

Index

- ABM (antiballistic missile) systems, 240, 244–46, 248
- Abu Ghraib, 109, 183
- accountability, 68, 153–54
- Acheson, Dean, 79, 125, 127, 172, 272
- Adamishin, Anatoly, 53, 140
- Adams, Gerry, 51
- Adams, John, 161–62
- Adams, John Quincy, 147, 162
- administration changeovers, 13, 140–42, 185
- adversarial relationship
- negotiations in, 237–50
 - threats of, 68
- Afghanistan war, 40, 182, 184, 208, 213, 303n22, 311n45
- Afghan-Soviet war, 129
- agreements, wording of, 12
- air-launched cruise missiles (ALCMs), 242
- Ake, Simeon, 58
- Al Arabiya, 91
- Albright, Madeleine
- electoral cycles and, 138
 - hospitality offered to, 110n41
 - interagency rivalry, 144
 - Middle East peace process, 182
 - superpower mind-set, 44
 - urgency of negotiations, 72
- ALCMs (air-launched cruise missiles), 242
- alcohol consumption, 110, 110n41
- Algeciras conference, 166
- Alice in Wonderland* (Carroll), 79
- amae*, 48
- ambiguity, 79–80, 83, 191, 229
- ambivalence, 19–21, 153, 272
- “the American Creed,” 19n2
- American culture, 10–11
- Americanization, 220
- American West imagery, 153
- Amnesty International, 177
- Andreani, Gilles, 14–15, 279
- on back channels, 101
 - on diplomatic autonomy, 151
 - on linkages, 61
 - on listening skills, 83
 - on political vulnerability, 152
 - on U.S. attitude toward negotiations, 19, 41, 294, 299, 299n16
- Angola, withdrawal of Cuban forces from, 98
- Angola/Namibia negotiations, 74, 108, 138–39, 148
- anti-Americanism, 283, 288
- antiballistic missile (ABM) systems, 240, 244–46, 248
- ANZUS Treaty, 222, 230, 234
- appeasement, 20, 55–56
- Arab cultures, conversational style, 84
- Arafat, Yasser, 182
- Araud, Gérard, 24, 39
- archival disorder, 76, 141–42, 173–74, 304–07
- argumentation (CCN category), 319
- Armitage, Richard, 41, 44
- arms control, 174, 175, 177–79. *See also* nuclear policy negotiations
- interagency rivalry over, 144–45
 - negotiations on, 237–50 (*See also specific treaty*)
- Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, 246
- arrogance, 82–83, 257, 288, 294
- Art, Robert, 69
- Asad, Hafez al, 51, 51n10
- ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations), 297
- negotiations with, 191, 193–95
 - Regional Forum (ARF), 23–24
- ASEAN Single Window (ASW), 194
- ASEAN-U.S. Enhanced Partnership, 194
- ASEAN-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, 194
- ASEAN-U.S. Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA), 194
- Asian negotiating style, 48, 54. *See also specific country*
- Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum, 297

- Asia Society, 251
- assertion (CCN category), 319
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations.
See ASEAN
- ASW (ASEAN Single Window), 194
- Atlee, Clement, 172
- attention to detail, 31–32, 312
- attitude toward negotiations, 19*n*1, 19–21
CCN category, 315–16
foreign perspective on, 287
optimistic, 27–28, 29
- attitudinal changes, 15
- Australia, 234
- authority to negotiate, 281
- automobile metaphors, 27
- autonomy, diplomatic, 150–51, 164, 275
- Avruch, Kevin, 8
- “axis of evil,” 183
- Aziz, Tariq, 129
- Babacan, Ali, 217
- back channels, 12, 94–102
attitude toward, 94
CCN category, 320
during Cold War, 96–97, 101, 174, 175
definition of, 93, 95–96
preference for, 217, 233–34
risks of, 99–102, 217–18
value of, 95
- background material, 31, 107, 312
- Bacon, Kenneth, 27
- Bahr, Egon, 97*n*9
- Baker, Howard, 207
- Baker, James
administration changeover, 140
arms control negotiations, 245
attitude toward negotiation, 20
congressional relations, 128–29, 136
flattery used by, 51, 51*n*11
French relations with, 287
global purview used by, 90
inducements, 56, 58
interagency rivalry, 145
on media coverage, 105
negotiating language, 80, 81
negotiating style, 25, 25*n*26, 29
relationship building, 49–50
START negotiations, 247–48
superpower mind-set, 43
on threats, 69*n*66
- Baklanov, Oleg, 244, 244*n*3
- Bangladesh, 260–61
- Ban Ki-moon, 311
- Barak, Ehud, 182
- Barry, Robert, 309*n*40
- bartering (CCN category), 320
- Bayard, Ashton, 162
- Begin, Menachem, 58, 108, 114, 178
- Benedick, Richard, 179
- Benedict, Ruth, 8
- Berman, Maureen, 252
- Beschloss, Michael R., 246–47
- bilateral settings, preference for, 86, 190–91,
271, 297*n*11
- Bildt, Carl, 115, 148
- “black books,” 31
- Blair, Tony, 53, 80, 87–88
- Blaker, Michael, 84
- blame, for failure of negotiations, 68, 153–54
- Blanchard, James, 104
- Blix, Hans, 183
- “blue line,” 99
- bluffing, 30, 70, 240–41
- bluntness, 81–83, 160, 230, 238, 239, 296
- bluster, 30, 318
- Boas, Franz, 8
- body language, 83, 319
- Bohlen, Charles, 22, 31*n*53
- Bolton, John, 196–97, 288
attack on Hill, 156
personality, 89, 196
UN reforms, 132, 136, 197–98
- bombastic behavior, 30, 30*n*46
- Bosnia and Herzegovina, UN hostage crisis,
285
- Bosnia peace process. See Dayton negotiations
- Brazil, 154, 262
- Bretton Woods Conference (1944), 171
- Bretton Woods institutions, 272
- Brezhnev, Leonid, 33, 176, 177–78, 246
- Bronk, Chris, 306
- Brooks, Linton, 241, 243
- Bryan, William Jennings, 166
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew, 72
- Buchanan, James, 163
- bullying, 40

- bureaucratic context (CCN category), 316
- Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, 225
- Bureau of South Asian Affairs, 255
- Burns, Nicholas, 69–70, 102–03
- Burt, Richard, 151, 241, 243, 246–47
- Bush, George H.W., 180–81
 - administration changeover, 140
 - arms control negotiations, 249
 - back channels used by, 100
 - congressional power and, 128
 - deadline pressure, 74
 - French relations with, 287
 - “moving the goalposts,” 66
 - multilateral diplomacy, 272, 273
 - NATO reforms, 281
 - negotiating language, 80
 - negotiating style, 25, 25*n*26, 32
 - relationship building, 49, 49*n*6
 - scapegoating, 153–54
 - Super 301 negotiations, 262
 - superpower mind-set, 43
 - Turkish relations with, 214
- Bush, George W., 182–84
 - administration changeover, 140
 - ASEAN negotiations, 194
 - attitude toward negotiation, 20, 91
 - electoral cycles and, 138, 139
 - exceptionalism, 38
 - French relations with, 282
 - idealism, 35
 - Indian relations with, 264–67, 269
 - interagency rivalry, 146
 - interagency teams, 148
 - international opinion of, 117
 - lack of diplomacy, 288
 - moralistic mind-set, 133
 - multilateral negotiations, 86–88, 272
 - 2002 National Security Strategy, 212–13
 - negotiating language, 80, 220
 - negotiating style, 5, 34
 - New Zealand relations with, 232
 - recordkeeping practices, 142
 - relationship building, 51–53
 - Russian negotiations, 238
 - Singapore-U.S. FTA, 191–92, 199
 - superpower mind-set, 42–44
 - threats used by, 68*n*62, 68–70
 - Turkish negotiations, 216–17
 - unilateralism, 249
- businesslike mind-set, 21–28, 45
 - advantages and disadvantages of, 295
 - history of, 169, 185
 - during India negotiations, 253
 - during New Zealand negotiations, 233
 - relationship building and, 48
 - sanctions and, 64
 - in security negotiations, 212
 - of State Department, 131
- Camp David (Maryland), 73–74, 114–15, 138, 174, 178–79, 182
- Canada, 104, 234
- capital controls, U.S.-Singapore dispute over, 192–93
- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 237
- Carroll, Lewis, 79
- Carter, Jimmy, 177–79
 - Camp David summit, 73–74, 114
 - congressional relations, 131
 - electoral cycles and, 139
 - idealism, 34–35
 - Indian relations with, 254
 - inducements, 57–58
 - media usage, 108
 - mistranslations, 78
 - “moving the goalposts,” 65
 - negotiating style, 5
 - as negotiator, 311–12
 - track-one-and-a-half diplomacy, 120–21, 121*n*74
- Castro, Fidel, 135
- CCN (Cross-Cultural Negotiation) project, 7, 315–16
- Ceausescu, Nicolae, 82
- Cédras, Raoul, 121*n*74
- Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), *See* CIA
- ceremonial functions
 - protocol and etiquette, 112, 114
 - seating arrangements for, 83–84
- CFCs (chlorofluorocarbons), 179–80
- Chagla, M. C., 268
- Chan Heng Chee, 14, 189
 - on internal negotiations, 123
 - on multilateral negotiations, 86

