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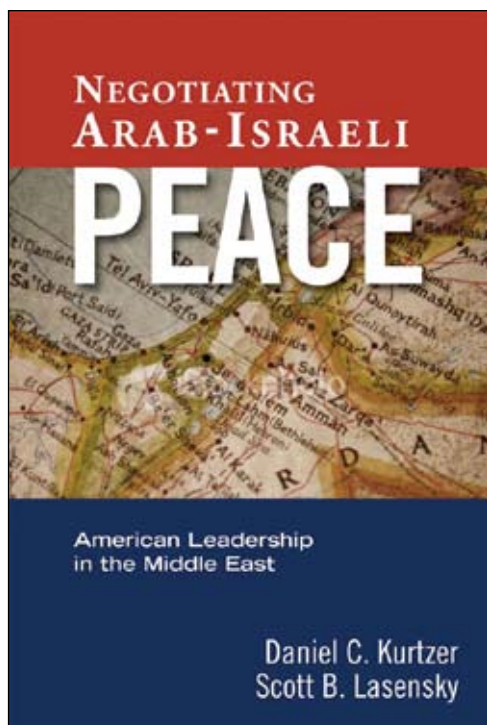
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American Leadership in the Middle East

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“. . . a well-reasoned, realistic study setting out what works and what does not in this distinctive diplomatic arena. Today’s leadership (and tomorrow’s) could usefully build on the lessons presented here.”

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As Washington struggles to revive the Arab-Israeli peace process, Kurtzer and Lasensky offer the definitive guidebook on how to broker peace in the Middle East. *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace* sets forth a compelling, interests-based framework for American engagement in the peace process; provides a critical assessment of U.S. diplomacy since the end of the Cold War; and offers a set of ten core “lessons” to guide the efforts of future American negotiators.

This concise volume is the product of the United States Institute of Peace’s Study Group on Arab-Israeli Peacemaking, which brings together some of America’s most respected and experienced authorities in the field: William B. Quandt (University of Virginia), Steven L. Spiegel (University of California–Los Angeles), and Shibley Telhami (University of Maryland and the Brookings Institution). The book draws on nine months of groundbreaking consultations with dozens of statesmen, political leaders, and civil society figures who have defined Middle East peacemaking in recent years.

Kurtzer, a longtime American peace negotiator, brings an insider’s perspective to a text that is richly illuminated with historical narrative and the first-hand accounts by a diverse array of figures who have been at the center of this historic effort. *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace* is an ideal study guide for anyone focusing on mediation, conflict resolution, and Middle East diplomacy.

Daniel C. Kurtzer is a former U.S. ambassador to Israel and Egypt and currently holds the S. Daniel Abraham Chair in Middle East Policy Studies at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University. **Scott B. Lasensky** is a senior researcher and Middle East expert at the United States Institute of Peace. He and Kurtzer codirect the Institute’s Study Group on Arab-Israeli Peacemaking.

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Foreword by Richard H. Solomon ■ *The Study Group on Arab-Israeli Peacemaking: Organization and Members* ■ *List of Interviews and Consultations* ■ *Lessons Ignored, Opportunities Lost* ■ *The United States and Arab-Israeli Peacemaking: A Report Card* ■ *Making Peace Among Arabs and Israelis: Lessons Learned and Relearned* ■ *Recommendations for Future Administrations* ■ *Maps (Israel and its Neighbors; Jerusalem; Golan Heights; Gaza Strip; West Bank)* ■ *Timeline* ■ *Recommended Readings* ■ *Select Documents and Primary Sources* ■ *Online Documents and Primary Sources*

IRAN'S LONG REACH

Iran as a Pivotal State in the Muslim World

Suzanne Maloney

"Suzanne Maloney has written an insightful and sober analysis of Iran as a 'pivotal state' that poses a major strategic challenge to its neighbors and to the security interests of the United States. She captures the external factors that have increased Iranian influence in recent years and the internal contradictions that could dramatically alter Iran's path. She has also suggested sensible ways to engage a country that will remain pivotal for the foreseeable future because of its location, resources, and revolutionary ideology. Iran's Long Reach is a valuable addition to current scholarship on Iran."

—Barbara Slavin, author of *Bitter Friends, Bosom Enemies: Iran, the U.S. and the Twisted Path to Confrontation*

By virtue of its size, history, resources, and strategic location, Iran under any circumstances would pose particular relevance for American policy, but the 1979 revolution and the political system that it wrought placed Iran squarely at the heart of U.S. security challenges.

