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## NEGOTIATING WITH IRAN
Wrestling the Ghosts of History

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*Foreword by Mark Bowden*

“Written by an author intimately familiar with the Persian language, history, and customs, this unique work addresses and sets aside many false but widespread preconceptions about Iran, Iranians, and Iranian culture. A useful addition to the literature on Iranian negotiating technique, style, and expectations, and a stand-alone book on the subject, this study is very timely...”

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**SEPTEMBER 2009 • 200 pp. • 6 x 9**  
$16.95 (paper) • 978-1-60127-043-6  
$40.00 (cloth) • 978-1-60127-044-3
This landmark study offers a rich and detailed portrait of the negotiating practices of American officials. It assesses the multiple influences—cultural, institutional, historical, and political—that shape how American policymakers and diplomats approach negotiations with foreign counterparts and highlights behavioral patterns that transcend the actions of individual negotiators and administrations.

Informed by discussions and interviews with more than fifty seasoned foreign and American negotiators, Richard H. Solomon and Nigel Quinney argue that four distinctive mind-sets have combined to shape U.S. negotiating practice: a businessperson’s pragmatic quest for concrete results, a lawyer’s attention to detail, a superpower’s inclination to dictate terms, and a moralizer’s sense of mission. The authors examine how Americans employ time, language, enticements, and pressure tactics at the negotiating table, and how they use (or neglect) the media, back channel communications, and hospitality outside the formal negotiating arena. They also explore the intense interagency rivalries and congressional second-guessing that limit U.S. negotiators’ freedom to maneuver.

A chapter by the eminent historian Robert Schulzinger charts the evolving relationship between U.S. presidents and their negotiators, and the volume presents a set of eight remarkably candid foreign perspectives on particular aspects of American negotiating behavior. These chapters are written by a distinguished cast of ambassadors and foreign ministers, some from countries allied to the United States, others from rivals or adversaries and all with illuminating stories to tell.

In the concluding chapter, Solomon and Quinney propose a variety of measures to enhance America’s negotiating capacities to deal with the new and emerging challenges to effective diplomacy in the 21st century.

RICHARD H. SOLOMON is president of the United States Institute of Peace. He previously served as director of the State Department’s Policy Planning Staff, assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs, ambassador to the Philippines, head of the political science department of the RAND Corporation, member of the National Security Council staff, and professor of political science at the University of Michigan. NIGEL QUINNEY is president of The Editorial Group and a consultant to European and American think tanks, academic institutions, and multinational corporations.

CONTRIBUTORS: Gilles Andreani • Chan Heng Chee • David Hannay • Faruk Logoglu • Lalit Mansingh • Yuri Nazarkin • Robert Schulzinger • Koji Watanabe • John Wood
DIPLOMAT’S DICTIONARY
Second Edition

Chas. W. Freeman, Jr.
Foreword by David Ignatius

“Diplomacy is . . .
the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between governments.”
— Ernst Satow

the art of saying ‘Nice doggie’ till you can find a rock.”
— Wynn Catlin

the art of relating states to each other by agreement rather than by the exercise of force.”
— Henry A. Kissinger

the continuation of war by other means.”
— Zhou Enlai

the management of the relations between independent states by the process of negotiation.”
— Harold Nicolson

the police in grand costume.”
— Napoleon

With its first edition in 1994, The Diplomat’s Dictionary quickly became a classic reference book, offering professionals and enthusiasts practical information, witty insights, and words of wisdom on the art and practice of diplomacy. The expanded second edition contains 476 new entries, including definitions for selected up-to-date terminology and hundreds of additional quotations from across cultures and centuries. Mediators, foreign policy officials, ambassadors, speechwriters, academics, and legislators alike are guaranteed to be inspired and entertained by this unique collection of definitions and quotations.

Distinguished diplomat CHAS. W. FREEMAN, JR. has served overseas in India, Taiwan, China, Thailand, and Saudi Arabia. Freeman was the principal American interpreter during President Nixon’s historic visit to China in 1972, and during the Gulf War he served as the U.S. Ambassador to Saudi Arabia. A USIP senior fellow in 1994–95, he is the author of Arts of Power: Statecraft and Diplomacy (USIP Press, 1997).
THE SADAT LECTURES
Words and Images on Peace, 1997–2008
Shibley Telhami, editor
Foreword by Jehan Sadat and conclusion by Aaron David Miller

The Sadat Lectures is a compilation of thought-provoking speeches delivered by some of the most accomplished practitioners of international relations: Ezer Weizman, Jimmy Carter, Henry Kissinger, George Mitchell, Nelson Mandela, Kofi Annan, Mary Robinson, James Baker, and Mohamed ElBaradei.

