

**'Foundations for Diplomacy' (INTRL-GA 1763-001)**  
**Robert William Dry\*\* ([rd98@nyu.edu](mailto:rd98@nyu.edu))**  
**Mondays 11:00 AM – 1:30 PM; (32 Waverly) Silver - Room 506**  
**Spring Term 2023; Credits (4)**

### **1. Course description**

Some political scientists consider diplomacy 'the master-institution' of international relations. The fulfillment of national interests can succeed or fail depending on the quality of a nation's diplomacy. Politicians often underestimate the value of diplomacy to national security. That is unfortunate because diplomacy is a primary instrument of national power and in many contexts is more effective - and certainly less costly - than the application of coercion by a state. In fact, many global issues (e.g., climate change, pandemics, and poverty) confronting the world today are incapable of a military or other hard power solution, lending themselves instead to diplomacy to address.

This course early distinguishes between foreign policy and diplomacy (as described by the eminent British diplomat/historian Sir Harold Nicolson) to clarify what we mean by diplomacy. It delves into the history of diplomacy (not diplomatic history *per se*) and considers the accretion of norms and international law that constitute the institution of diplomacy. Among other assignments, students prepare short papers and present on the contributions of diplomatic thinkers and practitioners, from Kautilya to Kissinger. The seminar explores traditional (bilateral political, consular, and headquarters), as well as non-traditional (multilateral, public, ESTH, summit, 'networked', 'track', etc.) diplomacy. We explore diplomatic tools of 'persuasive measures short of war'\*. We will treat some diplomatic law issues, e.g., immunity and diplomatic asylum.

While we examine the universal features of diplomacy, we also pursue special characteristics of United States and Chinese diplomacy, as well as non-Western approaches to diplomacy and small country and 'niche' diplomacy. We consider unique diplomatic infrastructure, such as interest sections, as the U.S., for example, now has in Afghanistan with the Qatar government serving as protecting power, as well as provincial reconstruction teams or 'PRTs' formed as part of the early post-conflict resolution period following the early 2001 and 2003 allied invasions in Afghanistan and Iraq, respectively. One focus of the segment on diplomatic negotiation and mediation considers the roles of 'ripeness' and of 'culture' in negotiations. Students will undertake a realistic diplomatic *démarche*, work on other forms of diplomatic communication, and discuss diplomatic negotiations and mediations. We conclude by considering key issues in diplomacy, including professional ethics and career diplomacy.

### **2. Course Objectives**

The course provides students with an understanding of the institution of diplomacy - where it comes from; who are its actors; how it functions; and how it evolves. Students learn how diplomats represent their countries and national interests and contribute to the development and execution of foreign policy. Students utilize skills and knowledge of the world in this seminar in discussion and the preparation of papers. For example, students prepare a reporting cable (e.g., about the Biden doctrine and its impact on countries, regions, and the world). In addition to working on practical skills of writing and presenting, students are introduced to theoretical considerations of diplomacy, especially those found in the Realism and English Schools. Students who pursue internships and careers in their national diplomatic systems or serve in international careers (including in intergovernmental organizations, NGOs, business, banking, consulting, journalism, etc.) say they found the course relevant and useful to their work.

### **3. Prerequisites**

There are no prerequisites for this course. However, students are expected - in addition to the required readings/podcasts/videos - to keep abreast of current foreign policy events/trends. You can be sure we will bring

into classroom discussion among other issues - the Russia/Ukraine war; protests in Iran; global health and climate change. In fact, to enhance relevance of the subject matter, the instructor will introduce contemporaneous readings/podcasts/videos in the Warmup to each class. Students, too, should be on the lookout for contemporaneous materials relevant to diplomacy they come across.