As the third book in the series from the Institute's Muslim World Initiative on pivotal states in the Muslim world, this lucid and timely volume sheds much-needed light on Iran's strikingly complex political system and foreign policy and its central role in the region. Suzanne Maloney systematically outlines Iran's sources of influence in the Muslim world, including its strategic ambitions and dynamism, political innovations, economic clout, religiocultural institutions, and historical and cultural linkages. Maloney argues that although its leadership and rhetoric often appear stagnant, Iran is in reality one of the least static societies in the Muslim world.

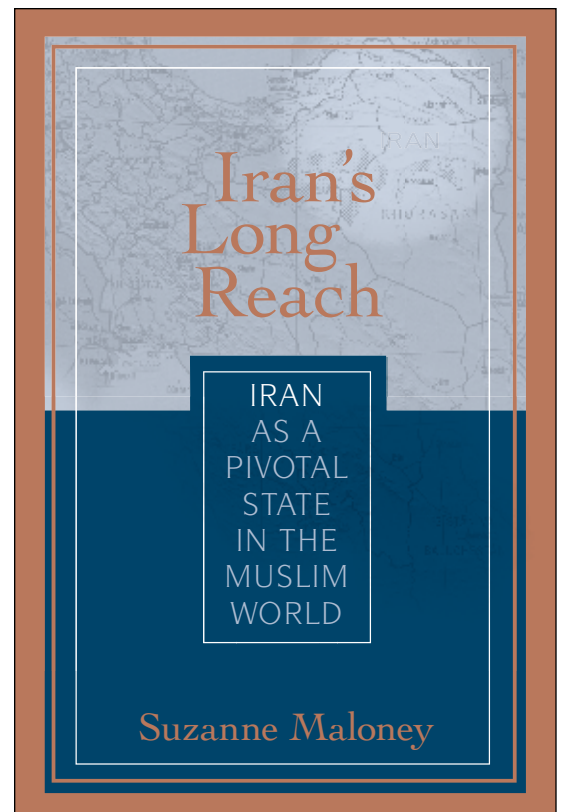
Iran today is fraught with pressures and tensions as a result of a disproportionately young population, an economy subject to considerable external pressures and cyclical fluctuation, and the massive transformations occurring along its borders in Iraq and Afghanistan. Maloney analyzes the social, economic, and regional forces that are driving Iran toward change and asks what these factors mean for U.S. foreign policy. She concludes that despite historical, legal, and practical constraints, the United States must ultimately engage Iran on a range of issues.

Insightful and balanced, this volume presents a realistic, precise, and objective assessment of Iran for policymakers, academics, as well as the interested public.

Suzanne Maloney is a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution's Saban Center for Middle East Policy and formerly served on the policy-planning staff of the State Department.

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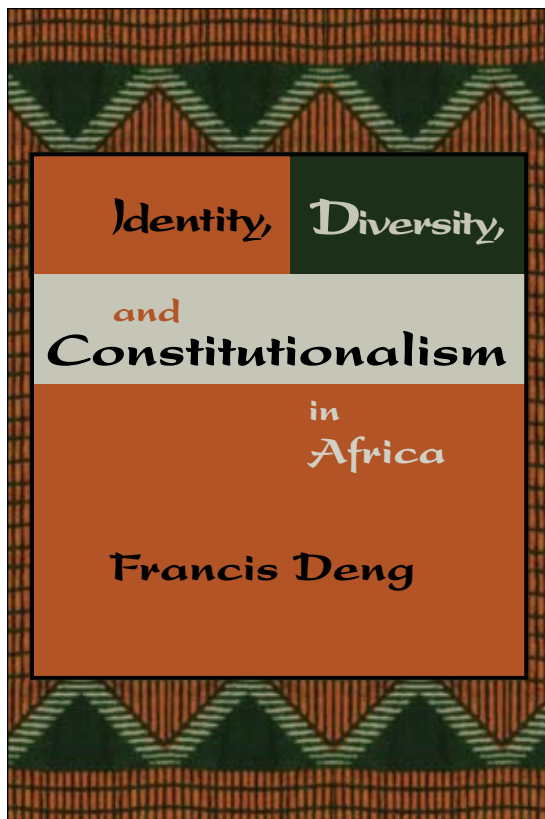
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Since independence, African states have struggled under the burden of European models of governance. Hobbled by these alien frameworks, countries have limped from crisis to crisis, unable to establish their democratic legitimacy or to quell the secessionist demands of marginalized minorities. In this innovative and stimulating volume, Francis Deng outlines a new relationship between governments and societies—a relationship informed by Western concepts but based on traditional African values such as respect for human dignity, equality, and self-rule.