- on personalities, 89
- on separation of powers, 135–36
- on U.S. negotiating style, 29, 294, 299*n*16
- Chemical Weapons Convention, 240
- Cheney, Richard
 - “Defense Planning Guidance,” 39
 - interagency rivalry, 144–45, 146*n*72, 147, 216
 - START negotiations, 247–48
- chewing gum, U.S.-Singapore dispute over, 192
- Chiang Kai-shek, 155
- Chigas, Diana, 120
- China
 - communication style, 83–84
 - diplomatic system, 54
 - history of U.S. negotiations with, 164, 175–76
 - hospitality, 110, 110*n*40
 - human rights linkages, 61, 66
 - invasion of India, 257–58
 - MFN status, 66
 - negotiating style, 23*n*18, 48, 54
 - recordkeeping system, 142
 - Tiananmen Square, 100, 103
 - time pressures used by, 74
 - U.S. threats against, 68
- “China Hands,” 155–56
- China-U.S. Dialogue, 119
- Chirac, Jacques, 62, 68, 281, 284, 286
- Christopher, Warren
 - congressional relations, 129
 - inducements, 57
 - negotiating language, 83
 - negotiating style, 24–25, 29–30
 - New Zealand relations, 224
 - on threats, 69*n*66
- Churchill, Winston, 20, 171–72
- CIA (Central Intelligence Agency)
 - back channels used by, 96–97
 - history of, 170, 173
- “civic journalism,” 102
- Clawson, Patrick, 58
- Clay, Henry, 162
- Clemenceau, Georges, 167
- climate change, 179–80, 184, 277
- Clinton, Bill
 - administration changeover, 140
 - congressional relations, 128, 129, 132
 - electoral cycles and, 138–39
 - exceptionalism, 37
 - hospitality offered by, 114
 - Indian relations with, 255, 263–66
 - inducements, 59, 69*n*66
 - interagency teams, 149
 - interest groups influencing, 134
 - international support marshaled by, 62–63
 - Japanese trade negotiations, 204
 - Law of the Sea Treaty, 178
 - linkages used by, 61
 - Middle East peace process, 180–82, 183
 - mistranslations, 78
 - “moving the goalposts,” 66
 - NATO reforms, 281
 - negotiating style, 5, 72
 - New Zealand negotiations, 231
 - recordkeeping practices, 142
 - relationship building, 51, 51*n*10
 - Singapore-U.S. FTA, 191–92
 - specialist support, 181–82, 311
 - track-one-and-a-half diplomacy, 121, 121*n*74
 - as UN special envoy, 311–12
- Clinton, Hillary, 184, 305, 311, 312
- Clinton Foundation, 312
- Clinton parameters, 139
- CNN effect, 103, 103*n*27
- “coalitions of the willing,” 273
- coercive approach, 253, 264, 267
- Cogan, Charles, 87
- Cohen, Raymond, 8, 252, 256
- Cold War, 172–80
 - back channels during, 96–97, 101, 174, 175
 - end of, 180, 238, 288
 - exceptionalism and, 36
 - multilateral diplomacy and, 273
 - superpower mind-set and, 39, 189
 - Turkish relations during, 215
- communication
 - CCN category, 320
 - context of, 83
 - mistakes in, 77–78, 83
 - nonverbal, 83
 - technology, 102, 159, 161, 165, 303
 - verbal (*See* language)
- Community of Sant’Egidio, 120
- competitive process, negotiation as, 80
- Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), 265, 277

- compromise
 - CCN category, 319
 - as form of appeasement, 55–56
 - during Russian negotiations, 241–42
- conceptualism, 238–40
- Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, 81
- confidentiality, 242–44
- conflict management role, 303
- Congress, 12–13
 - attitude toward diplomacy, 86, 197–98, 309
 - attitude toward hospitality, 112
 - constitutional role of, 126–31
 - food aid to India, 259
 - foreign perspective on, 284–85
 - influence of, 125–37, 300
 - insular instinct of, 131–33
 - interest groups and, 133–35
 - as leverage, 136–37
 - moralistic mind-set of, 131
 - “moving the goalposts” and, 65
 - multilateral negotiations, 272, 277
 - New Zealand negotiations, 226–28
 - threats used by, 69
 - trade negotiations, 130, 203, 205–06
 - two-sided relationship, 135–37
- consensus, 85
- “constructive ambiguity,” 79
- “constructive engagement” policy, 61
- Contact Group, 62
- containment policy, 172–74
- context of communication, 83
- conventional forces in Europe (CFE), 279
- Convention for the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes, 88
- Convention on the Rights of the Child, 37
- conversational norms, 82–83
- Coolidge, Calvin, 22, 169
- corporate influence, 22
- Council on Foreign Relations, 170, 252
- countertactics (CCN category), 317
- cowboys, diplomats as, 152–54
- creativity
 - examples of, 199, 229, 242
 - in multilateral negotiations, 275
- credibility, 70, 318–19
- Crocker, Chester A.
 - attitude toward negotiation, 20, 28
 - back channels used by, 98
 - deadline pressure, 74
 - electoral cycles and, 138–39
 - on interagency teams, 148
 - linkages used by, 61
 - media tactics, 108
- Cross-Cultural Negotiation (CCN) project, 7, 315–16
- Cuba, 98, 135
- Cuban missile crisis, 153, 174, 186, 215
- cultural differences
 - among diplomats, 9
 - concepts of time, 71*n*71, 75
 - in conversational norms, 82–83
 - during India negotiations, 252, 255–57, 267–69
 - during New Zealand negotiations, 222–23
 - relationship building and, 54
 - during Turkish negotiations, 218–19
- cultural insensitivity, 113, 113*n*47, 252–53, 256, 257
- culture, 7–11
 - American, 10–11
 - definition of, 8, 8*n*8
 - of diplomacy, 9
 - national versus institutional, 9–10
 - “negotiation,” 10*n*12
- “culture war,” 104
- Cushing, Caleb, 164
- customs procedures, 194
- Cyprus, 215
- Dar al Hayat*, 154
- Dartmouth Conference, 118–19
- Day, William, 165
- Dayton negotiations, 180–81
 - bluffing during, 70
 - congressional influence, 128
 - diplomatic autonomy during, 151*n*88
 - hospitality during, 115
 - inducements used during, 57
 - interagency team, 148–49
 - international support for, 62
 - security procedures during, 113
 - threats used during, 68, 68*n*58
 - urgency of, 72–73
- deadlines, 12, 71–76, 318–19
- “Defense Planning Guidance,” 39

- demands
 - escalation of, 319
 - late, 282
- democratic states, internal negotiations, 124
- Deng Xiaoping, 100, 142
- Department of Defense
 - collaboration initiative, 307
 - funding of, 308, 308n35
 - history of, 144
 - interagency rivalry with, 144
 - Iraq War negotiations, 216–17
 - New Zealand negotiations, 225
 - political negotiators within, 311n45
 - Quadrennial Defense studies, 307, 308n35
 - role in security negotiations, 298
- Department of Homeland Security, 212
- Department of State. *See* United States Foreign Service
- détente (Soviet Union), 175–77
- developing strategies and tactics (CCN category), 317
- development adviser role, 303
- Diplomacy* (Kissinger), 25, 25n28
- diplomatic relations (U.S.), scope of, 20, 62, 90–92, 274
- diplomatic systems
 - comparison of, 54
 - U.S. (*See* United States Foreign Service)
- diplomats. *See also specific person*
 - autonomy of, 150–51, 164, 275
 - changing role of, 303, 310–12
 - cultural differences between, 9
 - domestic support for, 282–83
 - versus political appointees, 89, 152, 168, 186
 - political vulnerability of, 13, 152–56
 - shared culture of, 9
 - tenure of, 85
- Diplopedia, 305–06
- disengagement from negotiations, 68
- dispute settlement mechanism (WTO), 209
- District of Columbia (D.C.) model, 181
- Dixit, J. N., 255
- Dobrynin, Anatoly, 98, 174, 175, 245–46
- Dole, Bob, 284
- domestic context (CCN category), 316
- domestic system interaction system (CCN category), 316
- domineering style, 44
- Dulles, John Foster, 34, 173–74, 254, 257, 269
- Dumbarton Oaks Conference (1944), 171
- Durban II Conference Against Racism, 197
- Eagleburger, Lawrence, 309n40
- Eban, Abba, 174
- economic inducements, 57–58, 220
- economic superiority, 40. *See also* superpower mind-set
- Egypt-Israel peace process, 176, 178–79
 - administration changeovers and, 141
 - hospitality during, 114
 - inducements used during, 58
 - media used during, 108
 - recordkeeping practices and, 173–74
- Eisenhower, Dwight D., 173–74
 - administration changeover, 141
 - food aid to India, 259
 - Indian relations with, 254
 - negotiating style, 22
 - threats used by, 68
- electoral cycles
 - foreign policy formulation and, 124, 160
 - impact of, 6, 13, 137–42
 - time pressures and, 71, 74, 185–86
- “embedded” journalists, 109
- emotional behavior, 30, 30n46, 33
- empathy, 49, 286
- endpoint of negotiation (CCN category), 317
- English language, 12, 76–78, 212, 274
- Environmental Protection Agency, 179
- equals, treating others as, 48, 252, 253, 263, 269
- Erdogan, Tayyip, 102, 216, 217
- escalation of demands (CCN category), 319
- ethnic lobbies, 133n33, 134, 134n35
- etiquette, 112, 114, 261
- “the Euro-Atlantic community,” 283–84
- Eurocorps, 285
- European Advisory Commission, 171
- Europeanization of NATO, 280
- European Union. *See also specific country*
 - effective multilateralism, 273
 - financial incentives, 57
 - Iraq War negotiations, 213–14
 - security negotiations with, 288
 - UN relations, 198
- exceptionalism, 35–38
 - history of, 35n71, 166, 185

