

Princeton University Woodrow Wilson School
of Public and International Affairs

WWS 547
Spring 2006
Wednesday, 1-4 p.m.
Robertson 010

Amb. Robert Hutchings
Robertson 439; x85306
hutchngs@princeton.edu
Office Hrs. Tuesday, 1-4 p.m.

The Conduct of International Diplomacy

This course offers a comparative look at the making and implementation of policy in the international arena. It explores key concepts and theories concerning national interest, negotiation, strategies of action and influence, crisis management and conflict resolution, and it applies those concepts via case studies and simulations in diplomacy, trade policy, development assistance, and security policy. The course aims to help students learn not only to analyze but also to implement policy: it employs an action-oriented approach that obliges students to react as a policy-maker would and thus gain a better appreciation of how and why states and leaders act as they do.

The course is divided into two parts, “Concepts” and “Applications.” The first focuses on the acquisition of key theoretical and conceptual approaches on which we will draw in part two as we apply these diplomatic concepts. We will employ case studies throughout, but in the first half of the course they will be used to explicate the concepts, while in the second half we will use cases to apply concepts already learned. Cases will span every region and every major power (along with several lesser ones). After spring recess, we will engage in a video simulation called “The Crisis Game,” which will pull together the approaches we have covered and enable students to apply them to the unfolding crisis.

To cultivate the action-oriented frame of mind of the policy maker, we will also follow evolving foreign policy issues related to the so-called “global war on terror” as a living laboratory, reviewing developments each week and testing new concepts and strategies on this ongoing foreign policy challenge. At the end of term, we will try to aggregate these lessons learned in proposing revisions to the “National Security Strategy of the United States” issued in September 2002.

Assignments

Students will write three policy papers and one longer research paper in the form of a case study, make one formal oral presentation, and participate in a simulated negotiation. Grades will be weighted roughly as follows: 30% for the three policy memos, 40% for the case study, and 30% for the oral presentation and overall contributions to seminar discussions. There will be no exams.

Policy Papers (30%) Students will write three brief policy papers of 2-3 pages, single-spaced, all based on assigned readings (i.e., no additional research is required):

- A memorandum (based on a video we will view in class on February 22) for President Bush, dated April 2001, recommending a policy for resolving the crisis with China over the airplane incident in the South China Sea, due March 1. (Alternatively, you may direct your memo to Chinese President Jiang Zemin.)
- An options paper arising from “The Crisis Game” video simulation. The assignment will be handed out on March 29, and the paper will be due April 5.
- A policy memorandum proposing revisions to the September 2002 U.S. National Security Strategy document, due May 3. (International students may negotiate an alternative assignment so long as it involves long-term foreign policy strategy.)

Case Study (40%) Students will write one research paper (of ca. 5000 words) in the form of a case study, along the lines of the Pew studies we will use in class. Your study should examine a single case. It may be small or large, of short or long duration, recent or historical, but it must involve a single, discrete foreign policy episode that illuminates a clear lesson for the conduct of international diplomacy. A brief (2-page) concept paper previewing the case and the approach you plan to take is due before spring break. The case study itself is due May 17.

Oral Contributions (30%) As we will devote at least half of each session to discussion, the quality of students’ participation will be an important component of the final grade. Additionally, each student will give a formal oral presentation on a topic arising from the subject matter under discussion. Wherever possible, these will be role-playing exercises replicating real-world situations. One might be a briefing to the press on policy toward Iraq; another might be Congressional testimony on the Administration’s handling of aid to Russia. The class will act as the relevant audience, with the instructor serving as chair.

Readings

Required Books:

- Roger Fisher et al., Beyond Machiavelli: Tools for Coping with Conflict (New York: Penguin Books, 1994).
- Alexander L. George, Bridging the Gap: Theory and Practice in Foreign Policy (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace, 1993)
- Raymond Cohen, Negotiating Across Cultures: International Communication in an Interdependent World (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace, 1997)

Other readings:

- “The Crisis Game” Briefing Book will be handed out in class March 29
- Other readings will be on E-reserve or emailed to you in advance
- Additional case studies will be decided upon during the course of the semester, depending on the composition and interests of the class