The Sadat Lecture was inaugurated in 1997 when the Sadat Chair for Peace and Development was established at the University of Maryland. This series of lectures explores the role of leadership in the pursuit of peace, as exemplified by the life and vision of Egyptian president Anwar Sadat. Organized by Shibley Telhami, the first and current Sadat Chair, the lectures span a decade of tumultuous change in the Middle East and provide an enlightening interpretation of a transformative period in the relationship between the Middle East and the rest of the world.

Accompanying these speeches are full-color reproductions of winning artwork from the Sadat Art for Peace Award. This competition is held in conjunction with the Sadat Lecture for Peace at the University of Maryland and recognizes the best artwork depicting the theme of peace and reconciliation.

SHIBLEY TELHAMI is the Anwar Sadat Professor for Peace and Development at the University of Maryland and nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. Committed to the pursuit of world peace, he served as board member of the U.S. Institute of Peace from 2000 to 2002. JEHAN SEDAT is a senior fellow at the University of Maryland’s Center for International Development and Conflict Management and widow of late Egyptian president Anwar Sadat. AARON DAVID MILLER, author of The Much Too Promised Land: America’s Search for Arab-Israeli Peace, is currently a public policy scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars.

Battle Rattles by Cal Lee, courtesy of the Anwar Sadat Chair for Peace and Development, University of Maryland. Photograph courtesy of John Consoli.
FRAMING THE STATE IN TIMES OF TRANSITION
Case Studies in Constitution Making

Laurel E. Miller, editor, with Louis Aucoin

“Laurel Miller and her colleagues at USIP have produced what will undoubtedly long remain the definitive study on constitution making in states emerging from conflict. This volume will be an invaluable source to all those interested in how any one of nineteen such constitutions were constructed. It will be of even greater help to those faced with a similar task in the future, providing wise advice as to what approaches to constitution writing have worked in the past, and offering advice to both the international community and local actors in societies emerging from civil strife and governmental collapse on how to approach this task.”

— James Dobbins, RAND Corporation, and lead author of The Beginner’s Guide to Nation Building

Analyzing nineteen cases, Framing the State in Times of Transition offers the first in-depth, practical perspective on the implications of constitution-making procedure, and explores emerging international legal norms. Thirty researchers with a combination of direct constitution-making experience and academic expertise present examples of constitution making in the contexts of state building and governance reform across a broad range of cultures, political circumstances, and geographical regions.

The case studies focus equally on countries emerging from conflict and countries experiencing other types of transitions—a move from autocratic rule to democracy, for example—or periods of institutional crisis or major governance reform. Recognizing that there are no one-size-fits-all formulas or models, this volume illuminates the complexity of constitution making and the procedural options available to constitution makers as they build states and promote the rule of law.

LAUREL E. MILLER recently joined the RAND Corporation as a senior policy analyst. She has been an adjunct professor of law at Georgetown University and a senior rule of law adviser at the United States Institute of Peace. She previously served in several positions at the U.S. Department of State and the National Security Council. LOUIS AUCOIN is an associate research professor at Tufts University’s Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and a former senior rule of law adviser at the United States Institute of Peace. He has served as an adviser in constitution-making processes in Rwanda, East Timor, and Cambodia.

CONTRIBUTORS: Andrew Arato • Louis Aucoin • Andrea Bonime-Blanc • Michele Brandt • Allan R. Brewer-Carias • Scott N. Carlson • Jill Cottrell • Hassen Ebrahim • Donald T. Fox • Thomas M. Franck • Gustavo Gallón-Giraldo • Zofia A. Garlicka • Lech Garlicki • Yash Ghai • Vivien Hart • Stephen P. Marks • Zoltán Miklósi • Laurel E. Miller • Jonathan Morrow • Muna Ndulo • James C. O’Brien • Keith S. Rosen • Bereket Habte Selassie • Anne Stetson • J Alexander Thier • Arun K. Thiruvengadam • Aili Mari Tripp • Lee Demetrius Walker • Marinus Wiechers • Philip J. Williams

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Part III: Asia and the Pacific—Cambodia, East Timor, Fiji
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Part V: Latin America—Brazil, Colombia, Nicaragua, Venezuela
Part VI: Middle East and Central Asia—Afghanistan, Iraq
Part VII: Conclusion
TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE IN BALANCE
Comparing Processes, Weighing Efficacy

Tricia D. Olsen, Leigh A. Payne, and Andrew G. Reiter

“This volume offers new insights and perspectives, seeking to answer the crucial questions: ‘How does one judge or evaluate transitional justice?’ and ‘Does transitional justice work?’ The authors have made an important addition to empirically grounded theory of transitional justice. This highly readable volume will be accessible to scholarly audiences in diverse disciplines, as well as to nonacademic, general audiences, including journalists, policy analysts, and all those interested in foreign affairs and justice issues.”

