In July 1958, U.S. Marines stormed the beach in Beirut, Lebanon, ready for combat. They were greeted by vendors and sunbathers. Fortunately, the rest of their mission—helping to end Lebanon's first civil war—went nearly as smoothly and successfully, thanks in large part to the skillful work of American diplomats who helped arrange a compromise solution. Future American interventions in the region would not work out quite as well.

Bruce Riedel's new book tells the now-forgotten story (forgotten, that is, in the United States) of the first U.S. combat operation in the Middle East. President Eisenhower sent the Marines in the wake of a bloody coup in Iraq, a seismic event that altered politics not only of that country but eventually of the entire region. Eisenhower feared that the coup, along with other conspiracies and events that seemed mysterious back in Washington, threatened American interests in the Middle East. His action, and those of others, were driven in large part by a cast of fascinating characters whose espionage and covert actions could be grist for a movie.

Although Eisenhower's intervention in Lebanon was unique, certainly in its relatively benign outcome, it does hold important lessons for today's policymakers as they seek to deal with the always unexpected challenges in the Middle East. Veteran analyst Bruce Riedel describes the scene as it emerged six decades ago, and he suggests that some of the lessons learned then are still valid today. A key lesson? Not to rush to judgment when surprised by the unexpected. And don’t assume the worst.

Bruce Riedel joined Brookings in 2006 after 30 years service at the Central Intelligence Agency including postings overseas in the Middle East and Europe. Riedel was a senior advisor on South Asia and the Middle East to the last four presidents of the United States in the staff of the National Security Council at the White House.
The United States has invested billions of dollars and countless diplomatic hours in the pursuit of Israeli-Palestinian peace and a two state solution. Yet American attempts to broker an end to the conflict have repeatedly come up short. At the center of these failures lay two critical factors: Israeli power and Palestinian politics.

While both Israelis and Palestinians undoubtedly share much of the blame, one also cannot escape the role of the United States, as the sole mediator in the process, in these repeated failures. American peacemaking efforts ultimately ran aground as a result of Washington’s unwillingness to confront Israel’s ever-deepening occupation or to come to grips with the realities of internal Palestinian politics. In particular, the book looks at the interplay between the U.S.-led peace process and internal Palestinian politics—namely, how a badly flawed peace process helped to weaken Palestinian leaders and institutions and how an increasingly dysfunctional Palestinian leadership, in turn, hindered prospects for a diplomatic resolution. Thus, while the peace process was not necessarily doomed to fail, Washington’s management of the process, with its built-in blind spot to Israeli power and Palestinian politics, made failure far more likely than a negotiated breakthrough.

Shaped by the pressures of American domestic politics and the special relationship with Israel, Washington’s distinctive “blind spot” to Israeli power and Palestinian politics has deep historical roots, dating back to the 1917 Balfour Declaration and the British Mandate. The size of the blind spot has varied over the years and from one administration to another, but it is always present.

**KHALED ELGINDY** is a nonresident fellow in the Center for Middle East Policy at Brookings, where he was also a resident fellow from 2010 through 2018. He previously served as an advisor to the Palestinian leadership in Ramallah on permanent status negotiations with Israel from 2004 to 2009, and was a key participant in the Annapolis negotiations held throughout 2008.
Kings and Presidents

SAUDI ARABIA AND THE UNITED STATES SINCE FDR

Updated Edition

Bruce Riedel

Saudi Arabia and the United States have been partners since 1943, when President Roosevelt met with two future Saudi monarchs. Subsequent U.S. presidents have had direct relationships with those kings and their successors—setting the tone for a special partnership between an absolute monarchy with a unique Islamic identity and the world's most powerful democracy.

Although based in large part on economic interests, the U.S.-Saudi relationship has rarely been smooth. Differences over Israel have caused friction since the early days, and ambiguities about Saudi involvement—or lack of it—in the September 11 terrorist attacks against the United States continue to haunt the relationship. Now, both countries have new, still-to-be-tested leaders in President Trump and King Salman.

Bruce Riedel for decades has followed these kings and presidents during his career at the CIA, the White House, and Brookings. This book offers an insider’s account of the U.S.-Saudi relationship, with unique insights. Using declassified documents, memoirs by both Saudis and Americans, and eyewitness accounts, this book takes the reader inside the royal palaces, the holy cities, and the White House to gain an understanding of this complex partnership.