Francis Deng, a distinguished scholar and world-renowned diplomat, interweaves legal and cultural anthropology, constitutional law, political science, and a practitioner's pragmatism as he dissects current dilemmas and devises feasible solutions. At the heart of the volume are two key concepts: constitutionalism as an evolving system of laws, norms, practices, and institutions; and self-determination as both an expression of identity and a tool for conflict prevention and resolution. These two ideas, argues Deng, can help Africans resolve the tension between ethnic diversity and national identity.

Francis M. Deng is the UN secretary-general's special adviser on the prevention of genocide. In 2002–2003, he was a senior fellow at the United States Institute of Peace. He served as Sudan's minister of state foreign affairs, is the author or editor of more than thirty books, and holds a doctorate from Yale Law School.

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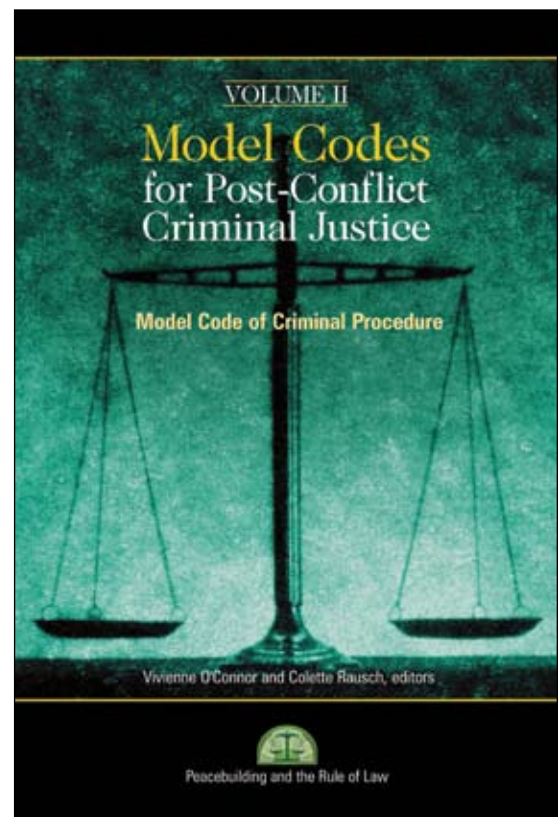
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Model Codes for Post-Conflict Criminal Justice is the culmination of a six-year project spearheaded by the United States Institute of Peace and the Irish Centre for Human Rights, in collaboration with the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and the UN Office on Drugs and Crime. Some three hundred experts and practitioners from across the world were involved in the drafting, vetting, and revision of the provisions and their commentaries. This enormous breadth of expertise has allowed the Model Codes to draw on lessons learned in a variety of post-conflict states and from the laws of a remarkable variety of the world's legal systems and traditions.

Vivienne O'Connor is a rule of law adviser in the Rule of Law program at the United States Institute of Peace. **Colette Rausch** is deputy director of the United States Institute of Peace's Rule of Law program. **Hans-Joerg Albrecht** is director of the Max Planck Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law, Germany. **Goran Klemencic** is a senior lecturer in the Faculty of Criminal Justice and Security Studies at the University of Maribor, Slovenia.



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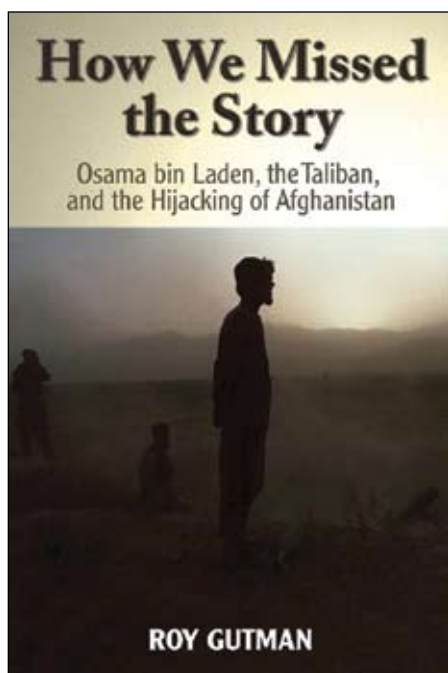
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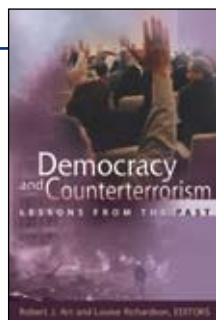
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Roy Gutman is a Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist who currently serves as foreign editor for McClatchy newspapers.