#### **4. Assignments/Method of Assessing Student Achievement, including the Assessment Rubrics –**

There are no exams contemplated for this course. Graded assignments are in the nature of policy papers. There will be either four or five relatively short – maximum of several pages single-spaced – policy-like papers spread through the semester. If there are four, then each will account for 25% of final grade; if five each will account for 20% of final grade. Among the graded assignments are biographies of key diplomatic thinkers and practitioners with an emphasis on their contributions to diplomacy; a speech for an ambassador in a public affairs context; a diplomatic reporting cable; a *démarche* or briefing memo for a senior official addressing a foreign policy concern. Another possible paper might be a scene-setter for a diplomatic mission. Subjects for papers are usually defined by the instructor; students do not choose, except among defined options (welcome to the real world). While footnoting is usually not necessary (because it really isn't used in policy papers), I do require an additional, separate one-page bibliography for ALL papers so I can read the material you've used to research your subject. More - and targeted - research is almost always preferable. A mere Internet search in preparation for a paper will not succeed. Dig deeper: use the rich collections and journals in Bobst.

Grades are based on: 1) substance – did the student engage in in-depth research, understand the material and get the point of the exercise; 2) writing – is the subject well presented, clear, especially re structure and succinct policy writing. Papers must be spell- and grammar-checked before submission.

*While not required*, students desiring to write a research paper may do so. Any such paper would not substitute for required papers and would not necessarily improve a final grade. If a student submits a research paper, the topic must first be approved by the instructor. If the paper is graded below the average of the student's required papers, it will not detract from the student's final grade based on required papers. If, however, a research paper is graded higher than the final grade derived from required papers alone, it will be averaged against the 'regular' final grade. For example, if a student's grade from required papers is a B+ and the student receives an A on a research paper, the final/final semester grade will be an A-. *NB: Repeat: there is no expectation that students prepare a research paper for this course.* (

Please use the Chicago Manual of Style Footnotes and Bibliography format as this is the International Relations Program Style Guide

Basis of grade determination. Grades will be calculated on the following scale:

A: 100 - 94.45; A-: 94.44 - 89.45; B+: 89.44 - 86.45; B: 86.44 - 82.45; B-: 82.44 - 79.45; C+: 79.44 - 76.45; C: 76.44 - 72.45; C-: 72.44 - 69.45. [There are no D grades at NYU.]

#### **5. Late Submission Policy**

Assignments submitted after the due date *without an approved extension* will have grade deductions according to the following scale:  $\frac{1}{3}$  grade per week late, e.g., A to A-.

#### **6. Attendance Policy**

Your participation is crucial. Class attendance, presentations, and knowledge of the readings are the fuel for interesting sessions. You are expected to have done all of the readings before class. To facilitate a fruitful discussion, you are advised to take notes and prepare questions and comments you would like to discuss in class in advance. Students must attend class regularly to earn a passing grade. Students are permitted TWO absences per course. Students who miss three or more classes without an approved absence will be withdrawn from the course. A "W" will appear on the transcript of students who do not have approved absences. (NB: Absences will

be approved for medical or compelling personal reasons.) Please communicate with the course instructor before the class session if you will be absent. NB: All classes will be held in person.

## **7. NYU's Academic Integrity Policy**

Please read NYU's [Policy on Academic Integrity](#), which includes a definition of plagiarism.

**Plagiarism:** 'Presenting others' work without adequate acknowledgement of its source, as though it were one's own. Plagiarism is a form of fraud. We all stand on the shoulders of others, and we must give credit to the creators of the works that we incorporate into products that we call our own.

Some examples of plagiarism:

- a sequence of words incorporated without quotation marks
- an unacknowledged passage paraphrased from another's work
- the use of ideas, sound recordings, computer data or images created by others as though it were one's own"

Every sentence that contains the work of other scholars should be properly cited and include a page number.

Please also read the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences [Statement on Academic Integrity](#).

Use of ChatGPT or other AI writing tools in the drafting of an essay is in violation of NYU's academic integrity policy.

## **8. Moses Center for Student Accessibility**

New York University is committed to providing equal educational opportunity and participation for all students. The [Moses Center for Student Accessibility](#) (CSA) works with NYU students to determine and implement appropriate and reasonable accommodations. CSA provides services for undergraduate and graduate students (and other students enrolled in an NYU course) with hearing and visual, mobility, learning and attention, chronic illness, psychological and temporary needs. In order to ensure their rights, it is the responsibility of students to report any learning-related needs in a timely fashion. Students who require accommodations on a particular assignment should place a request before the assignment due date.