BRUCE RIEDEL joined Brookings in 2006 after 30 years service at the Central Intelligence Agency including postings overseas in the Middle East and Europe. Riedel was a senior advisor on South Asia and the Middle East to the last four presidents of the United States in the staff of the National Security Council at the White House.
Re-engaging the Middle East
A NEW VISION FOR U.S. POLICY

EDITED BY Dafna H. Rand and Andrew P. Miller

U.S. policy in the Middle East has had very few successes in recent years, so maybe it’s time for a different approach. But is the new approach of the Trump administration—military disengagement coupled with unquestioning support for key allies—Israel, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia—the way forward?

In this edited volume, noted experts on the region lay out a better long-term strategy for protecting U.S. interests in the Middle East. The authors articulate a vision that is both self-interested and carefully tailored to the unique dynamics of the increasingly divergent sub-regions in the Middle East, including North Africa, the Sunni Arab bloc of Egypt and Persian Gulf states, and the increasingly chaotic Levant.

The book argues that the most effective way to pursue and protect U.S. interests is unlikely to involve the same alliance-centric approach that has been the basis of Washington’s policy since the 1990s. Instead, the United States should adopt a nimbler and less military-dominant strategy that relies on a diversified set of partners and a determination to establish priorities for American interests and the use of resources, both financial and military.

DAFNA H. RAND served as Deputy Assistant Secretary in the State Department’s Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, on Secretary Hillary Clinton’s Policy Planning Staff, and on the staff of the National Security Council. She is the author of Roots of the Arab Spring: Contested Authority and Political Change in the Middle East (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013). ANDREW P. MILLER is the deputy director for policy at the Project on Middle East Democracy and a nonresident scholar in the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace’s Middle East Program. Miller served on President Obama’s National Security Council from 2014 to 2017, and previously worked in the Department of State.
The Iranian Revolution at Forty

EDITED BY Suzanne Maloney

Iran’s 1979 revolution is one of the most important events of the late twentieth century. The overthrow of the Western-leaning Shah and the emergence of a unique religious government reshaped Iran, dramatically shifted the balance of power in the Middle East and generated serious challenges to the global geopolitical order—challenges that continue to this day. The seizure of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran later that same year and the ensuing hostage crisis resulted in an acrimonious breach between America and Iran that remains unresolved to this day. The revolution also precipitated a calamitous war between Iran and Iraq and an expansion of the U.S. military’s role in maintaining security in and around the Persian Gulf.

Forty years after the revolution, more than two dozen experts look back on the rise of the Islamic Republic and explore what the startling events of 1979 continue to mean for the volatile Middle East as well as the rest of the world. The authors explore the events of the revolution itself; whether its promises have been kept or broken; the impact of clerical rule on ordinary Iranians, especially women; the continuing antagonism with the United States; and the repercussions not only for Iran’s immediate neighborhood but also for the broader Middle East.

SUZANNE MALONEY is deputy director of the Foreign Policy program at the Brookings Institution and a senior fellow in the Brookings Center for Middle East Policy. Her books include Iran’s Political Economy since the Revolution (Cambridge University Press, 2015) and Iran’s Long Reach (United States Institute of Peaces, 2008).
In this Asian century, scholars, officials and journalists are increasingly focused on the fate of the rivalry between China and India. They see the U.S. relationships with the two Asian giants as now intertwined, after having followed separate paths during the Cold War.

In *Fateful Triangle*, Tanvi Madan argues that China’s influence on the U.S.-India relationship is neither a recent nor a momentary phenomenon. Drawing on documents from India and the United States, she shows that American and Indian perceptions of and policy toward China significantly shaped U.S.-India relations in three crucial decades, from 1949 to 1979. *Fateful Triangle* updates our understanding of the diplomatic history of U.S.-India relations, highlighting China’s central role in it, reassesses the origins and practice of Indian foreign policy and nonalignment, and provides historical context for the interactions between the three countries.

**TANVI MADAN** is a senior fellow in the Foreign Policy program at the Brookings Institution, where she specializes in Indian foreign policy. Her work focuses on India’s relations with China and the United States, and India’s role in the Indo-Pacific.
Nuclear Weapons and American Grand Strategy

Francis J. Gavin

The world first confronted the power of nuclear weapons when the United States dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945. The global threat of these weapons deepened in the following decades as more advanced weapons, aggressive strategies, and new nuclear powers emerged. Ever since, countless books, reports, and articles—and even a new field of academic inquiry called “security studies”—have tried to explain the so-called nuclear revolution.

Francis J. Gavin argues that scholarly and popular understanding of many key issues about nuclear weapons is incomplete at best and wrong at worst. Among these important, misunderstood issues are: how nuclear deterrence works; whether nuclear coercion is effective; how and why the United States chose its nuclear strategies; why countries develop their own nuclear weapons or choose not to do so; and, most fundamentally, whether nuclear weapons make the world safer or more dangerous.