- multilateral negotiations and, 86–88, 272–73
 - political vulnerability and, 153
 - security negotiations and, 213
 - superpower mind-set and, 40–41
- “exchange of concerns,” 241
- executive agreements, 127
- expectation of success (CCN category), 315–16
- facilitators, 120–21, 197
- factual argumentation (CCN category), 319
- failure of negotiations
 - blame for, 68, 153–54
 - example of, 230–33
- Fang Li Zhi, 154
- “feedback loop” (public), 107
- Fillmore, Millard, 164
- financial incentives, 57–58, 220
- Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty (FMCT), 265
- flexibility
 - examples of, 199, 229, 242
 - in multilateral negotiations, 275
- Foley, Tom, 207
- food aid to India, 252, 258–60
- Food for Peace (PL-480), 259
- Ford, Gerald R., 28, 177
- foreign perspectives, 13–15. *See also specific person or country*
 - on adversarial negotiations, 237–50
 - on attitude toward negotiations, 287
 - on internal negotiations, 190, 221–35, 284–85, 286
 - on legalistic mind-set, 191
 - on mind-sets, 239–41
 - on multilateral negotiations, 193–95, 271–77, 285–86
 - on security negotiations, 206–08, 211–20
 - on superpower mind-set, 38*n*80, 189–90, 196, 223–25, 237, 287
 - on trade negotiations, 191–95, 201–09
 - on United Nations, 195–98
 - on U.S. negotiating style, 294
 - on U.S. political system, 190
- foreign policy
 - congressional influence over, 130–33, 176–77
 - failure of, accountability for, 68, 153–54
 - formulation of, 124–25, 151
 - interagency disputes over, 143–45
 - politicization of, 103, 129, 160, 185
- Foreign Relations Authorization Act,
 - Kassebaum–Solomon amendment, 132
- foreign service. *See* diplomats; United States Foreign Service
- Foreign Service Act of 1946, 54, 173
- foreign travel, by U.S. officials, 56–57
- formality, 112, 114
- forward movement metaphors, 26–27, 26*n*33, 26*n*34
- Foster, William, 245–46
- Fox, Vincente, 53
- France
 - back channels used by, 99
 - Franklin’s celebrity in, 161–62
 - hospitality, 110, 112, 112*n*45
 - Iraq War, 87, 183, 280, 282, 285, 287
 - Moroccan dispute, 166
 - NATO command dispute, 151, 151*n*91, 280, 282, 286
 - negotiating style, 24, 25*n*27, 39, 55, 87, 280
 - perspective (*See* Andreani, Gilles)
 - U.S. negotiations with, 279–81
 - World War I, 167–68
 - World War II, 171
- Franklin, Benjamin, 34, 116, 154, 161–62, 176
- Freedom Support Act (Section 907), 134
- Freeman, Charles W., 4*n*2, 19*n*1
 - on administration changeovers, 141
 - on congressional influence, 130, 136
 - media tactics, 109
 - negotiating style, 26
 - on parochialism, 155
 - on relationship building, 49
 - threats used by, 69
- Freeman, Orville, 260
- French Indochina, 172
- friendship, appeals to, 23, 320
- 1923 Friendship Treaty (Turkey), 214
- Fulbright, William, 36, 36*n*73
- funding of foreign service, 308*n*37, 308–310
- G-20, 297
- gaiatsu* (foreign pressure), 209
- gaimusho* (Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs), 54
- Galbraith, John Kenneth, 258
- Gallatin, Albert, 162

- Gandhi, Indira, 254–55, 260
- Gates, Robert, 298, 308, 308*n*35
- Gelb, Leslie, 299*n*16
- General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), 205, 209, 262, 284
- General Agreement on Trade in Services, 192–93
- Geneva Agreed Framework, 56, 56*n*22, 69*n*66, 113
- Geneva Conference on Disarmament, 240, 243, 250
- German reunification, 115
back channels used during, 98–99
relationship building during, 49–50
- Germany
Moroccan dispute, 166
West Berlin dispute, 174
World War I, 167–68
World War II, 171
- Gingrich, Newt, 284
- Glaspie, April, 153–54
- Glassman, James, 269
- global audience, access to, 104, 107
- global financial crisis, 39, 184
- globalization, 91, 298–99
- global purview, 90–92
- “global war on terrorism,” 39, 183, 214
- Goldwater-Nichols Defense Reorganization Act, 307, 309
- Gorbachev, Mikhail
administration changeovers and, 140
arms control negotiations, 248
Kohl meeting with, 32
personality, 50
personal relationships with, 52, 53
Reagan meetings with, 179
Reykjavik summit, 242
START negotiations, 108
- Gordon, Michael, 243
- Gould, Harold, 257
- Green Revolution, 259
- Group of 77 (G-77), 196, 198
- GRU, 97
- guanxi*, 48
- guerrilla negotiating style, 67*n*56
- Gulf War (1990–91), 62, 90, 128–29, 153–54, 207, 215
- gunboat diplomacy, 260–61
- Haass, Richard, 43, 64
- Hadley, Stephen, 217
- Haiti
Clinton as envoy to, 311, 312
track-one-and-a-half diplomacy with, 121, 121*n*74
- Hale, William Bayard, 166
- Hamdoun, Nizar, 64
- Hannay, David, 14, 271
on diplomatic autonomy, 150
on exceptionalism, 37–38
on negotiating language, 80
on political appointees, 89
on superpower mind-set, 41–42
on U.S. negotiating style, 30, 294
- Harding, Warren, 169
- Harriman, Averell, 171, 174
- Hassan, King Moulay, 97
- Hay, John, 165
- hegemony, 38, 38*n*80, 131, 313. *See also*
superpower mind-set
- Helms Burton legislation, 135
- Helsinki Final Act, 66, 151, 177
- “high” politics, 61, 159, 184, 217, 300
- Hill, Christopher
Bolton’s attack on, 156
businesslike style, 21
flexibility in negotiations, 199
internal negotiations, 190
media tactics, 106, 109
movement metaphors, 26
negotiating language, 80
- Hills, Carla, 262
- historical context (CCN category), 316
- historical overview, 13
- history, indifference to, 75–76, 218, 253, 256
- Hodel, Donald, 179
- Hofstadter, Richard, 35
- Holbrooke, Richard, 180–81, 288
on bluffing, 70
on Christopher’s negotiating style, 30
on congressional influence, 128
diplomatic autonomy, 151*n*88
on hospitality, 113*n*47, 115
on inducements, 57
interagency team, 148–49
on language, 77
media used by, 107*n*34

- negotiating language, 81
- on negotiating style, 24
- threats used by, 68, 68*n*58
- on urgency of negotiations, 73
- homosexuals, 156
- honesty, 30, 70, 81–82, 230, 238, 239
- Hong Kong, 134
- Hoover, Herbert, 169
- Hopkins, Harry, 171
- hospitality, 12, 93, 110–15
 - American culture of, 113–14
 - attitude toward, 94, 111
 - CCN category, 320
 - definition of, 111
 - during New Zealand negotiations, 229
- hostility (CCN category), 320
- House, Colonel, 167
- How Israelis and Palestinians Negotiate* (Wittes), 8
- Hrinak, Donna, 154
- Hull, Cordell, 171
- human rights
 - commitment to, 35
 - linkage to, 61, 66, 176
 - Pakistani case, 260–61
 - Soviet negotiations over, 53
- Human Rights Commission (UN), 197, 199
- Human Rights Watch, 177
- “Humpty Dumpty words,” 79
- Huntsman, Jon, Jr., 192
- Hurst, Steve, 103
- Hussain, Abid, 262
- Hussein, Saddam
 - foreign sympathy for, 64
 - invasion of Kuwait, 62, 128, 153, 207
 - Reagan relations with, 56
 - use of force against, 86, 182–83, 213 (*See also* Iraq War)
 - weapons of mass destruction, 68
- Hyde, Henry, 132, 198
- Hyde Act, 267
- ICBMs (intercontinental ballistic missile), 240, 247–48, 249
- ICC (International Criminal Court), 37, 88
- idealism, 33–35, 160, 189, 296
- ignorance of history, 75–76, 218, 253, 256
- impatience, 10–11, 12, 71, 212, 294
 - advantages and disadvantages of, 72–75
 - during arms control negotiations, 248–49
 - avoidance of, 300, 304, 306
 - electoral cycles and, 137
 - during New Zealand negotiations, 224–25, 233
- implementation (CCN category), 317
- India, 251–269
 - American attitude toward, 76, 254–57, 261, 268
 - Bangladeshi refugees, 260–61
 - cultural differences, 252, 255–57, 267–69
 - economic power of, 263
 - food aid to, 252, 258–60
 - history of U.S. negotiations with, 251–52
 - ideological differences, 253–54
 - Kashmir, 255, 258, 263
 - linkages, 258–59
 - military assistance to, 257–58
 - misunderstandings with, 253–62
 - “moving the goalposts,” 64–65
 - nonalignment policy, 254
 - nuclear proliferation, 252, 263–67
 - perspective (*See* Mansingh, Lalit)
 - post-Cold War relations with, 262–67
 - sanctions against, 264–65, 267
 - Super 301 negotiations, 261–62
 - U.S. threats against, 63, 265
 - war with Pakistan, 261
- indirectness, 93, 93*n*1
- individualism, 6, 83
- individual negotiation (CCN category), 317–18
- Indonesia, 193
- inducements (incentives), 11, 55–59
 - CCN category, 320
 - financial, 57–58, 220
 - versus threats, 69–70
- inductive reasoning, 29
- industrial relations, negotiating skills influenced by, 26
- Indyk, Martin, 182
- INF (intermediate-range nuclear forces), 244, 248, 248*n*11, 280
- informal bargaining
 - forms of, 93–94, 115–21
 - with New Zealand, 229
 - during Russian negotiations, 241–42
- informal hospitality, 113–14

