



FRS 199 – Fall 2022  
Tuesday 1:30 – 4:20 p.m.  
Blair Hall T3

Professor Robert Hutchings  
415 Robertson Hall  
Office Hours: Thursday, 1-3 p.m.  
[hutchngs@princeton.edu](mailto:hutchngs@princeton.edu)

## **Diplomatic Encounters – Or, *So You Want to be a Diplomat***

This seminar offers an introduction to the history, theory, and practice of international diplomacy, which we define broadly as a set of activities by which political leaders and other officials, both senior and junior, conceive of, develop, and implement foreign policy. The course draws on the instructor's experience as former ambassador and current scholar to examine the changing role of diplomacy in today's digitally connected yet increasingly fragmented world. Our core texts will be Henry Kissinger's *World Order*, William Burns' *The Back Channel*, and a co-edited volume by the instructor with nine case studies in successful diplomacy. We will also draw on the instructor's recent co-authored survey of the world's ten largest diplomatic services.

We will begin with a survey of some of the classics: Sun Tzu, Machiavelli, Callières, Richelieu, Clausewitz, and others. We will then explore the wonderful diplomatic memoirs by Harold Nicolson, George F. Kennan, and Dean Acheson, as well as more recent ones by James Baker, Condoleezza Rice, William Burns, Nabil Fahmy, Wendy Sherman, Christopher Hill, Michael McFaul, Marie Yovanovitch, and others. In these, we will focus selectively on key events and issues, including the creation of the post-World War II international order, the U.S. opening to China in the 1970s, the negotiation and renegotiation of NAFTA, initiatives toward Middle East peace, the ending of the Cold War, the Obama administration's opening to Cuba, the Iran nuclear deal, the invasion and occupation of Iraq, and the challenges of dealing with Russia under Putin.

Toward the end of the semester, we will descend from high politics down to ground level, focusing on practical aspects of diplomacy on which students can draw if and as they aspire to careers in international relations. Topics include strategic planning, analysis and decision-making, cross-cultural communication, and negotiating techniques. Underlying all of our explorations is the conviction that international diplomacy is a critical element of a workable system of relations among states and of a rules-based international order in which disputes can be settled by means short of war. In this sense, diplomacy may be seen not just as a practical art but as an essentially ethical undertaking.

Course objectives: The main goals of the course are to develop your critical thinking and basic research skills, so that you can apply and further develop those skills in your future academic work and eventual career. Secondly, the course aims to familiarize you with some of the key foreign policy episodes over the past century. International diplomacy is an important topic in its own right, but for this course, designed for students with a wide range of different academic and career interests, the study of diplomacy is also a vehicle to these other learning objectives.

## Assignments

Students will write three short papers and one longer research paper. Grades will be weighted roughly as follows: 35% for the three short papers, 35% for the final research paper, and 30% for contributions to class discussions. There will be no exams.

### Short Papers (35%)

- 1) Henry Kissinger's *World Order* covers much of the same ground as his earlier (and much longer) volume entitled *Diplomacy*. It is an interesting juxtaposition. How are "diplomacy" and "world order" related? Can you have order without diplomacy, or diplomacy without order? Address these questions in a very short essay of around 500 words, due week 4. (10%)
- 2) In a bibliographic essay of no more than 1,000 words, explore source materials connected to a major foreign policy event or episode such as those in an exemplary list on page 8 of the syllabus. You should identify at least three scholarly sources and two primary sources (an original document, first-hand journalistic account, or memoir by a diplomat or political leader) representing a range of perspectives. You should describe the sources, explain the authors' perspectives, and show how these sources overlap or stand in opposition to one another. The bibliographic essay is due week 6. (10%)
- 3) In a research paper of between 1,000 and 1,500 words, examine the event or episode that you covered in your bibliographic essay, drawing on and adding to the primary and secondary sources you identified. In this paper, you should go beyond a description of the sources to offer your own explanation and interpretation. The paper is due week 9. (15%)

**Research Paper (35%)** Students will write a research paper of around 3,000 words on an aspect of the diplomacy other than the topics of your short papers. Your paper must combine traditional secondary sources with primary source material – especially journalistic accounts, memoirs, and declassified official documents. A two-page, single-spaced concept paper previewing the topic and the approach you plan to take, along with a preliminary bibliography, is due week 11. I will provide feedback and guidance by the following week. (Feel free to submit your concept paper earlier if you would like to receive feedback sooner.) The paper itself is due December 13.