Course Outline

Date Topic/Assignments

2/8 **I. Introduction**

- Alexander George, Bridging the Gap, Part One (pp. 3-29)
 - Robert Hutchings, American Diplomacy & the End of the Cold War (Johns Hopkins, 1997), Preface and Introduction
 - G.R. Berridge et al., Diplomatic Theory from Machiavelli to Kissinger (Palgrave, 2001), pp. 33-44 and 71-82 [chapters on Guicciardini and Richelieu]
 - George F. Kennan, “Morality and Foreign Policy” Foreign Affairs, Winter 1985/86, pp. 205-18
 - Henry A. Kissinger, White House Years (Little, Brown, 1979), Chapter 3
- Video: “The Fog of War”

Part One: Concepts

2/15 **II. Morality and the National Interest** [Note: Readings are many but short.]

(A) Defining the “National Interest”

- Sir Harold Nicolson, Diplomacy (Institute for the Study of Diplomacy reprint, 1988), Chapter 6
- Henry Kissinger, Diplomacy (Simon and Schuster, 1994), pp. 17-28
- National Security Strategy of the United States, September 2002 (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html>)
- Michael Mandelbaum, ed., The New Russian Foreign Policy (Council on Foreign Relations, 1998), Chapter 1
- “Principles and Practices of British Foreign Policy,” in Peter Marshall, Positive Diplomacy (St. Martin’s, 1997), Chapter 7 and Annex 3

(B) Ethics and Foreign Policy

- Mark R. Amstutz, International Ethics (Rowman & Littlefield, 2nd edition, 2005), pp. 28-44 and 104-25
- Peter S. Temes, The Just War (Ivan B. Dee, 2003) pp. 91-126
- Michael Walzer, Just and Unjust Wars (Basic Books, 3rd ed., 2000), pp. 51-68
- Robert McElroy, Morality and American Foreign Policy (Princeton, 1992), pp. 152-67

2/22 **III. Comparative Foreign Policy Behavior**

- Raymond Cohen, Negotiating Across Cultures, Chapters 1-3, 8, and 12
- Richard Solomon, Chinese Negotiating Behavior (USIP, 1999), Chapter 2
- Jerrold L. Schecter, Russian Negotiating Behavior (USIP, 1998), pp. 61-113
- Michael Harrison, “France: The Diplomacy of a Self-Assured Middle Power,” in Hans Binnendijk, ed., National Negotiating Styles (Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs, 1987), pp. 75-104

- Charles Cogan, French Negotiating Behavior (USIP, 2003), Chapter 5 [case studies on NATO, the Uruguay Round, and Iraq]
 - David Gillies, Between Principle and Practice (McGill, 1996), Chapter 6 [case study of Canadian, Dutch and Norwegian responses to Tiananmen]
 - Pew Case Study #168: “Human Rights and Trade: The Clinton Administration and China”
- Charlie Rose video debate on the April 2001 incident in the South China Sea

3/1 **IV. Frameworks for Analysis and Decision**

- Roger Fisher et al., Beyond Machiavelli, Chapters 1-3
 - Philip Zelikow, “Foreign Policy Engineering,” International Security Vol. 18, No. 4 (Spring 1994), pp. 143-71
 - Irving L. Janis, Groupthink (Houghton Mifflin, 1982) Chapters 1, 2, 7, and 11
 - Alexander L. George and Eric Stern, “Harnessing Conflict in Foreign Policy Making,” Presidential Studies Quarterly Vol. 32, No. 3 (2002): 484-508
- **First policy memo due**

3/8 **V. Strategy and Policy Design**

- Fisher et al., Beyond Machiavelli, Chapters 4-6
- Sun Tzu, The Art of War, ed. James Clavell (Delta, 1983), pp. 15-20, 30-40
- Miyamoto Musashi, The Book of Five Rings (Bantam Paperbacks, 1992), pp. xxxiii-xxxiv and 73-84
- Townsend Hoopes and Douglas Brinkley, FDR and the Creation of the U.N. (Yale, 1997), Chapters 11-12 and 16
- Dean Acheson, Present at the Creation (Norton, 1969), pp. 254-84
- George F. Kennan, Memoirs 1925-1950 (Bantam, 1967), pp. 419-37
- Hutchings, American Diplomacy, Introduction and Chapter 1 (Ch. 2 optional)