## **9. Counseling and Wellness Services**

Counseling and Wellness Services (CWS) can help with any mental health concerns you might experience, including stress, anxiety, alcohol or drugs, eating, depression, family issues, suicidal thoughts, and more. CWS offers individual counseling, group counseling, wellness workshops, referrals to long-term services in the community, and long-term psychiatric medication services on-site. The Wellness Exchange is your greatest mental health resource at NYU. Call the 24-hour hotline at (212) 443-9999, chat via the Wellness Exchange app anytime, [make an appointment](#), or arrange a [same-day Urgent Counseling session](#) to speak with a certified counselor about any day-to-day challenges or health concerns. Counseling appointments are available in person and virtually.

## **10. Required Text**

Students should obtain - before the second session - Kerr, Pauline and Geoffrey Wiseman, *Diplomacy in a Globalizing World: Theories and Practices*, SECOND EDITION, New York Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. The NYU Bookstore assures me this title is stocked.

## **11. Class Schedule and Class Readings**

January 23, 2023: Class 1 – Introduction to diplomacy. Who’s who? Course goals?

Students complete instructor’s one-page questionnaire asking for contact and brief background and interests information (for instructor’s use only). Class introductions. Notetaking buddies. Review seminar goals. Discuss how diplomacy is taught in the U.S. and abroad; how this course is a hybrid of practical work and theoretical study? Note practitioner vs. theoretician debate. Syllabus explained. Readings, including required texts and articles. Briefly mention written assignments and their grading. Expectations for course. Introduce what can be achieved through diplomacy? (The case of Jimmy Carter and the Camp David Accords as an extraordinary example of statesmanship and summit diplomacy. An otherworldly example, the film *Arrival*. View the trailer, see, *Arrival*. Paramount Pictures (2016)

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fMo3UJ4B4g&ab\\_channel=ParamountPictures](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fMo3UJ4B4g&ab_channel=ParamountPictures)

Let’s also in this first session set the stage a bit about contemporary issues in the IR realm, e.g., Russia/Ukraine, Afghanistan, climate, etc., and their diplomatic contexts.

January 30: Class 2 - What is diplomacy?

Distinguishing diplomacy from foreign policy, statecraft, strategy, national power, etc. In fact, what is power? The instrument of national power known as diplomacy? Who is a diplomat? What are the roles of diplomats in other words, what do diplomats actually do? Consider definitions of diplomacy such as, ‘The mediation of estrangement’. The importance of representation and communication. Is a diplomat ‘a professional’ and, for that matter, what constitutes a government profession anyway? How does one train a diplomat/provide a professional formation/education?

Note to Instructor: Watch in class short SAGE Video available through Bobst video library materials featuring Iver Neumann, ‘Diplomacy’, Sage Video, Political Science, <https://sk-sagepub-com.proxy.library.nyu.edu/video/diplomacy> [At the start of the video, Professor Iver Neumann says, “... I would say that diplomacy is the handling of difference between polities. ... So it is the hands-on side of the relations between different polities. And a polity is simply a political unit. ...]

Readings

Kerr & Wiseman, *Introduction*, pp. 1-18, **and** Karin Aggestam and Ann E. Towns, Chapter 13, *Diplomacy: A Gendered Institution*, pp. 237-250.

Reed J. Fendrick, *Diplomacy as an Instrument of National Power*, p. 167 et seq, *U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues, Vol 1: Theory of War and Strategy*, ed. J. Boone Bartholomees, Jr., 2010. <https://press.armywarcollege.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1034&context=monographs>

Iver Neumann, *To be a Diplomat*, *International Studies Perspectives*, 2005, Vol 6, Issue 1, pp 72-83, <https://academic.oup.com/isp/article/6/1/72/1810677>

George F. Kennan, ‘The Profession of Diplomacy’, reprinted in the *Foreign Service Journal*, July/August 2015, [https://afsa.org/sites/default/files/flipping\\_book/070815/46/index.html](https://afsa.org/sites/default/files/flipping_book/070815/46/index.html)  
(If difficulty accessing, go to [www.AFSA.org](http://www.AFSA.org) and then to publications, Foreign Service Journal Archive)