**Class Participation (30%)** Because we will devote at least half of each session to discussion and will have no examinations, the quality of each student's participation will be an important component of the final grade. During the semester, each student will give one formal oral presentation on an assigned additional reading accompanied by a one-page summary/handout for each student. Additionally, at the end of the semester, you will be asked to give very brief presentations of your final research paper topics. These oral presentations will account for roughly 1/3 of your participation grade – i.e., 10% of your overall course grade.

Grades for participation will be calculated roughly as follows:

- A = regular contributions to class discussion reflecting strong command of the material
- B = regular contributions to class discussion showing good understanding of the material
- C or below = infrequent contributions to class discussions betraying weak grasp of the material

## Required Books

- Henry Kissinger, *World Order* (New York: Penguin Books, 2014).
- Robert Hutchings and Jeremi Suri, eds., *Foreign Policy Breakthroughs: Cases in Successful Diplomacy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
- William J. Burns, *The Back Channel: A Memoir of American Diplomacy and the Case for Its Renewal* (New York: Random House, 2019).

## Class Attendance

You are normally expected to attend every class session. If you expect to miss class because of illness, emergency, or other urgent matter, please let me know in advance. If that is not possible, let me know as soon as possible afterward why you missed. If there are things going on that are interfering with your ability to complete the readings or assignments, please let me know. You can count on my confidentiality. *Additional course information is on pages 9-10 of the syllabus.*

## A Note on Assigned Readings

Readings for the class are on the heavy side – lighter than for graduate courses I teach but heavier than for most undergraduate courses. As you struggle with some of the readings, bear in mind that I am not expecting or even desiring that you master the details. You will not be asked in class to recite dates, names, places, or other purely factual information. That kind of attention to detail is expected in your research papers, but not in your preparation for class discussion. Rather, you should focus on the big questions and major issues that arise from the readings, with particular attention to the role of diplomacy and diplomats. It is important at this early stage of your academic and professional journey that you learn how to access and make sense of large amounts of reading without being overwhelmed by it. You will appreciate this later on.

## Course Outline

### Date    Topic/Assignments

#### 9/6    1. Introduction to the course

*Before venturing into theory and strategy, we should have our feet firmly planted in the real world of politics and policy. Here are two dramatic case studies to get us started – one on the end of the Cold War, 1989-92, and the other on the U.S. opening to Cuba, 2012-14:*

- Robert Hutchings, “American Diplomacy and the End of the Cold War in Europe,” in Hutchings and Suri, eds., *Foreign Policy Breakthroughs*, Chapter 5, pages 148-72.
- William M. LeoGrande and Peter Kornbluh, *Back Channel to Cuba: The Hidden History of Negotiations between Washington and Havana* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), pages 418-53.

#### An introduction to diplomacy:

- Kissinger, *World Order*, Introduction, pages 1-10.
- Hutchings and Suri, eds., *Foreign Policy Breakthroughs*, Introduction, pages 1-18.
- Kim Darroch, *Collateral Damage* (London: William Collins, 2020), pages 1-14.

**9/14 2. What do diplomats actually do?**

- George F. Kennan, *Memoirs 1925-50* (New York: Little Brown, 1967), pages 1-23
- Henry Kissinger, *White House Years* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1979), pages 17-38
- Burns, *The Back Channel*, Chapter 1 (pages 15-42).
- Christopher R. Hill, *Outpost: Life on the Front Lines of American Diplomacy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2014), Chapter 3, pages 31-8.
- Robert Hutchings, *American Diplomacy and the End of the Cold War* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), pages ix-xvi and 176-84.
- Student presentation: Harry Kopp and Charles Gillespie, *Career Diplomacy: Life and Work in the US Foreign Service* (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2011), pages 3-38.

**9/20 3. What can diplomats do if they disagree with policy?**

- Seth Jacobs, *Rogue Diplomats: The Proud Tradition of Disobedience in American Foreign Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), Introduction, pages 1-23.
- Elizabeth Shackelford, *Dissent Channel: American Diplomacy in a Dishonest Age* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2020), pages ix-x, 240-56, and 271-75.
- Marie Yovanovitch, *Lessons from the Edge: A Memoir* (Boston and New York: Mariner Books, 2022), pages xv-xxii, 273-308, and 341-50.
- Student presentation: Mary Thompson-Jones, *To the Secretary: Leaked Embassy Cables and America's Foreign Policy Disconnect* (New York: Norton, 2016), pages 1-34 and 251-67.
- Student presentation: Dennis Jett, *American Ambassadors* (London: Palgrave, 2014), Introduction and Chapter 5, pages 1-9 and 117-44.