3/15 **VI. Foreign Policy Implementation**

(A) Organizational Issues, Domestic/International Linkages

- Alexander L. and Juliette L. George, Presidential Personality and Performance (Westview, 1998), pp. 199-280
- Karl Inderfurth and Loch Johnson, Fateful Decisions: Inside the National Security Council (Oxford, 2004), pp. 17-26, 97-106, 283-307, and 358-69
- Peter Evans, Harold Jacobson, and Robert Putnam, eds. Double-Edged Diplomacy (California, 1993), Chapters 1, 4 and 12 [case studies on Germany and the IMF]
- Pew Case Study 462: “The Clinton Administration and Multilateral Peace Operations”

(B) Bilateral Diplomacy: Guest Lecture by Ambassador Edmund Hull

- Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, “Transformational Diplomacy” (speech and fact sheet), 1/18/06: <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2006/59306.htm>

(3/18-3/26: Spring Recess)

Part Two: Applications

3/29 VII. Negotiation and Crisis Diplomacy

(A) International Negotiation

- P. Terrence Hopmann, “Bargaining and Problem Solving,” in Chester Crocker et al., eds., Turbulent Peace (USIP, 2001), pp. 445-68.
- Cohen, Negotiating Across Cultures, Chapters 4-7 and 9-11
- Fred Charles Iklé, How Nations Negotiate (Harper & Row, 1964; Kraus Reprint, 1987), Chapters 1 and 9

(B) Crisis Diplomacy

- James L. Richardson, Crisis Diplomacy: The Great Powers Since the Mid-Nineteenth Century (Cambridge, 1994), Chapters 1-3 and 16

➤ “The Crisis Game” video, Part 1: Invasion

4/5 VIII. “The Crisis Game” Video Simulation

- “The Crisis Game” Briefing Book

➤ “The Crisis Game” video, Parts 2-4: From Confrontation to Resolution

➤ **Second policy paper due**

4/12 IX. Multilateral Diplomacy: The Diplomacy of German Unification

- Fen Osler Hampson, Multilateral Negotiations: Lessons from Arms Control, Trade, and the Environment (Johns Hopkins, 1995) pp. 23-51
- Hutchings, American Diplomacy, Chapter 3
- George Bush and Brent Scowcroft, A World Transformed (Knopf, 1998), Chapter 10
- Mikhail Gorbachev, Memoirs (Doubleday, 1996), pp. 516-35
- Margaret Thatcher, Downing Street Years (HarperCollins, 1993), pp. 790-99
- Top Secret documents from Russian, German, and U.S. archives

4/18 X. The United States and Iraq: *Guest Lecture by David Gompert*

- George, Bridging the Gap, Part Two (pp. 31-103)
- Robert J. Art and Patrick M. Cronin, eds., The United States and Coercive Diplomacy (USIP, 2003), Chapter 9
- Richard Haass, Economic Sanctions and American Diplomacy (Council on Foreign Relations, 1998), Introduction, Chapter 5, and Conclusion
- Pew Case Study 278: “Going to the UN: George W. Bush and Iraq”

Note: *In lieu of our regular class, on Tuesday, April 18, we will attend the public affairs lecture by David Gompert, Senior Fellow at the RAND Corp. and former Senior Adviser for National Defense and Security in Iraq. Afterwards, we will have an informal discussion with Mr. Gompert over dinner at Prospect House.*

4/26 XI. Mediation and Shuttle Diplomacy: Guest Lecture by Amb. Edmund Hull

(A) Mediation and Arbitration

- Thomas Princen, Intermediaries in International Conflict (Princeton, 1992), Chapters 2, 5, and 10

(B) The United States and the Middle East Peace Process

- Henry Kissinger, Years of Upheaval (Little, Brown, 1982), Chapters XXI and XXIII
- Dennis Ross, The Missing Peace: The Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East Peace (Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux, 2004), Chapters 1 and 2

5/3 XII. Conclusion

- Robert Hutchings, “X + 9/11,” Foreign Policy, July-August 2004
(http://www.cia.gov/nic/articles_x_%2B_911.htm)
(http://www.cia.gov/nic/speeches_terrorist_conduct.html)
- Robert Hutchings, “Strategic Choices, Intelligence Challenges”
(http://www.cia.gov/nic/speeches_choices_challenges.htm)
- Other readings to be assigned

➤ **Third policy paper due**

(5/8-5/15: Reading Period)

➤ **Case study due May 17**

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