Nuclear Weapons and American Grand Strategy helps policymakers wrestle with the latest challenges. Written in a clear, accessible, and jargon-free manner, the book also offers insights for students, scholars, and others interested in both the history and future of nuclear danger.

FRANCIS J. GAVIN is the Giovanni Agnelli Distinguished Professor and the inaugural director of the Henry A. Kissinger Center for Global Affairs at SAIS–Johns Hopkins University. His previous books include Gold, Dollars, and Power: The Politics of International Monetary Relations (University of North Caroline Press, 2007) and Nuclear Statecraft: History and Strategy in America’s Atomic Age (Cornell University Press, 2012).
As the 2016 election made clear, sovereignty is also one of the most frequently invoked, polemical, and misunderstood concepts in politics—particularly American politics. The concept wields symbolic power, implying something sacred and inalienable: the right of the people to control their fate without subordination to outside authorities. Given its emotional pull, however, the concept is easily high-jacked by political opportunists. By playing the sovereignty card, they can curtail more reasoned debates over the merits of proposed international commitments by portraying supporters of global treaties or organizations as enemies of motherhood and apple pie.

Such polemics distract Americans from what is really at stake in the sovereignty debate: the ability of the United States to shape its destiny in a global age. The United States cannot successfully manage globalization, much less insulate itself from cross-border threats, on its own. As global integration deepens and cross-border challenges grow, the nation’s fate is increasingly tied to that of other countries, whose cooperation will be needed to exploit the shared opportunities and mitigate the common risks of interdependence.

The Sovereignty Wars is intended to help today’s policymakers think more clearly about what is actually at stake in the sovereignty debate and to provide some criteria for determining when it is appropriate to make bargains over sovereignty—and how to make them.

**STEWART PATRICK** is the senior fellow and director of the program on International Institutions and Global Governance (IIGG) at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). His areas of expertise include multilateral cooperation in the management of global issues; U.S. policy toward international institutions, including the United Nations; and the challenges posed by fragile, failing, and postconflict states. Patrick writes the blog The Internationalist.
The Crisis of Liberal Internationalism
JAPAN AND THE WORLD ORDER
EDITED BY Yoichi Funabashi
AND G. John Ikenberry

Henry Kissinger wrote a few years ago that Japan has been for seven decades “an important anchor of Asian stability and global peace and prosperity.” However, Japan has only played this anchoring role within an American-led liberal international order built from the ashes of World War II. Now that order itself is under siege, not just from illiberal forces such as China and Russia but from its very core, the United States under Donald Trump. The already evident damage to that order, and even its possible collapse, pose particular challenges for Japan, as explored in this book.

Noted experts survey the difficult position that Japan finds itself in, both abroad and at home. The weakening of the rules-based order threatens the very basis of Japan’s trade-based prosperity, with the unreliability of U.S. protection leaving Japan vulnerable to an economic and technological superpower in China and at heightened risk from a nuclear North Korea. Japan’s response to such challenges are complicated by controversies over constitutional revision and the dark aspects of its history that remain a source of tension with its neighbors.

Each of the book’s chapters is written by a specialist in the field, and the book benefits from interviews with more than 40 Japanese policymakers and experts, as well as a public opinion survey. The book outlines today’s challenges to the liberal international order, proposes a role for Japan to uphold, reform and shape the order, and examines Japan’s assets as well as constraints as it seeks to play the role of a proactive stabilizer in the Asia-Pacific.

YOICHI FUNABASHI is co-founder and chairman of Asia Pacific Initiative, an independent Tokyo-based think tank (formerly Rebuild Japan Initiative Foundation). He was the editor-in-chief of Asahi Shimbun, Japan’s foremost newspaper, from 2007 to 2010.

G. JOHN IKENBERRY is Albert G. Milbank Professor of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton University. He is one of the world’s foremost experts on the liberal international order.
Germany and Japan are two of America’s most important allies and are at the center of Washington’s strategic calculations in Europe and Asia. Yet the key roles they play in U.S. foreign policy in the economic and diplomatic realms far outweigh any contributions they have made on the military front.

Given their histories, this is certainly understandable. But their long-term reluctance to share the defense burdens of alliance with the United States has become a perennial source of frustration for Washington. In *Reluctant Warriors*, a team of noted scholars critically examines Germany’s and Japan’s cultures of anti-militarism in the context of their alliance relationships, showing how and why both countries have modified their military postures since 1990. They also assess how far these countries still have to go and the risks the United States takes if it makes too simplistic a demand for the two countries to “do more” militarily.

