

# Diplomatic Disasters: Statecraft in War, Peace, and Revolution

SAIS 660.730.01

WEDNESDAYS, 2:15-4:45, ROOM: NITZE 410

Professor Ambassador Eric Edelman

Syllabus version 072910

## Course Concept

“Only fools learn from their mistakes: I prefer to learn from the mistakes of others,” Bismarck is reputed to have said. This course looks at mistakes made by intelligent politicians and statesmen in the midst of war and revolutions. It takes a broad view of diplomacy as statecraft, and not merely the technique of representation and negotiation, and it explores why and how competent diplomats can get it badly wrong.

A note on electronic sources: this course will use the Library’s electronic reserves system for some readings and a number of course documents, which you can access via a link in Blackboard. this course will use the Library’s electronic reserves system for some readings and a number of course documents, which you can access via a link in Blackboard.

## Requirements

Each student will write **four** memoranda from an assigned list, and will be prepared to summarize his or her memorandum in a two minute presentation in class. They will be expected, in most cases, to re-write the memorandum after the class to which it refers. Memoranda will include To, From, Subject, and Date lines at the top, will be in 12 points of a standard font (e.g. Times New Roman) and will have margins of 1.5" at the left, 1" at top, right, and bottom, and will consist of single-spaced, numbered paragraphs separated by a full space from one another. The memoranda will be no longer than three pages, and will be submitted in hard copy in class: we also request electronic copies sent to ecohen@jhu.edu and esedelman@gmail.com. These format requirements and length limits are serious. Each memorandum will count for 20% of the student’s grade, the presentations for 5% each, and general participation the remaining 15%. Students will, of course, be expected to attend all classes having done the readings and being prepared to discuss them.

## Books Required for Purchase

Mark Bowden, *Guests of the Ayatollah* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2006).

Ernest May and Philip Zelikow, *The Kennedy Tapes* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1997).

Mike Chinoy, *Meltdown: The Inside Story of the Korean Nuclear Crisis* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2008).

Laura Silber and Allan Little, *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation* (New York: TV Books, 1996).

Harold Nicolson, *The Congress of Vienna* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1946).

Michael Oren, *Six Days of War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

### Getting in Touch with the Instructors

To arrange office hours with Ambassador Edelman, email him at [eedelma1@jhu.edu](mailto:eedelma1@jhu.edu) or [esedelman@gmail.com](mailto:esedelman@gmail.com)

#### 1. What is Diplomacy? Two Mini-Cases - The Decision Not to Negotiate with Hitler (May, 1940) and The War of 1812 (265 pages)

##### Required Reading:

Sir Ivor Roberts, ed., *Satow's Diplomatic Practice*, 6<sup>th</sup> Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009) pps. 3-21, 24-25, 26-33, 48-59, 259-263, 288-292, 317-340, 471-477, 515-517, 521-532, 534-541, 617-631, 633-637. 127 pages

Sir Harold Nicolson, *Diplomacy* (Washington, DC: Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, 1988), pp. 1-67. 67 pages

Ian Kershaw, *Fateful Choices: Ten Decisions that Changed the World* (New York: Penguin, 2008), pp. 11-54. 43 pages

J. C. A. Stagg, "James Madison and the "Malcontents": The Political Origins of the War of 1812," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. 33, No. 4 (Oct., 1976), pp. 557-585. 28 Pages

##### Recommended Reading:

Sir Ivor Roberts, ed., *Satow's Diplomatic Practice*, 6<sup>th</sup> Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009) pps. 97-108, 116-119, 150-153, 229-245, 269-283.

Donald R. Hickey, "American Trade Restrictions during the War of 1812," *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 68, No. 3 (Dec., 1981), pp. 517-538

Gordon Craig and Alexander George, *Force and Statecraft* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp. 157-254.

Alexander George, "Case Studies and Theory Development: The Method of Structured, Focused Comparison," in Paul Gordon Lauren, *Diplomacy: New Approaches in History, Theory, and Policy* (New York: Free Press, 1979), pp. 43-68.

Ernest May and Richard Neustadt, *Thinking in Time: The Uses of History for Decision-Makers* (New York: Free Press, 1988).

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994).

A.J.P. Taylor, *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954).

## **2. Routine Diplomacy: Reporting, Analysis, and Representation – The Iranian Revolution 1979** (222 pages)

### *Required Reading:*

Mark Bowden, *Guests of the Ayatollah* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2006), pp. 3-94. 92 pages.

David Harris, *The Crisis* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2004), pp. 95-145, 207-216, 240-248. 70 pages.

*U.S. Documents on the Iranian Revolution*. 60 pages. (on ERes)

### *Recommended Reading:*

Amir Taheri, *Nest of Spies* (New York: Pantheon, 1988).