- “informal probing,” 243
- The Inquiry, 167, 170
- institutional culture, 9–10
- institutional memory, 15, 141, 304–07
- integrity, 30, 274, 294
- intellectual property (IP) negotiations, 191–92, 194
- intelligence community (U.S.), 31
 - back channels used by, 96–97, 217–18
 - Iraq War and, 183
 - reliance on, 31, 284, 312
- interagency collaboration, fostering, 307–08
- interagency negotiating teams, 147–50, 277, 298–99
- interagency rivalries, 12, 125
 - advantages and disadvantages of, 301
 - avoidance of, 307–08
 - foreign perspectives on, 190, 284–85, 286
 - history of, 170
 - impact of, 6, 142–51
 - Iraq War negotiations, 144, 147, 216–17
 - “moving the goalposts” and, 65
 - multilateral negotiations and, 275, 277
 - during New Zealand negotiations, 225
 - presidential role in, 161, 186
 - recordkeeping practices and, 142, 173–74
 - trade negotiations, 206
- intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBMs), 240, 247–48, 249
- interest groups, indirect influence of, 133–35
- intergovernmental organizations, 85. *See also specific organization*
- intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF), 244, 248, 248n11, 280
- internal negotiations, 123–56
 - during arms control negotiations, 244–48
 - with Congress (*See* Congress)
 - election cycles and (*See* electoral cycles)
 - foreign perspectives on, 190–91, 221–35
 - history of, 161–62, 186
 - interagency rivalries (*See* interagency rivalries)
 - during New Zealand negotiations, 225–26
 - political vulnerability and, 13, 152–56
- International Atomic Energy Agency, 267
- International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank), 171, 271
- International Criminal Court (ICC), 37, 88
- International Institute for Strategic Studies, 279
- International Monetary Fund, 171, 271
- international organizations (IOs), role of, 297–98. *See also specific organization*
- international public opinion, 117, 184, 268
- international support, marshaling, 62–63, 86–88, 91, 213
- International War Crimes Tribunal, 81
- Internet, 102
- interpreters, 76–78
- Inter-Tajik Dialogue, 119
- intimidation (CCN category), 320
- introspection, 312–313
- Iran
 - attitude toward negotiation, 91
 - as “axis of evil” country, 183–84
 - hostage crisis, 139
 - “moving the goalposts,” 65, 65n52
 - U.S. threats against, 69–70
- Iraq
 - as “axis of evil” country, 183
 - invasion of Kuwait, 62, 90, 128–29, 153–54, 207, 215
 - U.S. threats against, 68, 68n62
- Iraq War, 40, 42, 44n99, 182–83
 - back channels used during, 100–02
 - French opposition to, 87, 183, 280, 282, 285, 287
 - inducements used to gather support for, 58
 - interagency rivalry over, 144, 147, 216–17
 - media tactics, 109
 - multilateral negotiations and, 86–88, 213–14
 - Resolution 1441, 87–88
 - time pressures, 75
 - Turkish negotiations prior to, 213–16
- Ireland peace process, 51, 73, 134, 311
- Isaacs, Harold, 255–56
- isolationism, 288, 296
 - congressional attitude of, 131–33
 - idealism tied to, 34–35
- Israel-Egypt peace process. *See* Egypt-Israel peace process
- Israeli-Palestinian conflict, 8, 97, 138–39, 149
- Israel-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, 190
- Ivory Coast, 58
- Izetbegovic, Alija, 62, 73
- Izzard, Ralph, 154

- J. P. Morgan, 169
 Jackson, Andrew, 163
 Jackson, Henry M., 130, 176
 Jackson-Vanik amendment, 130, 134, 134*n*36, 176–77
- Japan
 attitude toward negotiation, 27, 27*n*36
 diplomatic system, 54
 history of U.S. negotiations with, 164–65
 internal negotiations, 124
 miscommunications with, 78
 negotiating style, 48, 54, 83–84, 209
 perspective (*See* Watanabe, Koji)
 security negotiations with, 206–08
 Super 301 negotiations, 262
 trade negotiations with, 201–09
- Japan-U.S. Framework for New Economic Partnership, 204
- Jefferson, Thomas, 34, 163
- Jewish immigration, from Soviet Union, 130, 134*n*36, 176–77
- Jiang Zemin, 63, 265
- Johnson, Allen, 21, 26*n*34
- Johnson, Lyndon B., 174–75
 food aid to India, 259–60
 negotiating language, 82
 Turkish relations, 215
- Jordan-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, 190
- Jospin, Lionel, 43
- junktin*, 61, 282
- JUSKCANZ countries, 198
- Kagan, Robert, 38*n*80
- Kakodkar, Anil, 64
- Kalb, Bernard, 102
- Kalb, Marvin, 102
- Kampelman, Max
 on diplomatic autonomy, 151
 on hospitality, 113
 inducements, 57
 “moving the goalposts,” 66
 negotiating language, 81–82
- Karadzic, Radovan, 107*n*34
- Karpov, Viktor, 243
- Kashmir, 255, 258, 263
- Kassebaum-Solomon amendment, 132
- Kaul, T. N., 254, 255
- Keating, Frank, 155
- keiretsu* (business groupings), 204
- Kennan, George F., 33, 172
- Kennedy, John F., 174
 back channels used by, 97
 Cuban missile crisis, 153, 174, 186, 215
 Indian relations with, 254, 257–59
 Khrushchev summit, 30*n*46
- Kennedy, Patrick, 111–12
- Kennedy, Robert F., 97, 174
- Keynes, John Maynard, 168, 170
- KGB, 97
- Khalilzad, Zalmay, 196, 198
- Khan, Yahya, 260
- Khrushchev, Nikita, 30*n*46, 97, 173–74
- Kim Il Sung, 67*n*56, 121
- Kim Jong-il, 311
- Kirkpatrick, Jeane, 288
 interagency rivalry, 144
 personality, 89, 196
- Kissinger* (Kalb), 102
- Kissinger, Henry, 175–76
 ambiguous language, 79–80
 attention to detail, 32
 on attitude toward negotiation, 28
 back channels used by, 97*n*9, 97–98, 99–100, 175
 on balance of power, 251
 on congressional influence, 130–31
 on exceptionalism, 36
 hospitality offered to, 110, 110*n*40
 Indian relations with, 254–55, 261
 on interagency rivalry, 146
 on linkages, 60
 as “lone cowboy,” 153
 media coverage, 102
 on negotiating style, 25, 25*n*28, 25*n*29
 recordkeeping and, 142
 on subtle diplomacy, 83–84
 on superpower mind-set, 40–41
 threats used by, 68
 “three revolutions” theory, 297, 298*n*15
 time pressures on, 74
 on Wilsonianism, 33
- Kluckhohn, Clyde, 8, 8*n*5
- Koh, Tommy, 24
- Kohl, Helmut, 32, 115
- Koljevic, Nikola, 77
- Koppel, Ted, 44, 228