Robert Hutchings and Jeremi Suri, ‘The Making of an Effective Diplomat: A Global View’, *Foreign Service Journal*, Dec. 2017, pp 22-23; [https://afsa.org/sites/default/files/flipping\\_book/1217/22/index.html](https://afsa.org/sites/default/files/flipping_book/1217/22/index.html)  
(Go to [www.AFSA.org](http://www.AFSA.org) and go to publications, Foreign Service Journal archive)

*[Written Assignment 1 (due Class 3) – Ambassador’s Remarks on Diplomacy. Scenario-based remarks: details to be provided in class. Local key high school in Freedonia requests your ambassador to present on ‘Why is Diplomacy Useful? What Diplomats Do?’ or similar subject. You prepare short remarks or talking points. The assignment is designed to get you to think about and describe diplomacy to a foreign audience, possibly a hostile*

one, in relatively simplistic terms. One and a half to two pages MAX for text, plus one page bibliography. Due next class. (See separate handout for detailed instructions for this assignment.)]

February 6: Class 3 – History of Diplomacy – Not Diplomatic History

Where does diplomacy come from? The ancient to the present. Sir Harold Nicolson and his ‘Evolution of the Diplomatic Method’. Learning from the Eastern Roman Empire. Machiavelli and the Italian system (resident ambassadors/political reporting/intrigue). Richelieu and the first foreign ministry; ‘continuous negotiation’; and ‘raison d’etat’. Blaming diplomacy for the First World War. ‘Old’ diplomacy (traditional) and ‘new’ diplomacy: ‘Club’ to ‘Network’ Diplomacy. What about the transition from ‘national interest’ (or ‘raison d’etat’) to ‘raison de régime’. Diplomacy in flux.

Readings

Kerr and Wiseman, Chapter 1 – Diplomacy through the Ages and Chapter 2 – ‘Past Diplomacy in East Asia: From Tributary Relations to Cold War Rivalry’, pp 19 - 54

Ambassador Louis J. Nigro, Jr., ‘Theory and Practice of Modern Diplomacy Origins and Development to 1914, U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues, Vol 1: Theory of War and Strategy, ed. J. Boone Bartholomees, Jr., 2010, available at:

<https://ssi.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=1004>

[Written Assignment 2 (Due Class 4) – Contributors to the Institution of Diplomacy. Each student will be assigned a ‘diplomatic thinker’ or ‘a diplomat’ who advanced in some way diplomacy either by leaving behind a body of literature or through his/her actions. I’m looking for a one to one-and-a-half page essay – three or four paras of text, plus separate page of bibliography), e.g., Richelieu, Callières, Kissinger, Chas Freeman, etc. The first para will present important historical details and what the diplomatic thinker did. The following paras will describe the figure’s contribution to diplomacy. Students will provide a short presentation on the thinker. Presentations in rough historical order will likely be staggered through class periods. For example, Kautilya will be before Machiavelli and so on. (See separate handout.)]

February 13: Class 4 - Traditional (‘Old’) Diplomacy and Multilateral (‘New’) Diplomacy (and International and Regional Organizations)

Embassies and bilateral diplomacy; political diplomacy – what one customarily thinks of as the role of a diplomat. Diplomatic (political and economic) reporting. [Consider Kishan S. Rana, *Bilateral Diplomacy*, Diplohandbooks Series, DiploFoundation, 2007 (considered by many the best ‘handbook’ for a political officer in the field new to the active practice of diplomacy). Note also Raymond Smith, *The Craft of Political Analysis for Diplomats*, Potomac Books, 2011.] While the UN is the subject of a separate course, no foundational course in diplomacy can leave it out of the syllabus entirely. In many ways the UN system is a driver of the diplomatic universe. And the regional institutions have taken on increasing importance, especially for smaller and medium-sized countries. To name but one, the Arctic Council has taken on much greater responsibilities in recent years given the growing immediacy of climate change impacts in the Arctic. [However, its work is currently stalled for political reasons....]