***A SHORT HISTORY OF DIPLOMACY***

**9/27 4. The European century**

- Kissinger, *World Order*, Chapters 1-2, pages 11-95
- Hutchings and Suri, *Modern Diplomacy*, pages 43-45, 51-53, 59-62, and 70-74.
- Student presentation: G.R. Berridge et al., *Diplomatic Theory from Machiavelli to Kissinger* (London: Palgrave, 2001), pages 7-24 and 71-82 (on Machiavelli and Richelieu)
- Student presentation: Kissinger, *World Order*, pages 96-122.

⇒ **First paper due**

**10/4 5. The American century**

- Kissinger, *World Order*, Chapter 7, pages 234-75, and pages 276-88 of Chapter 8
- Dean Acheson, *Present at the Creation* (New York: Norton, 1969), pages 254-90
- Kennan, *Memoirs 1925-50*, pages 419-49.
- Student presentation: Harold Nicolson, *Peacemaking 1919* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1965), Chapters 1 and 8 (pages 3-17 and 185-211)

- Student presentation: “X” (George F. Kennan), “The Sources of Soviet Conduct,” *Foreign Affairs* 25, No. 4 (1947): 566-82; and Walter Lippmann, “The Cold War,” *Foreign Affairs* 65, No. 4 (Spring 1987): 869-884 (excerpted from articles in the N.Y. Herald Tribune in 1947)

## 10/11 6. A Chinese century?

- Kissinger, *World Order*, Chapters 5-6, pages 172-233
- Hutchings and Suri, *Modern Diplomacy*, Chapter 2, pages 21-25 and 32-36 only.
- Hutchings and Suri, eds., *Foreign Policy Breakthroughs*, Chapter 7, pages 101-20.
- Student presentation: David Shambaugh, *China Goes Global: The Partial Power* (Oxford University Press, 2013), pages 60-72; and Jude Blanchette, “Xi’s Gamble,” *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 100, No. 4 (July/August 2021): 10-29.

⇒ **Second paper (bibliographic essay) due**

**(Fall recess: October 15-23)**

## ***CASE STUDIES IN MODERN DIPLOMACY***

### 10/25 7. Diplomats as Negotiators

#### **Negotiating the North American Free Trade Agreement**

- Rafael Fernandez de Castro and Beatriz Leycegui, “Mexico’s Successful Diplomacy in NAFTA,” *Foreign Policy Breakthroughs*, Chapter 9, pages 201-25.
- Renegotiating NAFTA: <https://www.thebalance.com/donald-trump-nafta-4111368>

#### **Negotiating toward peace in the Middle East**

- Galia Golan, “Sadat and Begin: Successful Diplomacy to Peace,” *Foreign Policy Breakthroughs*, Chapter 6, pages 121-47.
- Nabil Fahmy, *Egypt’s Diplomacy in War, Peace and Transition* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), pages 47-64
- Student presentation: James A. Baker III, *The Politics of Diplomacy* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1995), Chapter 27, pages 487-513; and Shimon Peres, *No Room for Small Dreams* (New York: HarperCollins, 2017), pages 173-75 and 186-96.

### 11/1 8. Diplomacy and War

- Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, Chapter 1 (~20 pages)

#### **The Iraq fiasco**

- Robert Hutchings, “America at War, 2003-5,” in Robert Hutchings and Gregory F. Treverton, eds., *Truth to Power: A History of the U.S. National Intelligence Council* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), Chapter 5, pages 148-72.
- Condoleezza Rice, *No Higher Honor* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2011), pages 184-99 and 234-44.
- Burns, *The Back Channel*, pages 157-78.

- Student presentation: Christopher Hill, *Outpost: Life on the Frontlines of American Diplomacy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2014), pages 342-91.

#### **Afghanistan: the longest war**

- Student presentation: Robert M. Gates, *Duty: Memoirs of a Secretary at War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014), pages 335-86

### **11/8 9. Multilateral diplomacy**

#### **The Making of the European Union**

- Mark Dawson, “The European Union as a Community of Law,” in *Foreign Policy Breakthroughs*, Chapter 8, pages 173-95

#### **The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)**

- Jonathan Hunt, “The Birth of an International Community: Negotiating the NPT,” *Foreign Policy Breakthroughs*, Chapter 4, pages 72-94

#### **The Iran nuclear deal**

- Burns, *The Back Channel*, Chapter 9, pages 337-87 and 460-65.
- Student presentation: Kissinger, *World Order*, Chapter 4, pages 146-71; and Fahmy, *Egypt’s Diplomacy*, Chapter 5, pages 115-28.
- Student presentation: Wendy Sherman, *Not for the Faint of Heart* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2018), pages vii-xx, 19-44, 123-46, and 153-75.

