

# INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATION

INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION  
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL SERVICE  
AMERICAN UNIVERSITY  
SIS 611-001

*Fall 2018*

*La diplomatie est la police en grand costume.*  
-Napoleon, *Maxims*

Instructor: Dr. Anthony Wanis-St. John  
Class meetings: Wednesdays, 5:30pm to 8:00pm  
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## COURSE OBJECTIVES, LEARNING OUTCOMES AND METHODOLOGY

'International negotiation' refers to the processes and methods by which international actors and agents attain their goals and pursue their interests through persuasion and (typically) non-violent engagement. However, in the international domain, coercion is often present in some form or another, and negotiators must use their skills not only to address violent conflicts, but often must do so when threats of violence or other coercive measures are directed against them or those they represent. Thus international negotiation is a strategic craft that integrates analytical, interpersonal, organizational, diplomatic and other knowledge and skill areas. It is one of the foundational tools of international conflict resolution: the use of bargaining analyses and skills by individuals, international organizations, NGOs and states to resolve international disputes and draft international agreements. While the critical issues of the contemporary world are often problems involving security (including the termination and prevention of war, genocide, terrorism), unilateral solutions to security problems are often beyond the reach of individual parties, be they humanitarian workers detained at a checkpoint, a peacekeeper facing an angry civilian population, top diplomats in the hallways of the UN or even heads of state and government. Inevitably, cooperative and collaborative outcomes are sought through negotiated change rather than further

‘securitization’. In this course, we will focus a great deal on how international parties negotiate and create cooperative, beneficial arrangements even in a context of conflict, distrust, betrayal and even war and violence. A wide variety of international negotiations are covered by the course materials, including terrorist incidents, ceasefires, treaties to end wars, establish economic relations, and resolve crises. The special factors and problems that distinguish negotiations at the international level from those that are domestic or purely interpersonal are also addressed.

Learners who complete the course successfully should emerge with four learning outcomes:

1. Understand the origins and development of international negotiation theory
2. Gain a deep understanding of the processes and outcomes of international negotiation
3. Improve the learner’s own negotiation skills by practicing on simulations and cases
4. Develop the learner’s ability to analyze international conflicts and negotiations in order to develop accurate policy recommendations, negotiation strategies and tactical responses

Prof. Wanis-St. John has created a number of interactive negotiation simulations and exercises in order to maximize the participative learning and engagement of learners. These are supplied at no cost to the class. Such exercises are a ‘negotiation laboratory’ that brings the theories and concepts to life for learners, and bridges the gap between intellectual learning and practice. We will often have several versions of a single negotiation being conducted in parallel, which permits us to compare the process, dynamics and results across the group. Some negotiation exercises have a quantitative component, which facilitates benchmarking of performance. Learners are not graded on the actual outcomes obtained in negotiations, only on the extent of engagement and participation.

There is no required textbook. All readings are articles or chapters in books.

Whether your career goals are in government service, international civil service, humanitarian and relief work, international business, NGO advocacy or any other sector, you will find that expertise in negotiation skills and analysis of international negotiations will be an advantage in your professional development and success.

#### BASIS FOR GRADE

We all learn in different ways; some by reading, others by participating interactively, others by discussing, etc. or some combination of these. You will have a variety of ways to demonstrate and participate in your own learning.

**KNOWLEDGEABLE PARTICIPATION (10%)** As adult learners, you’re expected to demonstrate thoughtfulness in class discussion, interactive negotiations, and other group and Blackboard-based activities. To succeed, do all the readings and dare to participate!

**CASE STUDY POLICY MEMO (45%)** is a case study midterm. The case is a fictionalized scenario that replicates the dynamics of an actual international political crisis. You take the perspective of someone who is on the negotiation support staff of an international diplomat. Your task is to write a professional, 4 to 5 page (double-spaced) policy memorandum to your superior explaining what you and your team should do when “actually conducting this negotiation” based on the lessons learned from the class, drawing heavily on the theories and concepts of conflict and cooperation, with full footnotes and bibliography. It is hard to be brief and substantive; that’s part of the challenge here.