Readings

Kerr & Wiseman, Chapter 10 – Bilateral and Multilateral Diplomatic Practices, pp. 185- 198. Kerr & Wiseman, pp. 328 – 345; Chapter 18 - The United Nations; and, pp. 308 – 327, Chapter 17 – Regional Institutional Diplomacies Europe, Asia, Africa, South America, and Other Regions

Derek J. Hogan, ‘Profile of a (U.S.) Political Officer in Russia’, Shawn Dorman, ed., *Inside a U.S. Embassy, Diplomacy at Work*, Foreign Service Books, AFSA Washington DC, p.24,

[http://www.afsa.org/sites/default/files/iuse\\_profile\\_political\\_officer\\_russia.pdf](http://www.afsa.org/sites/default/files/iuse_profile_political_officer_russia.pdf)

[Written Assignment 3 (Due Class 6) – The Reporting Cable, Scenario – you are a diplomat from any country with diplomatic relations with the United States serving in Washington DC. Your foreign ministry requests that (for example) you assess the impact of the Biden Administration (or, better yet, the Biden doctrine) on your (the sending) state; the region of the world in which your country is located; and the world more generally. Cable length – not more than three pages of text, including a summary and conclusion. Due date, TBD. See separate handout describing more fully this requirement.]

February 27: Class 5 – Non-traditional Diplomacy. Public Diplomacy and Track Diplomacy

Public diplomacy has ‘taken off’ in recent years, especially following Joseph Nye’s development of the concept of soft power, and as a result of the social media phenomenon. Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, Public Affairs, New York, 2004 and Jan Melissen, *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, and the fine work of the USC Center on Public Diplomacy. Note criticisms of soft power, especially by hard power advocates. Like many topics in this syllabus, public diplomacy deserves treatment as a course unto itself but we will see how deeply we can get this session. Track Diplomacy is also relatively new. It can be key to successful conflict resolution. In that regard, see, particularly, Dr. Louise Diamond & Ambassador John McDonald, *Multi-Track Diplomacy: A Systems Approach to Peace*, 3rd ed., Kumarian Press, (1996)

Readings

Kerr and Wiseman, pp. 192 – 208; Chapter 11 – Public Diplomacy

Joseph Nye, *Soft Power*, Public Affairs, 2004: Preface and Chapters 1 and 2 (Instructor to provide handout)

Jan Melissen, *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*, Palgrave 2007, e-book available in Bobst. Jan Mellissen, ‘Introduction’, pp. xvii – xxii; Chapter 1, ‘The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practice’, pp 3-27; Chapter 5, ‘Public Diplomacy in the People’s Republic of China’, pp – 105

Louise Diamond and Ambassador John McDonald, *Multitrack Diplomacy: A Systems Approach to Peace*, Kumarian Press, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Instructor to provide excerpts.)

March 6: Class 6 – Non-traditional Diplomacy, cont’d., i.e., economic & science and technology

Economic Statecraft, reinvigorated for the 21<sup>st</sup> century & development diplomacy. Watch some of the video on the AFSA website about Economic Diplomacy. As an example of science diplomacy, discuss the role of the Oceans, International Environment, and Science Bureau in the Department of State. Introduce the system of Multilateral Environmental Agreements (MEA’s), especially the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change and its implementing protocols, e.g., Paris.

Readings

Kerr & Wiseman, pp. 209 – 223; Chapter 12 – Economic Diplomacy

‘Introduction – Economic Diplomacy: The Issues’, *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 6 (2011), pp. 1-6. (The entire issue of the HJD is devoted to exploring Economic Diplomacy.)

Susana Cooper, ‘U.S. Embassy Abu Dhabi, Profile of an Economic Officer’, Shawn Dorman, ed., *Inside a U.S. Embassy, Diplomacy at Work*, Foreign Service Books, AFSA Washington DC, p.27, [http://www.afsa.org/sites/default/files/iuse\\_profile\\_economic\\_officer\\_uae.pdf](http://www.afsa.org/sites/default/files/iuse_profile_economic_officer_uae.pdf)



‘Focus on Economic Diplomacy Works’ (a collection of very accessible articles by practitioners about economic/commercial diplomacy), *The Foreign Service Journal*, January-February 2019, Vol 96, No. 1, [www.AFSA.org](http://www.AFSA.org), click on publications.

