



**Princeton School of Public and International Affairs  
Graduate Seminar - Fall 2023**

**SPI 547: The Conduct of International Diplomacy**

Tuesday, 1:00-4:00 PM      Room: TBD

Instructor: Daniel Kurtzer

This course offers a look at the making of policy and its implementation through diplomacy in the global arena. It explores key concepts and theories concerning national interest, negotiation, decision making, strategic design, leadership, and crisis management; and it applies those concepts via case studies in diplomacy. 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 policymakers and diplomats would and thus gain a better appreciation of how and why states, organizations, leaders, and diplomats act as they do.

**Assignments and grades:**

Students will prepare a 1-2 page reading response each week: 1-2 paragraphs that summarize the key points; 1-2 paragraphs that draw out lessons learned, implications, and challenging issues; and 1-2 bulleted questions or issues for class discussion. These papers should be emailed to the instructor in Word, not PDF by 10:00 PM on Saturday evening before class. It is recommended to purchase Paul Stares, *Preventive Engagement: How America Can Avoid War, Stay Strong, and Keep the Peace*, at Labyrinth or online.

Grades will be based on weekly reading responses (20%), class participation (20%), a case study (50%), and a joint policy memo (10%).

**September 5:            Policy process, strategy, tactics, tools, leadership, and diplomacy**

**September 12:        Diplomacy and negotiations: Third party mediation**

1. Aaron David Miller, *The Much Too Promised Land: America's Elusive Search for Arab-Israeli Peace* (Bantam, 2008), Introduction & Chapter 1.
2. Daniel Kurtzer, et. al., *The Peace Puzzle: America's Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace, 1989-2011* (Cornell University Press, 2013), 1-58 and 268-276.
3. Gilles Andreani, "Negotiating with Savoir Faire: Twelve Rules for Negotiating with the United States," in Richard Solomon and Nigel Quinney, eds., *American Negotiating Behavior: Wheeler-Dealers, Legal Eagles, Bullies, and Preachers* (USIP Press, 2010), 279-289.
4. Lakhdar Brahimi and Salman Ahmed, "In Pursuit of Sustainable Peace: The Seven Deadly Sins of Mediation," NYU Center on International Cooperation, May 2008, 1-12.  
<https://ciaotest.cc.columbia.edu/wps/cic/0001438/0001438.pdf>

**September 19: Preventive diplomacy**

1. Paul Stares, *Preventive Engagement: How America can Avoid War, Stay Strong, and Keep the Peace* (Columbia University Press, 2018), Chapter 1 (1-25), Chapter 3 (55-89) and Chapter 8 (223-244).
2. Paul Stares, "Preparing for the Next Foreign Policy Crisis: What the United States Should Do," CFR, Dec. 2019. 1-18.  
[https://cdn.cfr.org/sites/default/files/report\\_pdf/Preparing%20for%20the%20Next%20Foreign%20Policy%20Crisis.pdf](https://cdn.cfr.org/sites/default/files/report_pdf/Preparing%20for%20the%20Next%20Foreign%20Policy%20Crisis.pdf)

**September 26: Coercive diplomacy**

1. U.S. Department of State, "Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action," <https://2009-2017.state.gov/e/eb/tfs/spi/iran/jcpoa/index.htm>
2. Suzanne Maloney, "After the Iran Deal: A Plan B to Contain the Islamic Republic," *Foreign Affairs*, March-April 2023.
3. Peter Viggo Jakobsen, "Coercive Diplomacy" in *The SAGE Handbook of Diplomacy*. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781473957930>
4. Jon Alterman, "Coercive Diplomacy against Iraq, 1990-98" in Robert J. Art and Patrick M. Cronin, eds., *The United States and Coercive Diplomacy* (USIP Press, 2003), 275-303. [http://www-personal.umich.edu/~juliafar/politics/the\\_united\\_states\\_and\\_coercive\\_diplomacy.pdf](http://www-personal.umich.edu/~juliafar/politics/the_united_states_and_coercive_diplomacy.pdf)

**October 3: Crisis diplomacy**

1. Edward Avenell & David Hastings Dunn, "Crisis Diplomacy" in *The SAGE Handbook of Diplomacy*. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781473957930>
2. Barton J. Bernstein, "Understanding Decisionmaking, U.S. Foreign Policy, and the Cuban Missile Crisis: A Review Essay," *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Summer, 2000), 134-164.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/2626776>
1. Harlan Cleveland, "Crisis Diplomacy," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (July 1963), 638-649. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20029649>

**October 10: Challenges of bilateral diplomacy**

1. Robert Hutchings, "American Diplomacy and the End of the Cold War in Europe," in Robert Hutchings and Jeremi Suri, eds., *Foreign Policy Breakthroughs: Cases in Successful Diplomacy*, 148-172.
2. Paul Kreutzer, "Ten Principles of Operational Diplomacy: a proposed framework," *American Diplomacy*, June 2014. [Ten Principles of Operational Diplomacy: a proposed framework | American Diplomacy Est 1996 \(unc.edu\)](https://www.american-diplomacy.com/ten-principles-of-operational-diplomacy-a-proposed-framework/)
3. "The Skills of Diplomacy," National Museum of American Diplomacy. [The Skills of Diplomacy - The National Museum of American Diplomacy \(state.gov\)](https://www.american-diplomacy.com/the-skills-of-diplomacy/)

4. Robert Pearson, "The new age of diplomacy requires heightened expertise and foresight," *The Hill*, April 24, 2023. [The new age of diplomacy requires heightened expertise and foresight | The Hill](#)