⇒ **Third paper due**

### **11/15 10. Great Power Diplomacy: Dealing with Putin**

- Burns, *The Back Channel*, Chapter 6, pages 201-42
- Michael McFaul, *From Cold War to Hot Peace: An American Ambassador in Putin’s Russia* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2018), vii-xiii and 393-428
- Student presentation: Fiona Hill and Clifford G. Gaddy, *Mr. Putin Operative in the Kremlin* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2013), Chapter 1 (pages 3-17 only) and Coda (pages 385-98); and Samantha Power, *The Education of an Idealist* (New York: HarperCollins, 2019), pages ix-xii and 403-33.

**(Thanksgiving break, November 22-27)**

### ***A TOOL KIT FOR ASPIRING DIPLOMATS***

### **11/29 11. Strategy and Negotiation**

- Robert Hutchings, “Is There a Map to the Future?” *Foreign Policy*, August 31, 2011
- Williamson Murray, MacGregor Knox, and Alvin Bernstein, eds., *The Making of Strategy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), “On Strategy” (pages 1-23)

- Richard K. Betts, “Is Strategy an Illusion?” in *American Force: Dangers, Delusions, and Dilemmas in National Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), pages 232-71.
- Raymond Cohen, *Negotiating Across Cultures* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 1997), pp. 25-38 and 135-61.
- Irving L. Janis, *Groupthink* (Boston: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 1982), Chapters 1 and 11 (pp. 2-13 and 260-76).
- Student presentation: “Searching for a Strategy,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol .98, No. 3 (May/June 2019): 10-43.

⇒ **Prospectus for final paper due**

## 12/6 12. Successful diplomacy

- Kissinger, *World Order*, Conclusion, pages 361-74.
- Hutchings and Suri, *Modern Diplomacy*, Chapter 9 (pages 161-5 and 173-8 only), Chapter 10 (pages 189-216), and Conclusion (pages 225-35).
- Hutchings and Suri, eds., *Foreign Policy Breakthroughs*, Conclusion, pages 254-67.

⇒ **Student presentations of research paper topics**

⇒ **Final paper due December 13.**

## POSSIBLE TOPICS FOR YOUR RESEARCH PAPERS

Note: This is an exemplary list only, meant to help you get started. There are hundreds of other topics that would be perfectly fine for you to pursue, so long as they bear on the role of diplomats and diplomacy. For other ideas, check out the website of the Association for Diplomatic Studies & Training (<https://adst.org>), the case studies published by the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy ([https://casestudies.isd.georgetown.edu/#\\_ga=2.87445144.1444187029.1629662882-504040982.1624910809](https://casestudies.isd.georgetown.edu/#_ga=2.87445144.1444187029.1629662882-504040982.1624910809)), chapters in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy*, or the Wikipedia list of diplomatic incidents ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Category:Diplomatic\\_incidents](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Category:Diplomatic_incidents)).

Russian revolution, 1917  
Treaty of Versailles, 1919  
Creation of the League of Nations, 1920  
Yalta conference, 1945  
United Nations founded, 1945  
India gains independence, 1947  
Birth of Israel, 1948  
Communist victory in China, February 1949  
Creation of NATO, April 1949  
Start of Korean War, June 1950  
Hungarian revolution and Suez crisis, 1956  
Cuban revolution, January 1959  
Congo crisis, 1960-61  
Construction of the Berlin Wall, August 1961  
Cuban missile crisis, October 1962  
6-day war between Egypt and Israel, June 1967  
Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia, August 1968  
Nuclear non-proliferation treaty signed, March 1970  
Nixon visit to China, February 1972  
SALT I agreement limiting strategic arms, May 1972  
Chilean coup d'etat deposing Salvador Allende, September 1973  
Yom Kippur war, October 1973  
Ending the Vietnam war, 1973-75  
Angolan civil war, 1974-75  
Panama canal treaty, 1977  
Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, December 1979  
U.S.-Soviet summit in Reykjavik, October 1986  
Yugoslavia breaks apart, 1991  
Persian Gulf war, 1991  
Treaty of European Union signed in Maastricht, 1993  
End of the apartheid regime in South Africa, 1994  
Rwandan genocide, 1994  
NATO campaign in Kosovo, 1999  
9/11 terrorist attacks and invasion of Afghanistan, 2001  
U.S. invasion of Iraq, 2003  
“Arab spring” starts, 2010  
P5+1 and EU implement nuclear deal with Iran, 2016  
UK votes for “Brexit” to leave the EU, 2016  
U.S. reopens its diplomatic mission in Cuba, 2015  
U.S. recognizes Jerusalem as capital of Israel, 2017