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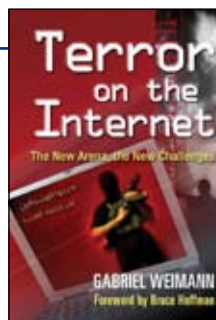
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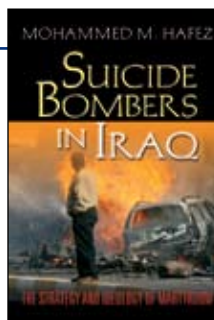
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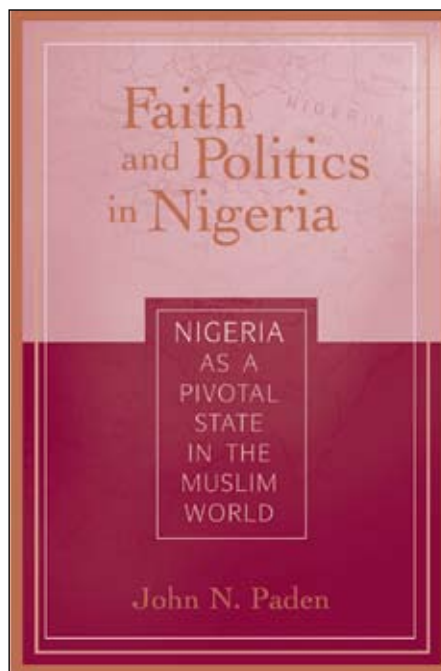
Paden argues that Nigeria, with a population that is almost evenly divided between Muslims and Christians, could serve uniquely as a model for interreligious political accommodation and as a bridging actor in global politics between the West and the Muslim world.

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John N. Paden is Clarence Robinson Professor of International Studies and professor of Public and International Affairs at George Mason University.

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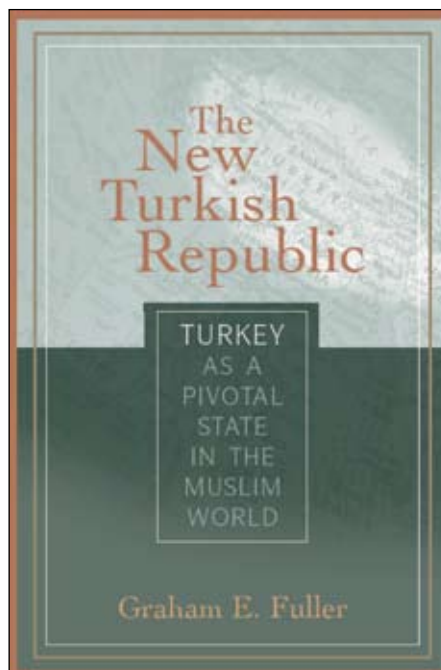
This timely work explores how, after a long period of isolation, Turkey is becoming a major player in Middle Eastern politics once again. By acting independently and attempting to reconcile its constitutionally secular form of governance and vibrant traditional culture, it is now for the first time becoming positively viewed by others in the Muslim world as a state worth watching—and maybe even emulating. Turkey's dynamic political scene and new search for independence in its foreign policy; however complicating or irritating for the United States today, will nonetheless ultimately serve the best interests of Turkey, the Middle East, and even the West.

Drawing heavily on a range of Turkish and Western sources, this multidimensional, lively, and nuanced volume provides an excellent introduction to one of the region's most fascinating and complex countries and makes a highly valuable contribution to the current debate about Turkey and its place in the world.

Graham E. Fuller is currently an independent writer, analyst, lecturer, and consultant on Middle Eastern affairs and an adjunct professor of history at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver.

