr. Schenier's leftist leanings, I expected him to be a champion of his former patient (Obama). To my surprise, however, he turned out to be one of Obama's most severe and unforgiving critics." (1, 16)

"I did not see any signs of intellectual curiosity or power. He did not have a way of listening to you that drew you in. But it was rarely the case that you could figure out what he thought." (2, 21)

"Obama believes in Obama." (4, 28)

"Come on, man, you should know better when politicians make promises." (4, 33)

"I bring you greetings from my pastor, the Reverend Jeremiah Writer." (5, 35)

"Barack said, "I'm sorry you don't see it the way I do. Do you know what your problem is?" And I said, "No what's my problem?" And he said, "You have to tell the truth."" (5, 51)

"Like their liberal counterparts in academia, the media, the mainstream churches, and the entertainment industry, the historians had drunk deeply of the Obama Kool-Aid." (6, 56)

"Barack Obama didn't have the faintest idea 1) who he was; 2) why he had been elected president; and 3) how to be commander in chief and chief executive of the United States of America." (6, 61)

"The American people have come to realize that, in Barack Obama, they elected a man president who does not know how to lead. He lacks an executive sense. He doesn't know how to run things. He's not a manager. He hasn't been able to bring together the best and brightest talents. Not to put too fine a point on it, he's in over his head." (6, 68)

"So what do I mean when I call such a bear-knuckled political warrior an amateur? I simply mean this: judged by the skillset that is necessary for the chief executive and



commander in chief of the United States of American, Obama is the Bungler-in-Chief." (7, 71)

"Barack Obama has the wrong temperament for the presidency." (8, 82)

"Jarrett is ground zero in the Obama operation, the first couple's first friend and consigliere." (9, 85)

"Emanuel thought for a moment, then said: 'I guess it all comes down to one person.' 'Who's that?' 'Valeria Jarrett.'" (10, 94)

"Michelle is in fact an unrecognized force in her husband's administration." (11, 106)

"But [Daley] kept his feelings to himself. He deeply resented the role Jarrett had played in his downfall, and before he left his post, he wanted to engage her in one last battle." (12, 129)

"The Daley debacle underscored a truth universally acknowledged by Obama's friends and adversaries—namely, that after more than three years in office, his administration was still amateurish and in disarray." (12, 130-1)

"By the time Oprah and Gayle landed in Washington a month after the election, Oprah's relationship with the Obamas had come unglued." (13, 139)

"Three and a half years of aloofness, non-communication, and dithering amateurism by the president left his old shock troops in a state of shock." (13, 145)

"Now [Caroline Kennedy] says things about Obama like, 'I can't stand to hear his voice any more. He's a liar and worse.'" (14, 153)

"A sizable number of American Jews ... are having a serious case of buyer's remorse when it comes to Barack Obama." (15, 159)

"During the months I spent researching and writing this book, I was frequently asked the same question: What surprised you the most about Barack Obama? My answer was always the same. I said that I was surprised by how badly America's first black president had bungled his relations with black America." (16, 183)

"The United States under Barack Obama is less assertive, less dominant, less power-minded, less focused on the American people's particular interests, and less concerned about preserving U.S. freedom of action." (17, 191)

"It was an instant mind-meld, and Power became one of Obama's closest foreign policy advisers." (18, 207)

"[Obama and his foreign policy team] envision a world of declining American power and the emergence of a new world order that will contain a half dozen major powers. However, such a highly competitive, dangerous multipolar world is not inevitable. It will



only materialize if the United States lets it. Obama should be more careful what he wishes for." (19, 223)

"Those who claim there is a 'New Obama' have invented a man who doesn't exist." (20, 234)

"The people also have a right to vote against a president who has failed them. The question is: Will they vote against Barack Obama in 2012?" (21, 246)

"To win reelection in 2012, Barack Obama must divert the country's attention from his record of incompetence and amateurism." (22, 256)

"Republicans will have to remind American that Barack Obama is The Amateur." (22, 258)



Topics for Discussion

Explain Klein's concept of an amateur. To what extent does Obama count as an amateur early in the book? Later in the book?

Does Klein apply the concept of an amateur to Obama correctly? Or is his use of the concept more strained and complicated?

Name three of Klein's main criticisms of Obama. How many of them are related to Obama's putative amateurism?

Pick two of Obama's associates that Klein criticizes and explain Klein's critiques.

How do Klein's criticisms of Obama's policies fit into the main narrative of the book, if in fact they do so?

What do you think Klein's driving concern about Obama is? Does this concern fit with Klein's stated concerns?

Do you think Klein is fair to Obama? Why or why not? Explain in detail.