**ALEXANDRA SAKAKI** is a senior associate in the Asia division at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs in Berlin. **HANNS W. MAULL** is Senior Distinguished Fellow at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) and Senior Policy Fellow for China’s Global Role at the Mercator Institute for China Studies. **KERSTIN LUKNER** is managing director of AREA (Alliance on Research on East Asia) Ruhr, a research and teaching alliance of the Universities of Bochum and Duisburg-Essen, Germany. **ELLIS S. KRAUSS** is Professor Emeritus of the School of Global Policy and Strategy at the University of California, San Diego. **THOMAS U. BERGER** is a professor at the Frederick S. Pardee School of Global Studies, Boston University.
As one part of the global democratic recession, severe political polarization is increasingly afflicting old and new democracies alike, producing the erosion of democratic norms and rising societal anger. This volume is the first book-length comparative analysis of this troubling global phenomenon, offering in-depth case studies of countries as wide-ranging and important as Brazil, India, Kenya, Poland, Turkey, and the United States. The case study authors are a diverse group of country and regional experts, each with deep local knowledge and experience.

Democracies Divided identifies and examines the fissures that are dividing societies and the factors bringing polarization to a boil.

But this book is not simply a diagnosis of what has gone wrong. Each case study discusses actions that concerned citizens and organizations are taking to counter polarizing forces, whether through reforms to political parties, institutions, or the media.

The book’s editors distill from the case studies a range of possible ways for restoring consensus and defeating polarization in the world’s democracies. Timely, rigorous, and accessible, this book is of compelling interest to civic activists, political actors, scholars, and ordinary citizens in societies beset by increasingly rancorous partisanship.

Thomas Carothers is senior vice president for studies at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and director of Carnegie’s Democracy, Conflict, and Governance Program. A leading authority on democracy and international support for democracy, he is the author of numerous critically acclaimed books and articles on these topics. Andrew O’Donohue is a research fellow at the Istanbul Policy Center and was previously a James C. Gaither Junior Fellow in the Democracy, Conflict, and Governance Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Why divisions have deepened and what can be done to heal them
Nationalism, often the scourge, always the basis of modern world politics, is spreading. In a way, all nations are willed into being. But a simple declaration, such as Grouvelle’s, is not enough. As historian Liah Greenfeld shows in her new book, a sense of nation—nationalism—is the product of the complex distillation of ideas and beliefs, and the struggles over them.

Greenfeld takes the reader on an intellectual journey through the origins of the concept “nation” and how national consciousness has changed over the centuries. From its emergence in sixteenth century England, nationalism has been behind nearly every significant development in world affairs over succeeding centuries, including the American and French revolutions of the late eighteenth centuries and the authoritarian communism and fascism of the twentieth century. Now it has arrived as a mass phenomenon in China as well as gaining new life in the United States and much of Europe in the guise of populism.

Written by an authority on the subject, *Nationalism* stresses the contradictory ways of how nationalism has been institutionalized in various places. On the one hand, nationalism has made possible the realities of liberal democracy, human rights, and individual self determination. On the other hand, nationalism also has brought about authoritarian and racist regimes that negate the individual as an autonomous agent. That tension is all too apparent today


“We need a nation,” declared a certain Phillippe Grouvelle in the revolutionary year of 1789, “and the Nation will be born.”—from *Nationalism*
Where do Vladimir Putin's ideas come from? How does he look at the outside world? What does he want, and how far is he willing to go?

The great lesson of the outbreak of World War I in 1914 was the danger of misreading the statements, actions, and intentions of the adversary. Today, Vladimir Putin has become the greatest challenge to European security and the global world order in decades. Russia’s 8,000 nuclear weapons underscore the huge risks of not understanding who Putin is.

Featuring five new chapters, this new edition dispels potentially dangerous misconceptions about Putin and offers a clear-eyed look at his objectives. It presents Putin as a reflection of deeply ingrained Russian ways of thinking as well as his unique personal background and experience.

**FIONA HILL** was director of the Center on the United States and Europe and a senior fellow in Foreign Policy at Brookings. **CLIFFORD G. GADDY** is a senior fellow in Foreign Policy at Brookings. Hill and Gaddy are coauthors of *The Siberian Curse: How Communist Planners Left Russia Out in the Cold* (Brookings, 2003).
In the last decades before the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, courageous dissidents within the country worked tirelessly to expose the tyranny and weakness of the Soviet state. Their work, first published in underground texts known as samizdat and then often republished in the West, alerted fellow citizens and the rest of the world to the human rights abuses and economic failures of the communist regime. It is not an exaggeration to say that this work helped set the stage for the collapse of the regime.