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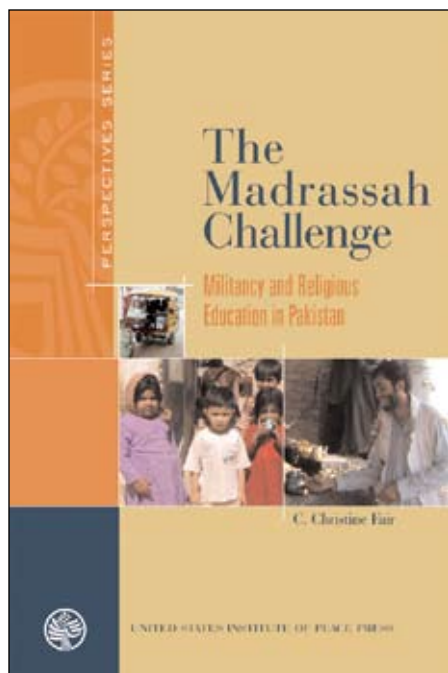
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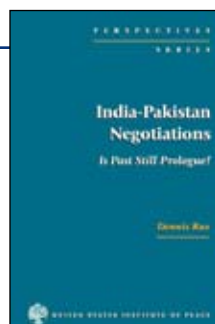
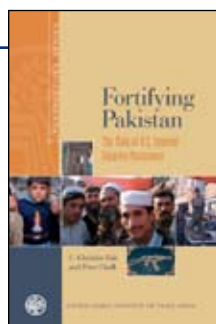
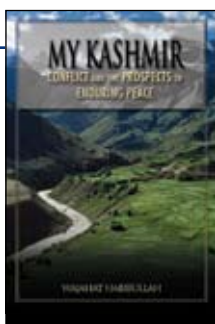
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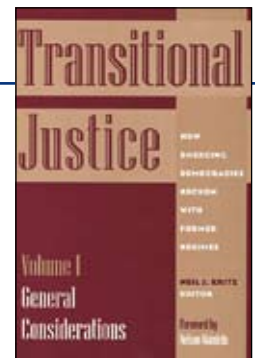
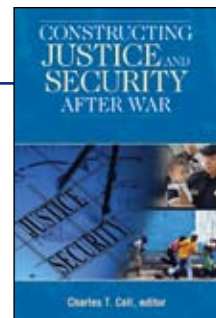
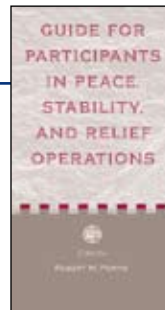
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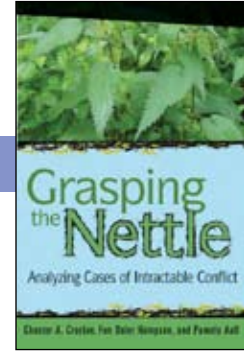
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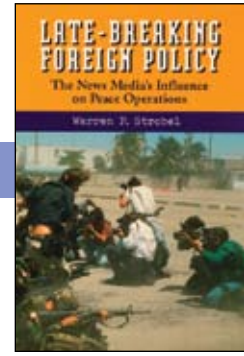
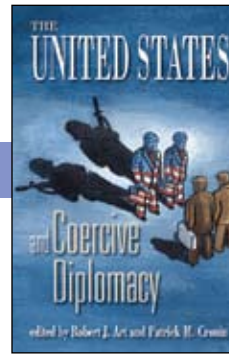
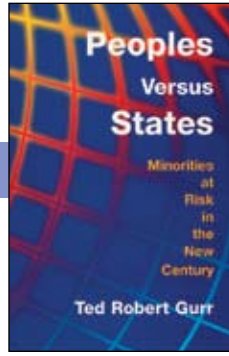
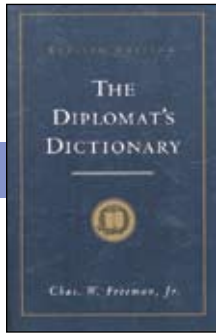
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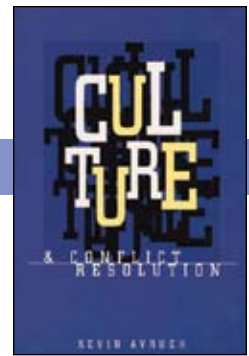
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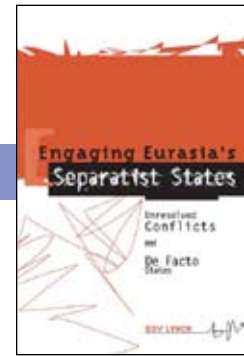
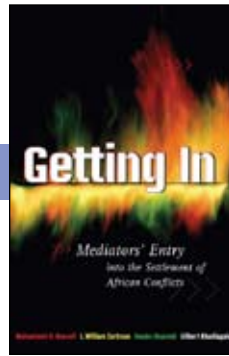
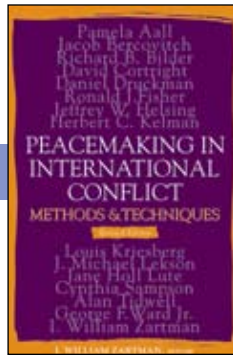
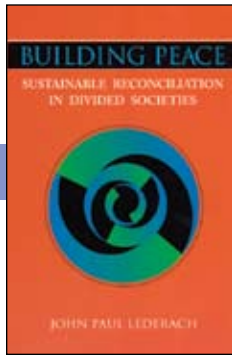
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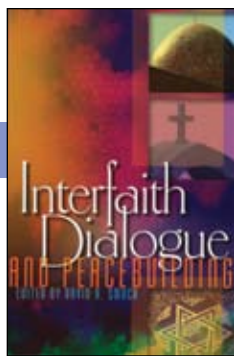
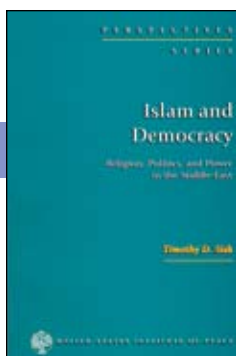
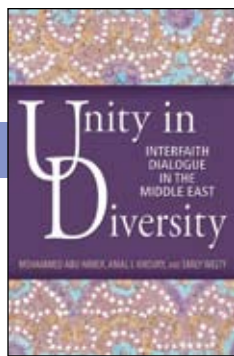
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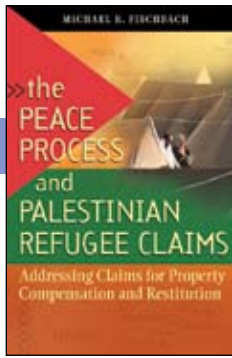
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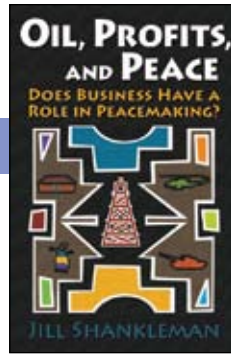
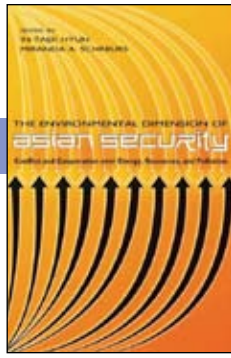
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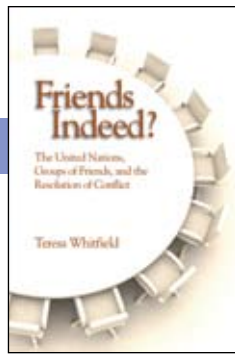
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The Honorable George P. Shultz
U.S. Secretary of State, 1982-1989

The Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh
President Emeritus, University of Notre Dame

A National Center for Peacemaking

The last century marked the most violent and destructive era in human history. Wars great and small cut short the lives of more than 100 million people. Events in recent years have signaled more violence and terror to come in a world where disputes are fueled by religious intolerance, widening ethnic divisions, failing states, terrorism, intractable territorial conflicts, and the uncontrolled proliferation of highly destructive weaponry.

Today societies and markets are interconnected in a way that was unimaginable half a century ago. Interethnic rivalries in far corners of the world may have seemed of little consequence to earlier generations. In the new century, however, even small conflicts risk growing to a scale that can destroy lives and economies around the world.

As the context of conflict has changed, so too must the tools of diplomacy and peacebuilding. The contemporary world requires a new concept of national security—one that emphasizes preventing and managing international conflicts to maintain the peace so we minimize the need to use force to restore the peace.

The United States must be an international leader in nonviolent conflict management. The world in conflict needs an organization committed to peacemaking: one that can deploy teams of specialists to conflict zones; create and implement methods of resolving disputes before guns are drawn; and train leaders who can mediate conflicts and make civil societies work.

This challenge is being met by the independent, nonpartisan United States Institute of Peace. Established by Congress in 1984, the Institute works on behalf of the American people to prevent and resolve international conflicts, as well as to sustain the peace once violence has ended.

To advance its mission, the Institute has set an ambitious course to build a headquarters and Public Education Center on the National Mall in Washington, D.C. This building is designed to inspire, teach, and prepare future generations of peacemakers and to be a symbol of America's commitment to reducing violent international conflict in the 21st century.

If the United States is serious about peacemaking, the Institute must have a permanent home from which to serve the country and the international community. There can be no more timely and urgent project to command our commitment and energies. As honorary chairs of the Building for Peace Campaign of the United States Institute of Peace, we ask that you join us in supporting this most worthy project.



BUILDING FOR PEACE

The U.S. Institute of Peace Headquarters and Public Education Center

United States Institute of Peace



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