**October 17:**

**Fall break. No class**

**October 24:**

**Track II diplomacy**

1. Randa Slim, "The U.S.-Iran Track II Dialogue (2002–2008): Lessons Learned and Implications for the Rockefeller Brothers Fund's Grantmaking Strategy," August 3, 2010, 4-16. <https://www.issueLab.org/resources/28110/28110.pdf>
2. Harold H. Saunders, "Sustained Dialogue in Managing Intractable Conflict," *Negotiation Journal*, January 2003, 85-95. <https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1023/a:1022308226501.pdf>
3. Peter Jones, "U.S.-Iran Nuclear Track Two from 2005 to 2011: What Have We Learned? Where Are We Going?" *Negotiation Journal*, Vol. 30, Issue 4, October 2012, 347-366. <https://onlinelibrary-wiley-com.ezproxy.princeton.edu/doi/10.1111/nej.12067>
4. Richard A. Moss, "Circumventing the Foreign Policy Bureaucracy: Henry Kissinger, Anatoly Dobrynin, and Back -Channel Diplomacy," Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Case 353. <https://isd-georgetown-university.myshopify.com/products/case-353-circumventing-the-foreign-policy-bureaucracy-henry-kissinger-anatoly-dobrynin-and-back-channel-diplomacy>

**October 31:**

**Diplomacy in times of military conflict**

1. Ronald E. Neumann, Charles Ray, James Jeffrey, "Lessons We Should Have Learned from Vietnam," *The Jerusalem Strategic Tribune*, December 2022. <https://jstribune.com/neumann-ray-jeffrey-lessons-we-should-have-learned-from-vietnam/>
2. Doron Almog, Shaul Arieli, Yair Golan, "Lessons We Should Have Learned from Lebanon," *The Jerusalem Strategic Tribune*, April 2023. <https://jstribune.com/almog-arieli-golan-lessons-from-first-lebanon-war/>
3. Garrett Graff, "Orders of disorder: who disbanded Iraq's army and de-Baathified its bureaucracy," *Foreign Affairs*, May 5, 2023.
4. Sergey Radchenko and Valdislav, "Blundering on the Brink: The Secret History and Unlearned Lessons of the Cuban Missile Crisis," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2023, Volume 102, Number 3.

**November 7:**

**Multilateral diplomacy**

1. James P. Muldoon Jr. and JoAnn Fagot Aviel, "Multilateral Diplomacy," *International Studies*, July 30, 2020.
2. Daniel Kurtzer and Aaron Miller, "Multilateralism and U.S. Policy in the Middle East," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, December 14, 2020.

<https://carnegieendowment.org/2020/12/14/multilateralism-and-u.s.-policy-in-middle-east-pub-83437>

3. Kenneth Brill, "To compete with China, the US must embrace multilateral diplomacy," *The Hill*, April 30, 2023.  
<https://thehill.com/opinion/international/3978238-to-compete-with-china-the-us-must-embrace-multilateral-diplomacy/>

**November 14: Expeditionary diplomacy**

1. Carol L. Hanner, "Reading Ulysses in Baghdad," *Wake Forest Magazine*, Spring, 2022.  
<https://magazine.wfu.edu/2022/02/05/reading-ulysses-in-baghdad/>
2. James Bullington, "Expeditionary Diplomacy and the Casamance Conflict," September 9, 2012. <https://2009-2017.state.gov/j/cso/releases/remarks/2013/214373.htm>
3. Marc Grossman, "Diplomacy Before and After Conflict," *PRISM*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (09/2010), 3-14.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26469073>

**November 21: No class. University will be on a Friday schedule.**

**November 28: Ethics and diplomacy**

1. Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson, eds., *Ethics and Politics: Cases and Comments* (Nelson-Hall, 1998), 1-26.
2. David A. Welch, "Ethics and Foreign Policy," *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Winter/Spring 2000), 79-88.  
[https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/43134008.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A72c2944f17a65f5504f6d0d3f4c4cc13&ab\\_segments=&origin=&initiator=&acceptTC=1](https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/43134008.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A72c2944f17a65f5504f6d0d3f4c4cc13&ab_segments=&origin=&initiator=&acceptTC=1)
3. Corneliu Bjola, "Diplomatic Ethics," in *The SAGE Handbook of Diplomacy*, <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781473957930>
4. Brian Barder, "Diplomacy, Ethics and the National Interest: What Are Diplomats For," *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 5 (2010), 289-297.
5. Asa Kasher and Amos Yadlin, "Assassination and Preventive Killing," *The SAIS Review of International Affairs*, Winter-Spring 2005, Vol. 25, No. 1, 41-57. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26999245>
6. Avishai Margalit and Michael Walzer, "Israel: Civilians & Combatants," *N.Y. Review of Books*, Vol. 56, No. 8, May 14, 2009.
7. Mark Clarence Walker, "Morality, self-interest, and leaders in international affairs," *The Leadership Quarterly*, Vol. 17, No. 2, 138-145.

**December 5: The future of diplomacy**

1. "Negotiating in a Transforming World," in Solomon and Quinney, *American Negotiating Behavior*, 293-313.
2. Raymond Cohen, *Negotiating Across Cultures* (U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 1997), 3-8, 25-43, 163-182, 215-226.
3. William J. Burns, *The Back Channel: A Memoir of American Diplomacy and the Case for its Renewal* (Random House, 2019), 400-427.