‘Chapter 1 – The Basics’, Harry W. Kopp, *Commercial Diplomacy and the National Interest*, American Academy of Diplomacy – Business Council for International Understanding, Washington, D.C.: 2004 (Instructor will provide excerpt)

‘The U.S. Commercial Service and the Global Business Environment’, Sage Video (available through Bobst Library), <https://sk-sagepub-com.proxy.library.nyu.edu/video/the-us-commercial-service-and-the-global-business-environment> (accessed January 13, 2023)

### March 20: Class 7 – Consular Diplomacy

Too often not treated in introductory courses in diplomacy, consular work is more and more deeply integrated into diplomacy, including, e.g., public diplomacy. Consulates outside capitals are often carbon copies of embassies with much economic and political reporting, as well as robust public diplomacy teams. Consular ‘cases’ can be extremely difficult to resolve and quickly find themselves as urgent, major irritants of bilateral relations. Consider how a consul might treat a psychotic national in a foreign country or, address Ebola or Covid-like emergencies, or the repatriation of a child from a third country kidnapped by one parent, etc. Consular work is a major and growing function of most states. Evolution of consular function. The new face of the US embassy. Rogers Act of 1924; etc. The duty of care of consuls as a norm in international law. [Instructor recalls early consular work Jonestown, Guyana and A/S Barbara Watson; Baghdad and plight of minorities, seeking extradition of alleged murderer, and Lummus-Theissen petrochemical plant human remains; ...]

#### Readings

Kerr & Wiseman, Halvard Leira and Iver B. Neumann, Chapter 9 – ‘Consular Diplomacy’ pp. 160-173

Maaïke Okano-Heijmans, Chapter 26 -‘Consular Affairs’, pp. 473-492, *Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy*, Oxford University Press: 2013

### March 27: Class 8 – The National Diplomatic System. The Foreign Ministry (and in the U.S., NSC, agency process, and the Department of State). Whole of Government Operations and the PRT Experiment

Foreign ministries have come a long way from Richelieu’s time and constantly adapt to the more modern, more complex world. In the United States, the Department of State as we know it today was largely built as a Cold War institution. Also, the larger NSC system has exercised greater and greater control over the State Department in recent years. The wider national security system in the United States is a complex one, involving many agencies. But beware when the system is misused. Plus, a word on whole of government operations and the Provincial Reconstruction Team system experiment in Iraq and Afghanistan. (One reason for introducing these topics is because I consider these areas under-researched and might serve students searching for thesis topics, e.g., the utility/effectiveness of whole of government operations or the utility/effectiveness of PRT operations, using the cases of Afghanistan and/or Iraq.)

#### Readings

Kerr & Wiseman, Chapter 7, The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the National Diplomatic System, pp. 129 – 150

(Additional readings to be provided.)

[TBD Written Assignment #4 (Due Class 10) – Anatomy of a Démarche. Each student drafts an action memo from an embassy officer of his/her choosing (could be an officer in consular, PD, political, economic) to the

ambassador thru the DCM recommending that the ambassador meet the foreign minister of the host country to discuss a topic of importance of the student's choosing. For the purpose of this exercise you can be a diplomat from any country in the world having a presence in that capital. The one-page covering memo should make the case for requesting the meeting and indicate clearly what the intended objective should be. A list of bulleted talking points, not to exceed one page, should be attached to the memo. The issue the student selects must be one of current relevance between country X and the country selected. Due TBD. ]

April 3: Class 9 – Diplomatic Culture and ‘Norms’ (e.g., civility, communication, and representation) and Diplomatic Law

Diplomatic law. The Vienna Conventions; embassies, chanceries, consulates, interests sections and other diplomatic/consular ‘structures’; immunities; diplomatic asylum; security of diplomatic premises & archives. Discuss the ICJ case on the takeover of the US embassy in Tehran. Consider the disclosure of ‘classified’ diplomatic communications by WikiLeaks. Bring up diplomatic ‘signaling’. Note for students for their personal research questions re North Korea signaling.