- Kosovo, 181
- Kosygin, 246
- Kozyrev, Andrey, 238
- Kurtzer, Daniel, 139, 182
- Kuwait, 62, 90, 128–29, 153–54, 207, 215
- Kux, Dennis, 259
- Kyoto Protocol, 37, 43, 88, 182, 183, 277
- labor disputes, negotiating skills influenced by, 26
- Lake, Tony, 72
- Lamont, Thomas, 169
- Lane, Henry, 166
- Lang, Winfried, 10*n*12
- Lange, David, 230, 230*n*2
- language, 12, 76–85
 - ambiguous, 79–80, 83, 191, 229
 - blunt, 81–83, 160, 230, 238, 239, 296
 - CCN category, 318–19
 - legalistic, 29, 79
 - metaphors (*See* metaphors)
 - in multilateral negotiations, 274
 - precise, 79–80, 191, 239, 318
 - in security negotiations, 212
 - versus substance, 283–84
 - of UN documents, 197
 - written, 12, 82
- Lantos, Tom, 129
- Lasensky, Scott, 139
- late demands, 282
- Lavrov, Sergei, 78
- Law of the Sea Treaty, 141, 178, 277
- League of Nations, 131, 167–68, 170, 271
- leaks, 242–44
- Lebanon, 139
- LeBaron, Michelle, 71*n*71
- Lee, Arthur, 162
- legalistic mind-set, 29–33, 45
 - advantages and disadvantages of, 295
 - foreign perspectives on, 191
 - language and, 29, 79
 - in security negotiations, 212
 - trade negotiations, 206
- Lekson, Michael, 31, 84
- Lend Lease aid, 170
- “Lessons Learned Center,” 305
- leverage, 90, 282
 - Congress as, 136–37
- Levitte, Jean-David, 87
- Lewis, Samuel, 141, 310*n*43
- Libya, 148
- Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, 174
- Lind, John, 166
- linear sequence of negotiation, 27
- linguistic skills, 77
- linkages between issues, 60–61, 220, 258–59, 282, 319
- Linowitz, Sol, 178
- Lippmann, Walter, 257
- Lipset, Seymour Martin, 19*n*2
- listening skills, 83–85
- lobbying, 196, 215, 301*n*18
- localitis, 154–56
- logic (CCN category), 319
- Logoglu, Faruk, 14, 211
 - attitude toward time, 75
 - on interagency rivalry, 144
 - on listening skills, 83
 - on negotiating language, 82
 - on U.S. negotiating style, 32, 40, 42, 91*n*131
- Lopez, George, 64
- Lord, Winston, 154
- “low” politics, 61, 159, 229
- Lugar, Richard, 309
- lying, 30
- Madison, James, 147, 162
- Major, John, 62
- Malaysia, 130, 193
- Manifest Destiny, 36, 189
- Mansfield, Mike, 201, 201*n*1, 207
- Mansingh, Lalit, 14, 76, 251
 - on listening skills, 83
 - on U.S. negotiating style, 34
- Mao, Zedong (Mao Tse-tung), 32, 33, 84, 142
- Mapendere, Jeffrey, 121*n*74
- Market Oriented Sector Selective (MOSS), 204
- marshaling international support, 62–63, 86–88, 91, 213
- Marshall, George C., 172
- Marshall Plan, 215
- MBFR (Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction) negotiations, 23*n*19
- McCain, John, 146*n*71
- McCarthy, Joseph, 54, 155–56
- McChrystal, General, 311*n*45
- McKiernan, General, 311*n*45

- McKinley, William, 165
- McNamara, Robert, 245–46
- McNeil/Lehrer NewsHour*, 228
- Mead, Margaret, 8
- Mead, Walter Russell, 8*n*4, 11, 296
- media, 12, 93, 102–10
 - American advantage with, 104–07
 - attitude toward, 94
 - campaigns, 109–10
 - CCN category, 320
 - diplomatic savvy with, 106–07, 311
 - feeding, 107–09
 - history of, 165, 174
 - during New Zealand negotiations, 228–29
 - during Russian negotiations, 243
- mediators, 120–21
- Medvedev, Dmitry, 52
- Medvedev, Sergei, 66
- Mehta, G. L., 268
- Meir, Golda, 173
- memorandum of understanding (MOU),
 - U.S.–Singapore, 194
- Menon, Krishna, 254
- mercantile approach, 253
- metaphors
 - American West, 153
 - movement, 26–27, 26*n*33, 26*n*34
 - sports, 6, 27, 80–81, 239, 274
- Mexican-American War, 153, 162–63
- Mexican oil drilling dispute, 169
- Mexican revolution, 166
- MFN (most favored nation) status, 61, 66
- Middle East peace process, 8, 97, 138–39, 149, 180, 182. *See also* Egypt-Israel peace process
- MILF (Moro Islamic Liberation Front), 120
- military assistance, to India, 257–58
- military force, threats to employ, 68
- military superiority, 40. *See also* superpower mind-set
- Miller, Aaron David, 182
- Milosevic, Slobodan, 62, 70, 81, 115, 181
- mind-sets, 5, 11, 15, 19–21
 - advantages and disadvantages of, 294–96
 - blending of, 45
 - businesslike (*See* businesslike mind-set)
 - continuity of, 185
 - foreign perspective on, 239–41
 - legalistic (*See* legalistic mind-set)
 - moralistic (*See* moralistic mind-set)
 - political, 310–12
 - superpower (*See* superpower mind-set)
 - trade negotiations, 206
- MIRVed ICBMS (multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles on intercontinental missile), 240, 249
- miscommunications, 77–78, 83
 - during India negotiations, 253–62
- Mitchell, George, 51, 73, 310–11
- Mitterrand, François, 281
- Miyazawa, Kiichi, 204
- Mondale, Walter, 207
- monochronic cultures, 71*n*71
- Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer, 179
- Montville, Joseph, 118
- moralistic argumentation (CCN category), 319
- moralistic mind-set, 33–38, 45, 87, 133
 - advantages and disadvantages of, 296
 - of Congress, 131
 - presidential role and, 160
 - sanctions and, 64
- Morocco, 166
- Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), 120
- Morrow, Dwight, 169
- Moses, George Higgins, 169
- MOSS (Market Oriented Sector Selective), 204
- most favored nation (MFN) status, 61, 66
- movement metaphors, 26–27, 26*n*33, 26*n*34
- “moving the goalposts,” 6, 13, 60, 64–66
 - avoidance of, 300
 - negotiating language and, 80
- Moynihan, Daniel P., 253, 261
- MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), 98
- Mullen, Michael, 21–22
- “multilateralism à la carte,” 43
- multilateral negotiations, 85–92, 271–77
 - versus bilateral, 86, 190–91
 - complexity of, 275
 - exceptionalism and, 37–38, 272–73
 - foreign perspectives on, 193–95, 285–86
 - future of, 297–99
 - history of, 271–72
 - preparation for, 32, 312

- remedies for U.S. weaknesses in, 276–77, 299–13
- strategic approach to, 272–73
- superpower mind-set and, 273
- U.S. practice of, 273–76
- multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles on intercontinental missiles (MIRVed ICBMs), 240, 249
- Musharraf, Pervez, 41
- Muskie, Edward, 311
- Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction (MBFR) negotiations, 23*n*19
- My American Journey* (Powell), 144
- Myanmar, 194
- NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), 66, 181
- naïveté, 28, 296
- NAM (Non-Aligned Movement), 196, 254
- Namibia/Angola negotiations, 74, 108, 138–39, 148
- Nasser, Abdel, 174
- “national employees,” 302
- national equivalence, 48
- national identity, 76
- National Iranian Oil Company, 130
- national negotiating styles, 4
- national security. *See* security negotiations
- National Security Act of 1947, 173
- National Security Council (NSC), 143, 147, 173, 225–26, 229, 308*n*35
- 2002 National Security Strategy, 212–13
- NATO, 77, 81, 181, 215, 271, 272
 - command dispute, 151, 151*n*91, 280, 282, 286
 - Europeanization of, 280
 - negotiations within, 279–80
 - reform negotiations, 281, 286
- nature of negotiation (CCN category), 315–16
- Nazarkin, Yuri, 14, 75, 237
 - on diplomatic autonomy, 151
 - on interagency rivalry, 144–45
 - on media, 108
 - on negotiating language, 79
 - START negotiations, 247
 - on U.S. negotiating style, 32–33, 42, 293, 294
- Negotiating across Cultures* (Cohen), 8
- negotiating records, lack of, 76, 141–42, 173–74, 304–07
- negotiating teams, makeup of, 147–50, 276, 298–99
- negotiating traits and tactics (CCN category), 317–20
- negotiation
 - attitude toward (*See* attitude toward negotiations)
 - capacity enhancements, 276–77, 299–313
 - changing world of, 297–99
 - effectiveness of, 10, 10*n*14, 237–38, 293, 296
 - factors influencing, 7
 - future of, 15, 293–13
 - historical overview, 13, 76
 - informal (*See* informal bargaining)
 - internal (*See* internal negotiations)
 - reforms, 15, 91
 - strengths and weaknesses in, 293–97
 - styles of (*See* mind-sets)
 - twelve rules for, 281–87
- negotiation as process (CCN category), 317
- negotiation culture, 10*n*12
- negotiator’s interaction with domestic system (CCN category), 316
- Negroponte, John, 72, 183
- Nehru, 114*n*52, 254, 256, 257, 259
- neither confirming nor denying (NCND) policy, 222, 223
- Neumann, Ronald
 - on conversational style, 84
 - on hospitality, 111
 - on interagency rivalry, 301
 - on linguistic skills, 77
 - on negotiating language, 79*n*94, 82–83
 - on relationship building, 54
- New Deal, 170
- New York Times*, 140, 166, 208, 243, 311
- New Zealand
 - nuclear power negotiations, 221–35
 - failure of, 230–33
 - interagency rivalry and, 145
 - media coverage, 109–10
 - perspective (*See* Wood, John)
 - urgency of, 73, 224–25, 233
 - status as close ally, 223, 234
 - trade relations with, 227–28, 231–32
 - U.S. threats to, 67