**ANALYTICAL PAPER (45%)** that is a comprehensive analysis (not a historical review) of an international negotiation that has already taken place or is currently taking place. 10-12 double-spaced pages. If you can’t keep the paper within these limits, get some outside editing assistance. Here’s a guide to how to keep it within my limits:

- Cover page and Table of Contents. Please include these although they aren’t part of your page count.
- The introduction will give an overview of the case, the negotiations and the theory or theories you will use to analyze them. This is where you will explain the purpose of your study and foreshadow any conclusions you draw. (1 p.)
- The next part of the paper is a very brief historical review of the international political *negotiation* you are analyzing (not the conflict itself). This is the background history and domestic, regional and global political context of your paper, as appropriate. (1 pp.)
- The central part of your paper is your original analysis of the international negotiation you are studying. Apply the theoretical concepts and frameworks from the course to your case. This is “What, why and how” of the actual negotiations. Note key negotiation events, dates, timeframes, documents and agreements, implementation issues. Who proposed what? Who counter-proposed? What turning points were experienced? (7-8 pp.)
- Conclude with policy-relevant recommendations that flow from your analysis. This should answer the question: “What are the lessons learned? What could or should the negotiators have done differently? How might similar cases be negotiated?” (1-2 pp.)
- Bibliography. Essential, though not part of page count.

Papers must be properly formatted, fully referenced and contain a complete bibliography of works actually consulted. 12 pt. fonts and 1” margins, double-spacing. All of these components must be in one single electronic file, not two or three documents.

#### EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS

In the event of a declared pandemic (influenza or other communicable disease), American University will implement a plan for meeting the needs of all members of the university community. Should the university close for a period of time, we are committed to ensuring that all aspects of our educational programs will be delivered to our students. This may include altering and extending the duration of the traditional term schedule to complete essential instruction in the traditional format and/or use of distance instructional methods. Specific strategies will vary depending on the format of the course and the timing of the emergency. Faculty will communicate class-specific information to students via AU e-mail and Blackboard, while students must inform faculty immediately of any absence due to illness. Students are responsible for checking their AU e-mail regularly and keeping informed of emergencies. In the event of a declared pandemic or other emergency, students should refer to the AU Web site <http://www.american.edu/emergency/> and the AU information line at (202) 885-1100 for university-wide information, contact faculty and dean’s office for course and school/college-specific information.

#### ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

All students must adhere to American University's Academic Integrity Code, which you can find at: <http://www.american.edu/academics/integrity/code.cfm>.

Please take particular note of Section II.A, which lists violations adjudicated under the academic integrity code. They include:

- **plagiarism** (i.e., “the representation of someone else’s words, ideas, or work as one’s own without attribution...”)
- **inappropriate collaboration** (i.e., “when work that the professor presumes is original to the student is in fact the product of collaboration so close that the originality is no longer individual to the student...”)
- **dishonesty in examinations** (i.e., “the use of inappropriate or unauthorized materials, information, or study aids in a test. Unless the instructor directs otherwise, an examination is assumed to be solely a student’s own work. No communication is allowed among students either through voice, written, electronic, or any other form of transmission, nor are students permitted to consult books, papers, study aids, or notes without explicit permission...”)
- **dishonesty in papers** (i.e., “submitting material obtained from another person or company or purchased from either. All papers and materials submitted for a course must be the student’s original work unless the sources are cited.”)
- **work done for one course and submitted to another** (“This category of violation covers the presentation of the same work in more than one course at any time during a student’s academic career without prior consent from both instructor. When incorporating their own past research into current projects, students must cite previous work...”)
- **fabrication of data** (i.e., “the falsification, distortion, or invention of any information or citation in academic work...”)
- **interference with other students’ or scholars’ work** (this includes “but is not limited to acts that deny others access to scholarly resources, or deliberately impede the progress of another student or scholar...”)
- “**bribes, favors, and threats** ... with the purpose of affecting a grade or the evaluation of academic performance
- and **other academic misconduct** (which includes “any form of academic deceit has violated the intellectual enterprise of the university...”)