— Ruti Teitel, New York Law School, and author, Transitional Justice

Since the 1970s, countries emerging from dictatorship or civil war have increasingly employed a variety of transitional justice mechanisms to address past human rights violations and to promote reconciliation and democracy. Myriad articles and books have focused on this phenomenon without shedding much light on why a country chooses one mechanism over another, why some countries combine mechanisms, or why some mechanisms work better under certain conditions than others.

In the first project of its kind to compare multiple mechanisms and combinations of mechanisms across regions, countries, and time, Transitional Justice in Balance: Comparing Processes, Weighing Efficacy systematically analyzes the claims made in the literature using a vast array of data, which the authors have assembled in the Transitional Justice Data Base. Trials, truth commissions, amnesties, reparations, and lustration policies—the main focus of the literature to date—are among the 854 transitional justice mechanisms, which were implemented in 161 countries from 1970 to 2007 and included in this database. The authors use the database to explore the adoption of transitional justice and its effectiveness in achieving its primary goals.

The authors conclude that transitional justice has a positive and significant impact on human rights and democracy in the societies that adopt it, but that it is the combination and sequence of mechanisms that achieves this effect, not any one mechanism alone. In clear, lucid text that scholars and policymakers can easily follow, the authors contend that a “justice balance” that combines trials and amnesties, with or without truth commissions, is crucial for success in societies seeking improvements in democracy and human rights after conflict.

TRICIA D. OLSEN is a PhD candidate in political science at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, where she studies the political economy of first- and second-generation rights in developing countries. LEIGH A. PAYNE is a professor of sociology and Latin American studies at Oxford University, professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, and visiting professor of political science and global studies at the University of Minnesota. A leading specialist on responses to atrocity, she is the author of Unsettling Accounts: Neither Truth nor Reconciliation in Confessions of State Violence. ANDREW G. REITER is a PhD candidate in political science at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, where he works on issues of violence and conflict resolution.
“A bipartisan Congressional commission on U.S. nuclear strategy released its report last week, and it deserved more attention than it got. It delivered a candid message that not many want to hear: We’re a long way from a nuclear-free world. . . . The commission’s recommendations provide a welcome dose of nuclear realism. The Administration and Congress ignore them at the nation’s peril.”

— Wall Street Journal

How to secure nuclear peace remains one of the most profound questions of the modern era. Twenty years after the end of the Cold War and with the arrival of a new administration in Washington, it is time to think through fundamental questions about the purposes of nuclear deterrence and the character of the U.S. strategic posture. While the existential threat to the United States has decreased, the rising threat of catastrophic terrorism, the possession and spread of nuclear weapons by other states, and a general worldwide nuclear renaissance continue to influence decisions about America’s strategic posture.

Recognizing the changing character of these threats, Congress formed a commission in 2008 to examine the United States’ long-term strategic posture and make recommendations. For more than eleven months this bipartisan commission of leading experts on national security, arms control, and nuclear technology met with Congressional leaders, military officers, high-level officials of several countries, arms control groups, and technical experts to assess the appropriate roles for nuclear weapons, nonproliferation programs, and missile defenses. This official edition contains a discussion of key questions and issues as well as the Commission’s findings and recommendations for tailoring U.S. strategic posture to new and emerging requirements as the world moves closer to a proliferation tipping point.

THE STRATEGIC POSTURE COMMISSION members include William J. Perry, Chairman
• James R. Schlesinger, Vice-Chairman • Harry Cartland • John Foster • John Glenn • Morton Halperin • Lee Hamilton • Fred Ikle • Keith Payne • Bruce Tarter • Ellen Williams • James Woolsey
**GUIDING PRINCIPLES FOR STABILIZATION AND RECONSTRUCTION**

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“This book will have an incredible impact on the future of civil-military integration. Together with the Army’s revolutionary Stability Operations doctrine, these complementary manuals will influence our national security for generations. No civilian should deploy without them.”
— Lt. Gen. William B. Caldwell, Commanding General of the U.S. Army’s Combined Arms Center

“Ad hoc, disorganized campaigns for peace have been the hallmark of past missions. This two-year investigation into thousands of pages of documents written by dozens of agencies may help to mitigate the chaotic nature of these missions by finally putting into one place what we know. This manual is the bible for S&R missions.”
— Amb. John Herbst, U.S. Department of State Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization

Guiding Principles for Stabilization and Reconstruction presents the first-ever, comprehensive set of shared principles for building sustainable peace in societies emerging from violent conflict. The manual serves as a tool for U.S. government civilian planners and practitioners engaged in stabilization and reconstruction (S&R) missions and is a valuable resource for international actors and nongovernmental organizations.

In seeking to offer a common set of guidelines, the writers canvased major institutional frameworks for this document. This comprehensive review acts as a Rosetta stone for S&R missions by extracting and building upon what is common and highlighting, for the future, areas of divergence.