## ADDITIONAL COURSE INFORMATION

### Late Work and Extensions

Unless otherwise stated, all deadlines in this course syllabus are firm. Work that is not submitted on time will be subject to a 1/3 letter grade penalty for each day it is late, unless you have contacted me for an extension prior to the deadline.

### Academic Integrity

I expect students to understand and observe the University's standards regarding Academic Integrity. You owe it to yourself, your fellow students, and the institution to familiarize yourself with these standards and observe them. I encourage you to consult "[Academic Integrity at Princeton](#)" and read the University's excellent handbook on academic integrity:

[https://odoc.princeton.edu/sites/odoc/files/950045\\_AcademicIntegrity2018-19\\_FINAL\\_PDF.pdf](https://odoc.princeton.edu/sites/odoc/files/950045_AcademicIntegrity2018-19_FINAL_PDF.pdf).

At the end of any written work completed outside of class for a grade, please type or write out and sign the following statement: *"This paper represents my own work in accordance with University regulations."* For electronic submissions, you may type your name preceded by the notation /s/, which stands for "signature." (I personally do not like this mandatory oath, because it seems to presume dishonesty. I presume that you *are* honest and find it offensive to imply that you are not, but I do feel strongly about academic integrity and will follow University policies in cases of suspected infractions.)

### Academic Resources

The Writing Center offers student writers free one-on-one conferences with experienced fellow writers trained to consult on assignments in any discipline: <http://writing.princeton.edu/center>.

The McGraw Center for Teaching and Learning offers one-on-one learning consultations that can be particularly useful for developing active reading strategies, project management skills, and note-taking tactics. You can make an appointment for an individual consultation by visiting their website: <https://mcgraw.princeton.edu/>. The Center also supports group study hall and individual peer tutoring.

Princeton Undergraduate Research Calendar (PURC) helps you navigate the many programming opportunities and resources available to support your research. Use their one-stop website to learn about upcoming events and plan ahead for important funding, internship, and fellowship deadlines: [undergraduateresearch.princeton.edu/calendar](http://undergraduateresearch.princeton.edu/calendar).

Princeton Correspondents on Undergraduate Research: [pcur.princeton.edu](http://pcur.princeton.edu). Drawn from across class years and divisions, the Correspondents showcase and reflect on the undergraduate research experience. Their PCUR blog helps demystify the steps of the research process, highlights different kinds of research opportunities, and offers insight into what it's like to do research and independent work in different disciplines

Reference Librarians can help you make a research plan, find sources (electronic and print) and provide general guidance: <http://library.princeton.edu/hours/information>.

## **Mental Health Resources**

Students may experience a range of emotional and psychological challenges that can interfere with their learning. Strained relationships, increased anxiety, substance or alcohol abuse, depression, difficulty concentrating and/or lack of motivation are frequently responses to significant stress. Mental health concerns caused by stressful circumstances that influence your life out of class might affect the quality of your academic work and personal well-being. Princeton offers many services to help you through difficult moments. You can learn more about confidential mental health services available at <https://uhs.princeton.edu/counseling-psychological-services>. Support is available 24-hours-a-day from Counseling and Psychological Services; if your concern is urgent, this link will take you to appropriate care: <https://uhs.princeton.edu/counseling-psychological-services/urgent-mental-health-concerns> or you can call the Department of Public Safety at 609-258-3333.

## **Disability Services and Academic Accommodations**

Students must register with the Office of Disability Services ([ods@princeton.edu](mailto:ods@princeton.edu); 258-8840) for disability verification and determination of eligibility for reasonable academic accommodations. Requests for academic accommodations for this course should be made at the beginning of the semester, or as soon as possible for newly-approved students. I encourage students with approved accommodations to contact me at the beginning of the semester, and again before major course assessments. Please note that no accommodations for a disability will be made without authorization from ODS, or without advance notice.