- NGOs. *See* nongovernmental organizations;
specific organization
- Nicolson, Harold, 9
- Nightline*, 228
- Nixon, Richard M., 175–77
China visit, 32, 186
electoral cycles and, 139
Indian relations with, 254–55, 260–61
interagency rivalry, 146
linkages used by, 60
miscommunications, 78
Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction
negotiations, 23*n*19
negotiating style, 33–34
- Nobel Peace Prize, 92, 95
- Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), 196, 254
- nonalignment policy, 254
- “noncareer ambassadors,” 22
- nongovernmental organizations (NGOs).
See also specific organization
foreign service interaction with, 303, 303*n*22
history of, 170
role of, 297–98
- nonproliferation. *See* nuclear policy negotiations
- nonverbal cues, 83, 319
- North American Free Trade Agreement
(NAFTA), 66, 181
- Northern Ireland peace process, 51, 73, 134, 311
- North Korea
as “axis of evil” country, 183
electoral cycles and, 138
Geneva Agreed Framework, 56, 56*n*22,
69*n*66, 113
hospitality, 110*n*41, 113*n*48
interagency negotiating team, 148
journalists held by, 311
“moving the goalposts,” 64
Six-Party Talks, 106, 109, 184, 190, 199
threats used by, 67, 67*n*56
track-one-and-a-half diplomacy with, 121
- NSC (National Security Council), 143, 147,
173, 225–26, 229, 308*n*35
- Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT),
252, 266
- nuclear policy negotiations
with India, 252, 263–67
with New Zealand, 221–35
with Russia, 237–50
- Nuclear Suppliers Group, 267
- Nye, Joseph, 206
- Oakley, Phyllis
on congressional influence, 134, 136
on electoral cycles, 138
on internal negotiations, 124
multilateral negotiations, 85–86
negotiating style, 31
on superpower mind-set, 38*n*80
on track-two diplomacy, 119
- Obama, Barack, 184
arms control negotiations, 250
attitude toward negotiation, 20, 91
Indian relations with, 267
interagency rivalry, 146
international opinion of, 117
Middle East envoy, 311
negotiating style, 22, 199
Nobel Peace Prize, 92
relationship building, 52
- offensive language/behavior, 82, 219–20, 243, 255
- Office of eDiplomacy, 305–06
- Office of Strategic Services (OSS), 170, 173
- Office of the United States Trade
Representative (USTR), 143, 150, 181,
194, 206, 262
- Omnibus Trade and Competitive Act (1988),
260–61
- open skies agreement, 104
- Opium War, 164
- optimistic attitude, 27–28, 29
- Oslo Accords, 180
- OSS (Office of Strategic Services), 170, 173
- Ottawa Treaty, 88
- outer space weapons, 244–45
- Ozal, Turgut, 214
- package deals, 241–42, 247–48
- Pakistan
human rights abuses, 260–61
military alliances with, 254, 263
post-Iraq security challenges, 184
U.S. parochialism and, 155
U.S. threats against, 41, 63
war with India, 261
- Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO),
97, 180

- Palestinian-Israeli conflict, 8, 97, 138–39, 149
- Panama Canal treaties, 178
- Paris Peace Conference (1919), 71, 167–68, 170
- parochialism, 154–56
- Peña y Peña, Manuel de la, 163
- Pentecostals negotiations (Soviet Union), 66
- Permanent Court of Arbitration, 88
- Permanent Court of International Justice, 88*n*125
- Perry, Matthew, 150, 164–65
- Perry, William, 206
- personalities. *See also specific person*
 impact of, 88–90
 India negotiations, 254–55
 in negotiating teams, 148
 New Zealand negotiations, 234
 trade negotiations and, 206–07
 UN representatives, 89, 196–97
- personal relationships, *versus* national relationships, 51–52, 171
- persuasive approach, 253, 264, 267
- Petraeus, David H., 311*n*45
- Pew Global Attitudes Project, 117, 268
- pharmaceutical policy harmonization, 194
- phases of negotiation (CCN category), 317
- Philippine Facilitation Project (PFP), 120
- Philippines, 193
- Pickering, Thomas
 on hospitality, 111
 on internal negotiations, 123
 personality, 89, 196
 on U.S. negotiating style, 30
- pioneering metaphors, 153
- PL-480 (Food for Peace), 259
- Plan of Action to Implement the ASEAN-U.S. Enhanced Partnership, 194–95
- Plan of Attack* (Woodward), 147
- Plaza Agreement (1985), 203
- PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization), 97, 180
- Poland, 78
- “the Polish vote,” 134*n*35
- political appointees, 85. *See also specific person*
 competence of, 239, 275, 276
 criticism of, 152
 electoral cycles and, 138
 versus trained diplomats, 89, 152, 168, 186
- political context (CCN category), 316
- political mind-set, 310–12
- political posturing, 240, 242
- political power, scope of, 20, 62, 90–92, 274
- political system (U.S.), 12, 20
 disputatious nature of, 143–44
 effect on negotiating process, 6, 123–25, 178, 185–86
 foreign perspectives on, 190
- political vulnerability, 13, 152–56
- politicization
 of foreign policy, 103, 129, 160, 185
 of trade policy, 203, 205
- The Politics of Diplomacy* (Baker), 49
- Polk, James K., 153, 163
- polychronic cultures, 71*n*71
- Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), 98
- Portsmouth Peace Conference, 94–95, 166
- posting patterns, within foreign service, 54–55, 85, 138
- Potsdam summit (1945), 173
- Powell, Colin L., 183
 interagency rivalry, 144, 147, 216
 international support marshaling, 87
 negotiating style, 23
 parochialism, 155
 personality, 88
- power, 38–39. *See also* superpower mind-set
 balance of, 235, 251, 274, 283, 299
 inducements and, 56
 types of, 7
 “power of the purse,” 127–38
- pragmatism, 25, 29–30, 238–40, 288, 294
- precise language, 79–80, 191, 318
- prejudice, 268
- premature disclosure of information, 242–44
- preparation and management (CCN category), 317
- president(s), 159–86. *See also specific president*
 1776–1898 (personal diplomacy), 161–65
 1898–1932 (great power), 165–69
 1933–45 (modern bureaucracy), 170–72
 1945–68 (Cold War), 172–74
 1968–89 (to end of Cold War), 174–80
 1990s (post-Cold War), 180–84
 congressional restraints on, 127
 former, negotiating roles, 311–12

- interagency rivalry with, 146
- legacy of, 185, 301
- relationship with negotiators, factors shaping, 160
- role of, 13, 159, 161, 186, 300–01
- presidential administration, changeovers in, 13, 140–42, 185
- presidential libraries, 141, 173–74, 306
- presidential retreat (Camp David), 73–74, 114–15, 138, 174, 178–79, 182
- pressure tactics, 12, 59–70, 73, 319–20
- prestige-enhancing actions, 57, 83–84
- “prestige papers,” 105
- Prestowitz, Clyde, 43
- Primakov, Yevgeny, 238
- Principals’ Committee, 147
- prioritizing issues, 281–82
- process of negotiation (CCN category), 317
- process versus talk, 23*n*19, 23–24
- professional incompetence, accusations of, 152
- professionalism, 30, 191, 238, 239, 274, 294, 310
- Project Horizon, 306
- propaganda, 242
- protocol, 112, 114
- provincialism, 28
- public context (CCN category), 316
- public diplomacy, 94, 116–17
- public “feedback loop,” 107
- public opinion
 - international, 117, 184, 268
 - media coverage and, 103–09
 - mobilizing, 311–12
 - of New Zealand nuclear policy, 227
 - political points gained through, 242
 - of presidents, 160, 184–85
- punishment. *See also* sanctions
 - for French opposition to Iraq War, 282, 287
 - for New Zealand nuclear policy, 230–31, 233
 - threats of, 59–70
- “purple” (joint service) officer corps, 307
- purpose of negotiation (CCN category), 315–16
- Putin, Vladimir, 43, 51–52, 249
- Qian Qichen, 56
- Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (QDDR), 306–07
- Quandt, William B., 58
 - on electoral cycles, 137, 138*n*47, 139
- quids pro quo (CCN category), 320
- Rabinovich, Itamar, 141*n*58
- racial prejudice, 268
- Rahman, Mujibur, 260
- Raphel, Robin, 255
- Reagan, Ronald, 179–80
 - administration changeover, 140
 - deadline pressure, 74
 - electoral cycles and, 139
 - exceptionalism, 38
 - Indian relations with, 254
 - inducements, 56
 - interagency rivalry, 144, 145, 146
 - Law of the Sea Treaty, 178
 - linkages used by, 61
 - “moving the goalposts,” 66
 - negotiating style, 29, 34
 - New Zealand relations, 222
 - relationship building, 50, 52–53
 - Reykjavik summit, 242
 - sports metaphors, 27
- realism, 33, 40–41
- reassurance, 285
- records, lack of, 76, 141–42, 173–74, 304–07
- “red teaming,” 302, 308
- relationship building, 23*n*18, 23–24, 48–55
 - communication style and, 83
 - at highest levels, 49–53
 - importance of, 53–54
 - lower-level, 53–55
 - multilateral negotiations and, 85
 - personal versus national, 51–52, 171
- reporting system, 239
- research and study (CCN category), 317
- reservations, understandings, and declarations (RUDs), 127
- Resolution 1441, 87–88
- respect, 48, 252, 253, 255, 263, 269
- retaliation. *See* punishment; sanctions
- Revolutionary War, 36, 161–62
- Reykjavik summit, 242
- rhetoric (CCN category), 318
- Rice, Condoleezza
 - on exceptionalism, 37
 - FSO reforms, 304*n*23