## COURSE STRUCTURE

Session	Topic	Texts	Exercises and Cases
Aug 29	Introduction to the class		Arm Exercise  Scenes from “13 Hours: Welcome to Benghazi” and “Send a Negotiator: The Fifth Element”
Sept 5	Ancient and Classic Conceptions of Negotiation and Diplomacy	<p>Cohen, R. “All in the Family: Ancient Near East Diplomacy,” <i>International Negotiation</i> vol. 1, no. 1 (1996)</p> <p>Maalouf, A., <i>The Crusades Through Arab Eyes</i> (Schocken Books), pp. 210-215 (negotiations between Salah al-Din and King Richard the Lionheart)</p> <p>Shakespeare, William, <i>Hamlet Prince of Denmark</i>, excerpts, Act I: ii, 1-48; Act II: ii, 60-84, (instructions for ambassador to Norway)</p> <p>Hamilton, K. and R. Langhorne, <i>The Practice of Diplomacy</i> (London: Routledge, 1995), Ch. 1 “The Old World”</p> <p>de Callieres, F., <i>Art of Diplomacy (On the Manner of Negotiating with Princes)</i> ch. XVI “Observations on the Ways of Negotiating”</p>	Scenes from <i>The Hollow Crown</i> and <i>Hamlet</i>
Sept 12	Conflict and Cooperation: International Negotiation in IR	Oye, K., “Explaining Cooperation Under Anarchy,” <i>World Politics</i> vol. 38, no. 1 (1985)	PetroDiplomacy Exercise (to be distributed in class)

	Theory	<p>Axelrod, R., &amp; R. Keohane, "Achieving Cooperation Under Anarchy," <i>World Politics</i> vol. 38, no. 1 (Oct. 1985)</p> <p>Schelling, T. C., <i>The Strategy of Conflict</i> (Harvard University Press, 1980), Ch. 2</p>	
Sept 19	Overviews of International Negotiation Practice and Theory	<p>Iklé, F. C. <i>How Nations Negotiate</i> (New York: Harper &amp; Row, 1964, 1981 ed.) ix-58, 191-224</p> <p>Hopmann, T., <i>The Negotiation Process and the Resolution of International Conflicts</i> (University of South Carolina Press, 1996), Ch. 6, "Problem-solving Models of Bilateral Negotiation"</p> <p>Druckman, D., "Negotiating in the International Context," in Zartman and Rasmussen, eds., <i>Peacemaking in International Conflict</i> (USIP, 2007)</p>	
Sept 26	Negotiation Analytic Insights applicable to International Negotiation	<p>Raiffa, H., Metcalfe, D. &amp; Richardson, J., <i>Negotiation Analysis</i>, (Harvard University Press, 2003) Ch. 5 "Negotiation Analysis" and Ch. 23 "Coalitions"</p>	Afghanistan Demining (to be distributed in class)
Oct 3	Social, Cognitive and Political Psychological Insights on International Negotiation	<p>Kelman, H., "Social Psychological Dimensions of International Conflict," in Zartman and Rasmussen, eds., <i>Peacemaking in International Conflict</i> (USIP, 2007), Ch. 2</p> <p>McDermott, R. "Prospect Theory and Negotiation," in Rudolf Avenhaus and Gunnar Sjostedt, <i>Negotiated Risks: International Talks on Hazardous Issues</i> (Springer, 2009)</p>	