Today, civilian actors operate without the support of any unifying framework or common set of principles to guide their actions in these complex environments. As global demand for these missions continues to rise, this gap will impede the cooperation and cohesion that are needed across the peacebuilding community to ensure success of any S&R mission. Guiding Principles seeks to fill this gap by providing

- an overarching strategic framework for S&R missions based on a construct of End States, Conditions and Approaches; and
- a comprehensive set of shared principles and processes, distilled from the wealth of lessons that have emerged from past S&R missions.

A product of the collaboration between the United States Institute of Peace and the Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute, this manual reflects the input of dozens of institutions across the peacebuilding community providing a comprehensive review of major strategic policy documents from state ministries of defense, foreign affairs and development, along with major intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations that toil in war-shattered landscapes around the globe.
YOUTH AND POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION
Agents of Change

Stephanie Schwartz
Foreword by Betty Bigombe

“An ambitious and detailed study of a vitally important issue, this book offers significant insights about youth in conflict. Timely and very well written, Schwartz has successfully synthesized a number of different variables, theories, cases, and policy areas into a compelling and useful analysis. This book will be of interest to students, scholars, NGO personnel, and policymakers worldwide.”
— Siobhan McEvoy-Levy, Director, Peace Studies Program at Butler University

Although much has been written about cases of children as soldiers and slaves in recent conflicts, these cases are but one example of the impact of conflict on a subset of the youth population. In *Youth and Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Agents of Change*, Stephanie Schwartz goes beyond these highly publicized cases and examines the roles of the broader youth population in post-conflict scenarios, taking on the complex task of distinguishing between the legal and societal labels of “child,” “youth,” and “adult.”

In the post-conflict population, youth constitute a reservoir brimming with potential energy, ready to be channeled for good or ill. What causes some young people to return to the life of a fighter while others choose to work for a better future? And what can domestic and international actors do to help youth move toward an education, work to support their families, and become active contributors to building peace and reconstructing their countries?

*Youth in Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Agents of Change* uses three cases of post-conflict reconstruction—Mozambique, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Kosovo—to explore how youth affect the post-conflict reconstruction process, and how domestic policy, NGO programming, international interventions, and cultural contexts may change that role. The hypotheses drawn from these comparisons will be useful both in guiding future research on youth’s role in post-conflict reconstruction and in helping reconstruction actors facilitate the youth population’s transition from war to peace.

**STEPHANIE SCHWARTZ** is a senior program assistant at the United States Institute of Peace’s Center for Mediation and Conflict Resolution and heads USIP’s Youth and Peacebuilding Working Group. Her scholarly interests include youth involvement in conflict resolution, peacebuilding, refugees, and social change in conflict environments.
CONFLICT, IDENTITY, AND REFORM IN THE MUSLIM WORLD
Challenges for U.S. Engagement
Daniel Brumberg and Dina Shehata, editors

A product of USIP’s Muslim World Initiative, Conflict, Identity, and Reform in the Muslim World highlights the challenges that escalating identity conflicts within Muslim-majority states pose for both the Muslim world and for the West. This reader gathers in one place the latest thinking and competing analyses of a talented group of international scholar-activists, who bring diverse normative, analytical, and disciplinary interests to their work.

DANIEL BRUMBERG is associate professor of government at Georgetown University and acting director of USIP’s Muslim World Initiative in the Center for Conflict Analysis and Prevention. DINA SHEHATA is a senior researcher at Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies.

CONTRIBUTORS include: Mohammed Abu-Nimer • Judy Barsalou • Dorina A. Bekoe • Daniel Brumberg • Iris Glosemeyer • Pierre Hazan • Steven Heydemann • Qamar-ul Huda • Thomas H. Johnson • John W. Limbert • Abdeslam Maghraoui • Jonathan Morrow • Ahmad S. Moussalli • Hesham Sallam • Dina Shehata • David R. Smock • Mohammad Masoom Stanekzai • Annette Weber • Mona Yacoubian

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MICHAEL SEMPLE served as deputy to the European Union special representative to Afghanistan from 2004–07 and is now a fellow at the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy in the Harvard University’s Kennedy School.

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CHESTER A. CROCKER is the James R. Schlesinger Professor of Strategic Studies at Georgetown University and a member of the board of the United States Institute of Peace. FEN OSLER HAMPSON is professor of international affairs and director of the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University. PAMELA AALL is the vice president for Domestic Programs, Education and Training Center at the Institute.
NEGOTIATING WITH IRAN
Wrestling the Ghosts of History
John W. Limbert
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“Well conceived and organized, a major addition to the study of contemporary Iran, this book is compelling reading and is comprehensive in its historical and political reach. The author offers a welcome resource as the United States and other countries begin to consider expanded discussions with the Iranian leadership.”
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