- Indian negotiations, 266
- Middle East peace process, 184
 - negotiating language, 80
 - negotiating style, 23
- Richardson, Bill, 89, 311
- Richardson, Elliot, 178
- Rio de Janeiro conference (1992), 181
- rivals, negotiations between, 237–50
- Rogers, William, 175, 176
- Rogers Act, 168
- Romania, 58
- Rome Treaty, 37
- Roosevelt, Franklin D., 170–72
 - interagency rivalry, 143, 146, 170
 - interest groups influencing, 134*n*35
 - moralistic mind-set, 133
 - multilateral diplomacy, 272
 - negotiating style, 22, 31
 - relationship building, 51
 - specialist support, 181
 - on Wilson, 171
- Roosevelt, Theodore, 94–95, 165–66
- Root, Elihu, 88*n*125
- Ross, Dennis
 - on back channels, 95, 98
 - on hospitality, 115
 - on interagency teams, 149
 - on media coverage, 105
 - Middle East peace process, 182
 - on negotiating style, 25, 25*n*26
 - on relationship building, 50, 51*n*10
 - on U.S. attitude toward negotiations, 19
- Rothkopf, David, 308*n*35
- Roy, Stapleton, 4*n*2
 - on congressional influence, 134, 136
 - on conversational style, 84
 - on inducements, 59
 - on language, 77
 - on “moving the goalposts,” 65
 - on relationship building, 49
 - on U.S. negotiating style, 30
 - on Woodcock, 26*n*32
- rudeness, 82–83
- RUDs (reservations, understandings, and declarations), 127
- rules for negotiators, 281–87
- Rumsfeld, Donald, 146*n*72, 216–17
- Rusk, Dean, 153, 174, 260
- Russell, Jonathan, 162
- Russia, 75. *See also* Soviet Union
 - hospitality, 110, 110*n*41
 - negotiating style, 300*n*17
 - negotiations with, 237–50
- Russo-Japanese War, 166
- Sacirbey, Mohamed, 68*n*58, 83
- Sadat, Anwar, 58, 114, 178
- Safeguards Protocol, International Atomic Energy Agency, 267
- Salacuse, Jeswald, 10
- Salle Colbert, 112, 112*n*45
- SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks), 177–78, 242
- sanctions, 63–64
 - against India, 264–65, 267
 - New Zealand, 230–31, 233
 - threats of, 59–70
- San Francisco Conference (1945), 171
- sanitary and phytosanitary (SPS) negotiations, 194
- Sarkozy, Nicolas, 286
- Satloff, Robert, 58
- Sato, Eisaku, 78
- Scali, John, 174
- scapegoats, diplomats as, 152–54
- Schechter, Jerrold, 110
- Schifter, Richard, 50, 53, 140
- Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr., 254
- Schulzinger, Robert, 13, 159
 - on administration changeovers, 141
 - on electoral cycles, 137
 - on interagency rivalry, 143
 - on negotiating teams, 147
 - on political vulnerability, 153
 - on Wilson, 31
- Scott, Winfield, 163
- Scowcroft, Brent
 - administration changeover, 140
 - back channels used by, 100
 - diplomatic autonomy and, 151
 - scapegoating, 154
 - START negotiations, 247
- Scratches on Our Minds* (Isaacs), 256
- SDI (Strategic Defense Initiative), 244–45, 245*n*4
- sea-launched cruise missiles (SLCMs), 243, 243*n*2, 249

- seating arrangements, 83–84
- secret diplomacy, 71
- Section 301 (Trade Act of 1974), 68, 205, 209
- security negotiations
- with Europe, 288
 - with Japan, 206–08
 - military's role in, 298
 - with New Zealand, 221–35
 - versus trade negotiations, 204, 227–28
 - with Turkey, 211–20
- security procedures, treatment of foreign officials and, 112–13, 113*n*47
- Seitz, Raymond, 123
- self-confidence, 67, 189, 274
- self-image, 19, 36–39
- self-reflection, 312–13
- semantics, 283–84
- Semenov, Vladimir, 175
- separation of powers, 124–25, 130, 135–37, 185, 190
- September 11th (2001), 182–83
- security negotiations after, 208, 211–20
 - as turning point, 42, 91*n*131, 211, 232, 288
- Serbia, 62, 70
- Service, John, 156
- Shevardnadze, Eduard, 32, 49–50, 52, 247–48
- “ship-to-mouth” strategy, 260
- shopping sprees, for back channels, 101
- short-term perspective, 12. *See also* impatience
- avoidance of, 300, 304, 306
- “short tether” policy, 259
- showmanship, 24
- Shultz, George
- administration changeover, 140
 - interagency rivalry, 144, 147
 - “moving the goalposts,” 66
 - negotiating style, 26, 40–41
 - New Zealand negotiations, 227, 230, 230*n*2
 - relationship building, 50, 52
- Sidey, Hugh, 174
- SII (Structural Impediment Initiative), 135, 204–06
- silence, 84
- Singapore, 190–91
- ASEAN negotiations, 193–95
 - perspective (*See* Chan Heng Chee)
- Singapore-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, 191–93, 199
- Singh, Jaswant, 264–66
- Singh, Manmohan, 266, 269
- Singh, Natwar, 267
- site-preparations agreement (Turkey), 219
- Six Day War (1967), 56, 141
- Six-Party Talks (North Korea), 106, 109, 184, 190, 199
- SKS Group, 130
- SLCMs (sea-launched cruise missiles), 243, 243*n*2, 249
- Smith, Gerard, 175
- Smith, Jeffrey, 244
- Smyser, Richard, 40, 40*n*85, 97*n*9, 99
- Snow, Edgar, 84
- social hysteria, 155–56
- soft power (cultural influence), 7
- Solomon, Richard H., 23*n*18
- Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr, 177
- Somalia famine, 103
- Sorenson, Theodore, 304*n*24
- SORT treaty (strategic offensive reductions), 249
- Soviet Union. *See also* Cold War; Russia
- administration changeovers and, 140
 - arms control negotiations with, 237–50
 - (*See also* arms control; *specific treaty*)
 - back channels with, 96–97, 101
 - containment policy toward, 172–74
 - détente with, 175–77
 - dissolution of, 42, 58–59, 75, 105, 180, 238
 - as “evil empire,” 179
 - Jewish immigration from, 130, 134*n*36, 176–77
 - linkages used with, 60, 176
 - Pentecostals negotiations, 66
 - perspective (*See* Nazarkin, Yuri)
 - political divisions within, 244–45
 - superpower mind-set and, 39
 - U.S. influence on attitudes in, 245–46
 - World War II, 171–72
- Spanish-American War, 165
- specialist support, 181–82, 184, 239, 311
- Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changes the World* (Mead), 8*n*4, 11
- “special” relationships, 234
- sporting metaphors, 6, 27, 80–81, 239, 274
- SPS (sanitary and phytosanitary) negotiations, 194

- Stalin, Joseph, 51, 134*n*35, 171–72, 173
- stalling (CCN category), 318–19
- START (strategic arms reduction treaty), 75, 108, 145, 237, 241–42, 244, 246–47, 249
- State Department. *See* United States Foreign Service
- Stearns, Monteagle, 9
 - on congressional influence, 131
 - on political vulnerability, 153
 - on rotation within foreign service, 55
- stereotypes, 283
- Stettinius, Edward, Jr., 22, 171
- Stimson, Henry, 172
- stonewalling, 199, 260
- strategic approach
 - to arms control negotiations, 248–49
 - CCN category, 317
 - to multilateral negotiations, 272–73
- Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, 151
- Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), 244–45, 245*n*4
- strategic planning mechanism, 306
- strategic stability, concept of, 240
- Structural Impediment Initiative (SII), 135, 204–06
- substance versus language, 283–84
- Sudan, 148, 184
- Summit of the Americas, 297
- Sun Tzu, 4, 15, 312–13
- Super 301, 261–62
- superpower mind-set, 38–45, 131
 - advantages and disadvantages of, 295–96
 - effectiveness of negotiations and, 293–94, 296
 - foreign perspectives on, 38*n*80, 189–90, 196, 223–25, 237, 287
 - history of, 165–69, 180
 - multilateral diplomacy and, 273
 - presidential role and, 160
 - in security negotiations, 213
 - trade negotiations and, 205
- supporting data, 31
- Surrender Is Not an Option* (Bolton), 197
- suspicion, culture of, 280, 285
- Syria Accountability Act, 134
- Tagore, 268
- Taiwan, 68
- Taiwan Relations Act of 1979, 65
- Taiwan Security Enhancement Act, 134
- Talbot, Strobe
 - on exceptionalism, 36, 36*n*76
 - on global interdependence, 91
 - Indian negotiations, 264–66
 - on interagency teams, 149–50
 - on international support, 63
 - on listening skills, 83
 - START negotiations, 246–47
- “talk/don’t talk” ambivalence, 19–21, 153, 272
- talking points, 31, 212
- “talk shops,” 23–24
- talk versus process, 23*n*19, 23–24
- Tarapore nuclear plant (India), 252
- TASS news agency, 97
- team negotiation (CCN category), 317–18
- technical experts, 181–82, 184, 239, 311
- technology, communications, 102, 159, 161, 165, 303
- Templeton, Malcom, 222*n*1
- temporal purview (CCN category), 318
- tenor (CCN category), 316
- “Ten Reasons Why We Need to Engage India”
 - brief, 263–64
- Tepliakov, V. A., 245*n*4
- terrorism. *See also* September 11th (2001)
 - global war on, 39, 183, 214
- Thailand, 193
- Thatcher, Margaret, 50
- threats, 30, 30*n*46, 59, 66–70
 - CCN category, 319–20
 - credibility of, 70
 - direct versus indirect, 67
 - examples of, 67–68
 - versus inducements, 69–70
- thriftiness, 114
- Tiananmen Square, 100, 103
- time
 - concepts of, 12, 71–76, 212, 218–19, 287, 318
 - political pressure on (*See* electoral cycles)
 - pressures, 71–76
- Time* magazine, 169
- time zones, 276
- Tocqueville, Alexis de, 35*n*71, 71
- Tolpa, Mostafa, 180
- toughness, 238–39
- Toys “R” Us, 135, 206
- track-one diplomacy, 47–92, 94