Lawrence Freedman, *A Choice of Enemies* (New York: Public Affairs, 2008).

Gary Sick, *All Fall Down* (New York: Penguin, 1986).

Hamilton Jordan, *Crisis* (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1982).

William Sullivan, *Mission to Iran* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1981).

Cyrus Vance, *Hard Choices* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983).

Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Power and Principle* (New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux, 1983).

Jimmy Carter, *Keeping Faith* (New York: Bantam Books, 1982).

## **3. Summit Diplomacy: Kennedy Meets Khrushchev in Vienna, 1961** (242 pages)

### *Required Reading:*

David Reynolds, *Summits* (New York: Basic Books, 2007), pp. 11-36, 163-222. 86 pages.

Michael Beschloss, *The Crisis Years* (New York: Edward Burlingame Books, 1991), pp. 182-236. 55 pages.

William Taubman, *Khrushchev* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2003), pp. 480-506. 27 pages.

*Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS)*, 1961-1963: John F. Kennedy, Vol. V: Soviet Union, pp. 135-142, 153-161, 164-168, 206-230. 47 pages. (on ERes)

*Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS)*, 1961-1963: John F. Kennedy, Vol. VI: Kennedy-Khrushchev Exchanges, pp. 18-44. 27 pages. (on ERes)

*Recommended Reading:*

Robert Dallek, *An Unfinished Life* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2003).

Johan Galtung, "Summit Meetings and International Relations," *Journal of Peace Research*, 1 (1964), 36-54.

**4. Crisis Diplomacy I: Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962** (243 pages)

*Required Reading:*

Ernest May and Philip Zelikow, *The Kennedy Tapes* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1997), pp. 45-76, 86-117, 173-188, 484-491, 496-518, 605-635. 142 pages.

Michael Dobbs, *One Minute to Midnight* (New York: Knopf, 2008), pp. 276-353. 78 pages.

Eliot Cohen, "Why We Should Stop Studying the Cuban Missile Crisis," *The National Interest*, Winter (1986), 3-13. 11 pages. (on ERes)

Michael Dobbs, "Why We Should Still Study the Cuban Missile Crisis," *United States Institute of Peace*, Special Report 205 (2008), 1-12. 12 pages. (on ERes)

*Recommended Reading:*

*Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS)*, 1961-1963: John F. Kennedy, Vol. XI: Cuban Missile Crisis and Aftermath. (on ERes)

Graham Allison and Philip Zelikow, *Essence of Decision* (New York: Longman, 1999).

Ernest May and Richard Neustadt, *Thinking in Time* (New York: Free Press, 1988).

James Nathan, "On Coercive Statecraft: The New Strategy and American Foreign Affairs Experience," *International Relations*, 12:1 (1995), 1-30.

Richard Ned Lebow, "The Cuban Missile Crisis: Reading the Lessons Correctly," *Political Science Quarterly*, 98:3 (1993), 431-458.

Richard M. Pious, "The Cuban Missile Crisis and the Limits of Crisis Management," *Political Science Quarterly*, 116:1 (2001), 81-105.

James Blight, Joseph Nye, and David Welch, "The Cuban Missile Crisis Revisited," *Foreign Affairs*, 66:1 (1987), 170-188.

**5. Crisis Diplomacy II: Second Moroccan (Agadir) Crisis, 1911** (247 pages)

*Required Reading:*

Hew Strachan, *The First World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 3-44. 42 pages.

A.J.P. Taylor, *Struggle for Mastery in Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), pp. 457-482. 26 pages.

Donald Kagan, *On the Origins of War and the Preservation of Peace* (New York: Anchor, 1996), pp. 145-175. 31 pages.

James L. Richardson, *Crisis Diplomacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 170-180. 11 pages.

Luigi Albertini, *The Origins of the War of 1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 301-363. 63 pages.

*British Documents on the Agadir Crisis*. 74 pages. (on ERes)

*Recommended Reading:*

Ima Christina Barlow, *The Agadir Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940).

Geoffrey Barraclough, *From Agadir to Armageddon* (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1982).

Keith Wilson, "The Agadir Crisis, the Mansion House Speech, and the Double-Edgedness of Agreements." *The Historical Journal*, 15 (1972), 513-532.

**6. Alliance Management: Suez, 1956** (213 pages)

*Required Reading:*

*Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS), 1955-1957*: Dwight D. Eisenhower, Vol. XVI: Suez Canal Crisis, selected excerpts. 213 pages. (on ERes)

*Recommended Reading:*

Keith Kyle, *Suez* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991).