Oct 10	Strategy in International Negotiations	Crocker, C. <i>High Noon in Southern Africa</i> (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1992), Chs. 2, 3	
Oct 17	Domestic Constraints and Structural Components of International Negotiation	Putnam, R., "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games" <i>International Organization</i> , vol. 42, no. 3 (1988): 428-460  Wanis-St. John, A. and C. Dupont, "Structural Dimensions of Failure in Negotiations," in <i>Unfinished Business: Saving International Negotiations from Failure</i> , Guy-Olivier Faure, ed. (University of Georgia Press, 2012)  Zartman, I. W., "The Structure of Negotiation," in ed. Kremenyuk, V.A., <i>International Negotiation</i> (Jossey Bass, 2002), Ch. 5	**Mid-term distributed**
Oct 24	The Asymmetric International Negotiation Table: Power and Negotiation	Waelchli, H. and Shah, D. "Crisis Negotiations Between Unequals: Lessons from a Classic Dialogue" <i>Negotiation Journal</i> vol. 10, no. 2 (April 1994)  Zartman, I. W. & Rubin, J. Z. , <i>Power and Negotiation</i> (University of Michigan, 2000) Chs. 1, 12  Robinson, R. "Defusing the Exploding Offer: The Farpoint Gambit" <i>Negotiation Journal</i> vol. 11, no. 3 (July 1995)	**Mid-term due** <i>Answers to be posted in Blackboard prior to this class</i>  Melian Dialogue Exercise (in class)
Oct 31	Ceasefire Negotiations	Mahieu, S. "When Should Mediators Interrupt a Civil War? The Best Timing for a Ceasefire," <i>International Negotiation</i> vol. 12 (2007): 207-228  Touval, S. "Ethical Dilemmas in Mediation," <i>Negotiation Journal</i> vol. 11, no. 4 (Oct. 1995): 333-337	Clip from Robert Perito Interview at USIP  Text of Russia-Georgia ceasefire agreement

		<p>Also peruse any one of the following case documents:</p> <p><b>1. Lebanon-Israel 2006</b> Kofi Annan, <i>Report of the Secretary-General on the Implementation of UNSC 1701 (2006)</i>, August 18, 2006, S/2006/670 <a href="http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2006/670">http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2006/670</a></p> <p>“The Situation in the Middle East,” UN Security Council Resolution 1701 (2006) S/Res/1701 (2006), August 11, <a href="http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1701(2006)">http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1701(2006)</a></p> <p><b>2. Russia-Georgia 2008</b> Andrew E. Kramer, “Peace Plan Offers Russia a Rationale to Advance,” <i>New York Times</i>, August 14, 2008. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/14/world/europe/14document.html?_r=0">http://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/14/world/europe/14document.html?_r=0</a></p> <p><b>3. Russia-Ukraine 2015</b> Michael Kofman, “Don’t Doubt the Ceasefire: Minsk II Could Freeze the Conflict in Ukraine,” <i>Foreign Affairs</i>, Feb. 22, 2015 <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/2015-02-22/dont-doubt-ceasefire">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/2015-02-22/dont-doubt-ceasefire</a></p> <p>Shaun Walker, “Ukraine Ceasefire: ‘There is Shooting All the Time’” <i>The Guardian</i>, June 30, 2015, <a href="http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jun/30/ukraine-ceasefire-there-is-shooting-all-the-time">http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jun/30/ukraine-ceasefire-there-is-shooting-all-the-time</a></p> <p><b>4. Lebanon-Israel 1996</b> Steven Erlanger, “No Formal Peace,” <i>New York Times</i>, April 27, 1996 (Hezbollah-Israel ceasefire)</p> <p>Blum, G. <i>Islands of Agreement</i> (Harvard, 2007), ch. 4 “Israel and Lebanon: An Island of Agreement at Work”</p>	
Nov 7	Negotiations to End Internal and Ethnic Conflict	<p>Zartman, I. W., ed., <i>Elusive Peace: Negotiating An End to Civil Wars</i> (Brookings, 1995), Chs. 1, 13</p> <p>Stein, J. G. “Image, Identity and Conflict Resolution” in Crocker, C., Hampson, F. O., <i>Managing Global Chaos</i> (United States Institute of Peace, 1996)</p> <p>Zartman, I. W., “Negotiating Internal, Ethnic and Identity Conflicts in a Globalized World,” <i>International</i></p>	**Paper proposal (one paragraph) and preliminary biblio due in Blackboard prior to the start of this class**