- track-one-and-a-half diplomacy, 94, 119–21
- track-two diplomacy, 94, 118–19
- Trade Act of 1974
- Jackson-Vanik amendment, 130, 134, 134*n*36, 176–77
 - Section 301, 68, 205, 209
- Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (New Zealand), 231
- trade deficits, 203, 203*n*3, 208, 260–61
- Trade Expansion Act, 176
- trade negotiations. *See also specific negotiation*
- congressional influence, 130, 203, 205–06
 - foreign perspectives on, 191–95, 201–09
 - with India, 261–62
 - interagency disputes, 143, 150
 - language used in, 82
 - mind-sets, 206
 - personalities and, 206–07
 - politicization of, 203, 205
 - versus security negotiations, 204, 227–28
 - superpower mind-set and, 205
 - threats used during, 69
- training
- in foreign languages, 77, 303*n*21, 304*n*23
 - interagency coordination, 123, 302
 - media, 106, 302–03
 - in negotiation, 4, 15, 281, 302–04
 - reform of, 302–04
- train metaphors, 26–27, 26*n*34
- traitors, 155–56
- Treasury Department of Foreign Assets Control, 63
- treaties, 127
- Treaties in Force, 133
- Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 163
- Treaty of Paris (1783), 162
- Treaty of Versailles, 131, 149, 168
- Treaty of Wanhia, 164
- Trist, Nicholas, 153, 162–63
- Truman, Harry S., 127, 172
- food aid to India, 259
 - Indian relations with, 256
 - interagency rivalry, 143
 - multilateral diplomacy, 272
- Truman Doctrine, 214
- trust, 263, 274, 285
- Turkey
- back channels with, 100–02
 - embargo against, 134
 - history of U.S. negotiations with, 214–15
 - invasion of Cyprus, 215
 - perspective (*See* Logoglu, Faruk)
 - security negotiations with, 211–20
 - U.S. threats against, 82
- Two Plus Four process, 115
- Ugly American archetype, 257
- Ukraine, 59
- Ulmer, Al, 96
- uncompromising style, 44, 196, 199
- UNEP (United Nations Environmental Program), 180
- unilateralism, 42–44, 287, 288
- arms control negotiations and, 249–50
 - back channels and, 218
 - example of, 86–88, 88*n*125
 - multilateral negotiations and, 273
 - relationship building and, 52–53
 - security negotiations and, 213
 - UN negotiations and, 197–98
- United Kingdom
- lend-lease agreement with, 79
 - perspective (*See* Hannay, David)
 - “special” relationship with, 234
 - World War I, 168
 - World War II, 171
- United Nations
- foreign perspectives on, 195–98, 271 (*See also* Hannay, David)
 - history of, 170–71, 271–72
 - Human Rights Commission, 197, 199
 - reforms of, 197–98
 - representatives to, 85, 89–90, 150, 196–97, 275–77
 - Resolution 1441, 87–88
 - U.S. attitude toward, 132, 191, 195–98, 272
- United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP), 180
- United Nations General Assembly, 297
- Fifth Committee, 198
- United Nations Reform Act of 2005, 132
- United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), 127
- United Nations Security Council
- Iraq war and, 86, 183, 213–14
 - Resolution 998, 285

- sanctions imposed by, 63
- U.S. support for, 277
- United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, 116
- United States Foreign Service
 - autonomy of, 150–51, 164
 - back channels used by, 95, 98–99
 - congressional relations, 135–37
 - corporate experience, 22
 - funding of, 308*n*37, 308–10
 - history of, 168–72, 173, 186
 - hospitality offered by, 111–12, 114*n*51
 - institutional memory, 15, 141, 304–07
 - interaction with NGOs, 303
 - interagency rivalry with, 144
 - legal background, 29
 - linguistic skills, 77
 - media savvy, 106–07
 - political vulnerability of, 13, 152–56
 - professionalization of, 168–69, 276–77, 310–12
 - reforms, 304*n*23
 - reporting system, 239
 - response to globalization and interdependence, 91
 - rotation within, 54–55, 85, 138
 - subcultures within, 155
 - training, 4, 15, 123, 302–04
- United States Information Agency (USIA), 116
- United States Institute of Peace
 - Cross-Cultural Negotiation (CCN) project, 7, 315–16
 - fifth facet idea, 310*n*43
 - Philippine Facilitation Project, 120
- U.S. Treasury Department of Foreign Assets Control, 63
- USAID, 309, 309*n*40
- USTR (Office of the United States Trade Representative), 143, 150, 181, 194, 206, 262
- urgency, 72–74, 137, 318
- Uruguay Round, 277
- Vance, Cyrus, 26, 177
- Vandenberg, Arthur, 127
- Védrine, Hubert, 43
- Vietnam, 193
- Vietnamese refugees, 134
- Vietnam War, 71, 174–75
- Villepin, Dominique de, 183
- Voice of America (VOA), 116–17
- voluntary restraints, on Japanese exports, 203
- von Sternberg, Baron Speck, 166
- Walker, Robert, 164
- Wallace, Mike, 107*n*34
- Walters, Vernon, 89, 97, 196
- Wanis-St. John, Anthony, 95*n*2, 96, 96*n*5
- “war on terrorism,” 39, 183, 214
- 1973 War Powers Resolution, 128
- “war room,” 165
- Washington, George, 34
- Washington Post*, 43, 108, 244, 308*n*35, 311*n*45
- Watanabe, Koji, 14, 201
 - on congressional influence, 135
 - on exceptionalism, 37
 - on interagency teams, 150
 - on negotiating language, 82
 - on U.S. negotiating style, 23, 294
- weapons of mass destruction (WMD), 87, 109, 148, 183
- Webster, Daniel, 164
- Weinberger, Caspar, 144, 147
- Wherry, Kenneth, 156
- White, Henry, 166
- White House receptions, 114
- Whiteside, Ruth
 - on hospitality, 113
 - inducements, 57
 - on internal negotiations, 123
 - media savvy, 106
 - negotiating style, 22
- “whole-of-government” concept, 308, 308*n*35
- Wilson, Charles, 22, 129
- Wilson, Woodrow, 166–68
 - congressional relations, 131
 - interagency teams, 149
 - negotiating style, 31, 33
 - specialist support, 181
- “Wilsonianism,” 33
- window of opportunity, 72–73
- Winthrop, John, 36
- Wittes, Tamara Cofman, 7, 8, 8*n*8
- WMD (weapons of mass destruction), 87, 109, 148, 183

- Wolfowitz, Paul, 39, 217, 219
- Wood, John, 14, 221
 - on congressional influence, 137
 - on diplomatic autonomy, 151*n*90
 - on hospitality, 113–14
 - on interagency rivalry, 145
 - on media coverage, 106, 109–10
 - on relationship building, 48–49
 - on threats, 67
 - on urgency of negotiations, 73
 - on U.S. negotiating style, 294
- Woodcock, Leonard, 26, 26*n*32
- Woodward, Bob, 147
- wording of agreements, 12
- World Bank (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development), 171, 271
- World Trade Organization (WTO), 205, 209, 271
- World War I, 167–68
- World War II, 170–72, 189
 - multilateral negotiations after, 271–72
 - New Zealand special relationship and, 234
- Wright Patterson Air Base, 115
- Wriston, Henry M., 54
- Wristonization, 54–55
- written language, 12, 82
- WTO (World Trade Organization), 205, 209, 271
- Yakis, Yasar, 217
- Yalta Conference, 171–72
- Yazov, Dmitri, 247–48
- Yeltsin, Boris, 75, 238, 249
- Zartman, I. William, 8*n*9, 252
- Zhou, Enlai, 110*n*40, 175
- Ziyal, Ugur, 216
- Zoellick, Robert, 192, 193
- Zubak, Kresimir, 57