W. Scott Lucas, *Divided We Stand* (London: Harder and Stoughton, 1991).

Evelyn Shuckburgh, *Descent to Suez* (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1986).

Peter Rodman, *More Precious Than Peace* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1994).

Roger Louis and Roger Owen, eds., *Suez 1956* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

Roger Louis, *Ends of British Imperialism* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006).

Rami Ginat, *The Soviet Union and Egypt* (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1993).

**7. Multilateral Diplomacy: The Abyssinian Crisis of 1935** (268 pages)

*Required Reading:*

Paul Gordon Lauren, *Diplomacy* (New York: Free Press, 1979), pp. 245-263. 19 pages.

Donald Kagan, *On the Origins of War and the Preservation of Peace* (New York: Anchor, 1996), pp. 346-355. 10 pages.

George Baer, *The Coming of the Italian-Ethiopian War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 45-61, 172-210, 304-375. 128 pages.

Parker, R. A. C. "Great Britain, France and the Ethiopian crisis, 1935-6." *English Historical Review*, 89 (1974), 293-332. 40 pages. (on ERes)

*German Documents on the Abyssinian Crisis*. 64 pages. (on ERes)

*British Documents on the Abyssinian Crisis*. 7 pages. (on ERes)

*Recommended Reading:*

Frank Hardie, *The Abyssinian Crisis* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1974).

Michael Brecher, *International Political Earthquakes* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008).

**8. Coercive Diplomacy: The Christmas Bombings and the Paris Peace Talks, 1972**  
(270 pages)

*Required Reading:*

Henry Kissinger, *Ending the Vietnam War* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2003), pp. 372-432. 61 pages.

Marshall Michel, *The Eleven Days of Christmas* (San Francisco: Encounter Books, 2002), pp. 41-70, 204-238. 65 pages.

Robert Dallek, *Nixon and Kissinger: Partners in Power* (New York: Harper Collins, 2007), pp. 418-456. 39 pages.

*U.S. Documents on the Christmas Bombings*. 59 pages. (on ERes)

*North Vietnam Documents on the Christmas Bombings*. 46 pages. (on ERes)

*Recommended Reading:*

Wayne Thompson, *To Hanoi and Back* (Honolulu: University Press of the Pacific, 2005).

Marvin Kalb and Bernard Kalb, *Kissinger* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1974).

Walter Isaacson, *Kissinger: A Biography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992).

Tad Szulc, "How Kissinger Did It: Behind the Vietnam Cease-Fire Agreement," *Foreign Policy*, 15 (1974), 21-79.

Robert A. Pape, Jr. "Coercive Air Power in the Vietnam War," *International Security*, 15:2 (1990), 103-146.

Gary Geipel, "The Nixon Administration and Vietnam: A Case Study in Negotiation and War Termination," *Institute for the Study of Diplomacy*, Case 337 (1994), 1-36.

## **9. Atomic Diplomacy: Negotiating North Korea's Nuclear Weapons, 1992-2008** (277 pages)

### *Required Reading:*

Mike Chinoy, *Meltdown: The Inside Story of the Korean Nuclear Crisis* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2008), pp. 225-362. 138 pages.

Leon Sigal, *Disarming Strangers* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 90-123, 131-204. 108 pages.

Leon Sigal, "North Korea Policy on the Rocks: What Can be Done to Restore Constructive Engagement?" *Global Asia* 4:2 (2009), 8-12. 5 pages. (on ERes)

Leon Sigal, "Appendix II: Key Documents," in *Disarming Strangers* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 260-264. 5 pages.

"Six Party Talks Key Documents." 18 pages. (on ERes)

"UNSC Resolution 1718 vs. 1874 Comparison Chart." 1 page. (on ERes)

"President Bush Discusses North Korea." June 26, 2008. <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2008/06/20080626-9.html>

"President Bush's Statement on North Korea Nuclear Test." October 9, 2006. <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2006/10/20061009.html>

### *Recommended Reading:*

Victor Cha, "Hawk Engagement and Preventative Defense on the Korean Peninsula," *International Security* 29:1 (2002), 40-78. 39 pages. (on ERes)

"Chronology of U.S. – North Korean Nuclear and Missile Diplomacy." *Arms Control Association*, June 2009. <http://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/dprkchron>

Gordon Chang, *Nuclear Showdown: North Korea Takes on the World* (New York: Random House, 2006).

Charles Pritchard, *Failed Diplomacy: The Tragic Story of How North Korea Got the Bomb* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 2007).

Samuel Kim, "North Korea in 2000: Surviving through High Hopes of Summit Diplomacy," *Asian Survey* 41:1 (2000), 12-29.

Roland Bleiker, "A Rogue is a Rogue is a Rogue," *International Affairs* 79:4 (2003), 719-737.