		<i>Negotiation</i> vol. 11, no. 2 (2006)	
Nov 14	Multiparty Diplomacy: Trade, Environment and other Collective Action Challenges	<p>Raiffa, H., J. Richardson, D. Metcalfe, <i>Negotiation Analysis</i>, (Harvard University Press, 2003), Ch. 21 “Group Decisions”</p> <p>Touval, S. “Multilateral Negotiation: An Analytic Approach,” <i>Negotiation Journal</i>, vol. 5, no. 2 (1989): 159-173</p> <p>Wagner, L. “A Forty-Year Search for a Single Negotiating Text,” <i>International Negotiation</i> vol. 18, no. 3 (2013): 333-356</p> <p>Lax, D. and J. K. Sebenius. "Thinking Coalitionally: Party Arithmetic, Process Opportunism, and Strategic Sequencing." In <i>Negotiation Analysis</i>, H. Peyton Young, ed. (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1992): pp. 153-193</p>	Fair Development in Sri Lanka (to be distributed on Blackboard or in class)
Nov 21	Thanksgiving Holiday	Enjoy!	**Research on your final paper should be substantially done during the break**
Nov 28	International Crisis Negotiations: Threats and Promises, or Bargaining on Brink of Chaos	<p>Dixit, A. and Nalebuff, B. <i>Thinking Strategically</i> (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991), Ch. 8 “Brinkmanship”</p> <p>George, A., and W. E. Simons, “Findings and Conclusions,” in A. George and W. E. Simons, eds., <i>The Limits of Coercive Diplomacy</i> 2d. ed. (Westview Press, 1994) , pp. 267-293</p> <p>Holsti, O. “Theories of Crisis Decision Making,” Chapter 5 in Paul Gordon Lauren, ed., <i>Diplomacy: New</i></p>	Analyze excerpts from film <i>Thirteen Days</i> (in class)

		<i>Approaches in History, Theory, and Policy</i> , (The Free Press, 1979) pp. 99-136.	
Dec 5 (two topics)	Unfinished Business: Global Negotiation Failures (or at least very slow ‘successes’)  Talking and Terror	<p>Wanis-St. John, A., “Nuclear Negotiations: Iran, the EU (and the US), in <i>Unfinished Business: Saving International Negotiations from Failure</i>, Guy-Olivier Faure, ed. (University of Georgia Press, 2012)</p> <p>Pritchard, C.L. <i>Failed Diplomacy: The Tragic Story of How North Korea Got the Bomb</i> (Brookings, 2007), chs. 1, 2, 11</p> <p>Cronin, A. K., Negotiating With Groups That Use Terrorism, Oslo Forum 2008, Background Paper 2, Nov. 30, 2007 <a href="http://www.osloforum.org/content/negotiating-groups-use-terrorism-lessons-policy-makers">http://www.osloforum.org/content/negotiating-groups-use-terrorism-lessons-policy-makers</a></p> <p>Zartman, I. W., “Negotiating with Terrorists,” <i>International Negotiation</i> vol. 8, no. 3 (2003): 443-450</p> <p>Dolnik, A. “Contrasting Dynamics of Crisis Negotiations: Barricades versus Kidnapping Incidents,” <i>International Negotiation</i> vol. 8 (2003): 495-526</p> <p>Dolnik, A., Pilch, R., “The Moscow Theater Hostage Crisis: The Perpetrators, their Tactics, and the Russian Response,” <i>International Negotiation</i> vol. 8, no. 3 (2003): 577-611</p> <p>Adam Dolnik and Keith M. Fitzgerald, <i>Negotiating Hostage Crises With the New Terrorists</i> (Praeger Security International, 2008), Ch. 1 “New Terrorism and the Dynamics of Barricade Hostage Crises,” and Ch. 6 “Negotiating With the New Terrorists”</p>	<p>North Korea Six Party Talks (to be distributed in class)</p> <p>**Final papers due, all papers to be posted on Blackboard prior to our Dec 6 class**</p>