Today these men and women are largely forgotten, both in the former Soviet Union and elsewhere. The Dissidents brings them and their work to life for contemporary readers.

Peter Reddaway spent decades studying the Soviet Union and came to know these dissidents and their work, publicizing their writings in the West and helping some of them to escape the Soviet Union and settle abroad. In this memoir he tells their stories and also captures the human costs of the repression that marked the Soviet state: the forced labor camps, the internal exile, the censorship, the use and abuse of psychiatry to label those who found fault with the Soviet system mentally ill.

Reddaway’s book also places the work of the dissidents within the context of the secretive politics inside the Kremlin, where a tiny elite competed for power—even as the Soviet system was crumbling around them.

**Peter Reddaway** is a professor emeritus of political science and international affairs at George Washington University. He taught at the London School of Economics and directed the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies. He is author of numerous books on Soviet and Russian affairs, including *Russia’s Domestic Security Wars: Putin’s Use of Divide and Rule Against His Hardline Allies* (Palgrave Pivot, 2018).
Secrets and Spies
UK INTELLIGENCE ACCOUNTABILITY
AFTER IRAQ AND SNOWDEN

The Chatham House Insights Series

Jamie Gaskarth

How can democratic governments hold intelligence and security agencies accountable when what they do is largely secret? Secrets and Spies provides the first systematic exploration of how accountability is understood inside—and outside—the intelligence agencies. Based on new interviews with current and former UK intelligence practitioners, as well as extensive research into Britain’s intelligence machinery, Secrets and Spies is the first detailed analysis of how intelligence professionals view their role and how far external overseers can govern their work.

The UK is an important actor on the global intelligence scene, gathering material that helps inform international decisions on issues such as nuclear proliferation, terrorism, transnational crime, and breaches of humanitarian law. But the UK was also a major contributor to the intelligence failures leading to the Iraq War in 2003, and its agencies were complicit in the widely discredited U.S. practices of torture and “rendition” of terrorism suspects.

The issues explored in this book have important implications for researchers, intelligence professionals, overseers, and the public when it comes to understanding and scrutinizing intelligence practice.

JAMIE GASKARTH is senior lecturer at the University of Birmingham, where he teaches strategy and decisionmaking. His research looks at the ethical dilemmas of leadership and accountability in intelligence, foreign policy, and defense. He is author/editor or co-editor of six books and served on the Academic Advisory panel for the 2015 UK National Security Strategy and Strategic Defense and Security Review.
Democracy’s Defenders
U.S. EMBASSY PRAGUE, THE FALL OF COMMUNISM IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AND ITS AFTERMATH
EDITED BY Norman L. Eisen

Democracy’s Defenders offers a behind-the-scenes account of the little-known role played by the U.S. embassy in Prague in the collapse of communism in what was then Czechoslovakia. Featuring fifty-two newly declassified diplomatic cables, the book shows how the staff of the embassy led by U.S. Ambassador Shirley Temple Black worked with dissident groups and negotiated with the communist government during a key period of the Velvet Revolution that freed Czechoslovakia from Soviet rule.

In the vivid reporting of these cables, Black and other members of the U.S. diplomatic corps in Prague describe student demonstrations and their meetings with anti-government activists. The embassy also worked to forestall a violent crackdown by the communist regime during its final months in power.

Edited by Norman L. Eisen, who served as U.S. Ambassador to the Czech Republic from 2011 to 2014, Democracy’s Defenders contributes fresh evidence to the literature on U.S. diplomatic history, the cold war era, and American promotion of democracy overseas. In an introductory essay, Eisen places the diplomatic cables in context and analyzes their main themes. In an afterword, Eisen, Czech historian Dr. Mikuláš Pešta, and Brookings researcher Kelsey Landau explain how the seeds of democracy that the United States helped plant have grown in the decades since the Velvet Revolution. The authors trace a line from U.S. efforts to promote democracy and economic liberalization after the Velvet Revolution to the contemporary situations of what are now the separate nations of the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

NORMAN L. EISEN is a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. He served as U.S. Ambassador to the Czech Republic from 2011 to 2014, and as White House “ethics czar” from 2009 to 2011. He is the author of The Last Palace: Europe’s Turbulent Century in Five Lives and One Legendary House (Crown, 2018).