Robert Hathaway and Jordan Tama, "The U.S. Congress and North Korea during the Clinton Years," *Asian Survey* 44:5 (2004), 711-733.

Selig Harrison, "Did North Korea Cheat?" *Foreign Affairs* 84:1 (2005), 99-110.

Kyung-Ae Park, "North Korea in 2003," *Asian Survey* 44:1 (2004), 139-146.

Kyung-Ae Park, "North Korea in 2004," *Asian Survey* 45:1 (2005), 14-20.

## **10. Human Rights and Humanitarian Intervention: Europe and the US in Bosnia, 1992-1995** (252 pages)

### *Required Reading:*

Laura Silber and Allan Little, *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation* (New York: TV Books, 1996), pp. 205-372. 167 pages.

Brendan Simms, *Unfinest Hour: Britain and the Destruction of Bosnia* (London: Penguin Books, 2002), pp. 1-48, 314-350. 85 pages.

### *Recommended Reading:*

Netherlands Institute for War Documentation (NIOD), "Srebrenica- A "Safe" Area: Reconstruction, Background, Consequences and Analyses of the Fall of a Safe Area." April 2002. <http://srebrenica.brightside.nl/srebrenica/>

Richard Holbrooke, *To End A War* (New York: Modern Library, 1999).

Rupert Smith, *The Utility of Force* (London: Allen Lane, 2005).

Michael Rose, *Fighting for Peace: Bosnia, 1994* (London: Sphere, 1999).

Lester H. Brune, *The United States and the Balkan Crisis, 1990-2005* (Claremont: Regina Books, 2005).

Melanie Greenberg and Margaret McGuinness, "From Lisbon to Dayton: International Mediation and the Bosnia Crisis," in *Words Over War*, Melanie Greenberg, John Barton, and Margaret McGuinness, eds., (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000).

Richard Caplan, "International Diplomacy and the Crisis in Kosovo," *International Affairs* 74:4 (1998), 745-761.

Robert Belloni, "Civil Society and Peacebuilding in Bosnia and Herzegovina," *Journal of Peace Research* 38:2 (2001), 163-180.

Charles Boyd, "Making Peace with the Guilty," *Foreign Affairs* 74:5 (1995), 22-38.

## **11. War Initiation: The Six Day War, 1967** (245 pages)

### *Required Reading:*

Michael Oren, *Six Days of War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 1-169. 169 pages.

*Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS)*, 1964-1968: Lyndon B. Johnson, Vol. XIX: Arab-Israeli Crisis and War, selected excerpts. 76 pages. (*on ERes*)

### *Recommended Reading:*



Jeremy Bowen, *Six Days* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2005).

Richard Parker, ed., *The Six Day War* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996).

Richard Parker, "The June 1967 War: Some Mysteries Explored," *Middle East Journal* 46:2 (1992), 177-197.

Isabella Ginor, *Foxbats over Dimona* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

## **12. War Termination: The Congress of Vienna, 1815** (155 pages)

### *Required Reading:*

Harold Nicolson, *The Congress of Vienna* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1946), pp. 119-274. 155 pages.

### *Recommended Reading:*

Henry Kissinger, *A World Restored* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1964).

David King, *Vienna, 1814: How the Conquerors of Napoleon Made Love, War, and Peace at the Congress of Vienna* (New York: Harmony Books, 2008).

Adam Zamoyski, *Rites of Peace: The Fall of Napoleon and the Congress of Vienna* (New York: Harper Collins, 2007).

Paul Pillar, *Negotiating Peace* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

Charles W. Kegley and Gregory Raymond, *From War to Peace* (Boston: St. Martin's Press, 2002).

Stephen Cimbala, *Through a Glass Darkly* (Westport: Praeger, 2001).

Tim Chapman, *The Congress of Vienna: Origins, Processes, and Results* (New York: Routledge, 1998).

Enno Kraehe, *Metternich's German Policy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963).

Clemens Von Metternich, *Metternich: The Autobiography* (London: Ravenhall, 2005).

Clemens Von Metternich, *Memoirs of Prince Metternich* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1880-82).

Viscount Castlereagh and Robert Stewart, *Memoirs and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh, Second Marquess of Londonderry* (London: H. Colburn, 1851).

Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Perigord, *Memoirs of the Prince de Talleyrand* (New York: AMS Press, 1973).

Tansa George Massoud, "War Termination," *Journal of Peace Research*, 33 (1996), 491-496.

James Foster and Gary Brewer, "And the Clocks Were Striking Thirteen: The Termination of War," *Policy Sciences*, 7:2 (1976), 225-243.

### **13. Wrap Up**