Readings

Oglesby, *Sage Handbook of Diplomacy*, chapter on ‘Diplomatic Language’, pp. 242 – 267

Wiseman, ‘Pax Americana: Bumping into Diplomatic Culture’, *International Studies Perspectives*, 2005, Vol 6, pp. 409-430

The United States Diplomatic and Consular Staff in Tehran (‘United States of America v. Iran’), Judgement of 24 May 1980, <https://www.icj-cij.org/en/case/64/judgments>

Convention on Diplomatic Relations, done at Vienna on 18 April 1961. Entered into force on 24 April 1964. United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 500, p. 95., [http://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/9\\_1\\_1961.pdf](http://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/9_1_1961.pdf);

Convention on Consular Relations, done at Vienna on 24 April 1963. Entered into force on 19 March 1967. United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 596, p. 261, [http://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/9\\_2\\_1963.pdf](http://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/9_2_1963.pdf)

[TBD Written Assignment: Scenario-based diplomatic law/immunities project. Draft either talking points or diplomatic note host government to sending state and sending state to host government re diplomatic immunities of Indian ambassador to the U.S. harassment by TSA or the notorious case of Raymond Davis in Pakistan. Instructor will provide citations before class for students to read and prepare for class.]

April 10: Class 10 - Diplomatic Negotiation, Mediation and Preventive Diplomacy

Focus on how diplomatic negotiation is different from, e.g., ‘The Art of the Deal’. Reiterate the norm/concept of ‘continuous negotiation’. Culture and negotiation – the USIP negotiation series. What is the value-added of diplomatic negotiation? The mediation process. Example of mediation, bringing a matter to international arbitration, e.g., the July 12, 2016 PCA Award re the Spratly Islands. Hanish Islands diplomacy redux.

Readings

Kerr & Wiseman, pp. 110 – 126; Chapter 6 – Diplomacy as Negotiation and Mediation, pp. 226 – 243, and Chapter 14, Diplomacy and the Use of Force, pp. 251-266.

Giles D. Harlow and George C. Maerz, eds., *Measures Short of War: the George F. Kennan Lectures at the National War College, 1946-47*, National Defense University Press: Washington, DC, 1991,



'Introduction', (PDF pp. 11-31; 'Chapter 1: Measures Short of War (Diplomatic)', PDF pp. 33-48; [https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/139669/1991-05\\_Measures\\_Short\\_War.pdf](https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/139669/1991-05_Measures_Short_War.pdf) (accessed Jan. 13, 2023)

Francis P. Sempa, "Kennan's 'Measures Short of War' Applied to U.S.-China Cold War," RealClearDefense, July 22, 2021, [https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/139669/1991-05\\_Measures\\_Short\\_War.pdf](https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/139669/1991-05_Measures_Short_War.pdf), (accessed Jan 13, 2023)

James P. Finkel, 'Atrocity Prevention at the Crossroads: Assessing the President's Atrocity Prevention Board After Two Years, Center for the Prevention of Genocide Series of Occasional Papers, No. 2, September 2014, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (Available online on the Holocaust Museum website.) **Instructor Note: Need to recheck this website.**

AMB Princeton Lyman and AMB Robert Beecroft, 'Using Special Envoys in High Stakes Diplomacy', U.S. Institute of Peace, October 1, 2014, <http://www.usip.org/publications/using-special-envoys-in-high-stakes-conflict-diplomacy>, accessed October 5, 2014.

*[Written Assignment #5 (Due class 12) – On the application of 'Measures Short of War' in the resolution of a dispute/conflict. See separate handout.]*

#### April 17: Classes 11 – Theory and Diplomacy

Although there is no 'unified' theory of diplomacy *per se*, there is much discussion into the theoretical context of diplomacy by political scientists. One theory of international relations – the English School – gives pride of place to diplomacy.

#### Readings

Kerr & Wiseman, Chapter 3 – Diplomacy in International Relations Theory and Other Disciplinary Perspectives, pp. 57-71; Chapter 4 – Debates about Contemporary and Future Diplomacy, pp. 72- 89; Chapter 5 – Transnationalizing Diplomacy in a Post-Westphalian World, pp. 90-109

Geoffrey Wiseman, Chapter 71 – pp. 1193 - 1213, 'On Diplomacy', The Sage Handbook of Political Science, available at Bobst in e-book. This is a superb summary of where diplomatic studies stand today. See, in particular, Wiseman's conclusions and with regard to theorizing diplomacy: "...the practical, real-world diplomacy in which diplomacy operates has been met by an exponential leap in theorizing diplomacy in recent years."

Nye, Joseph, 'Bridging the Gap between Theory and Policy', *Political Psychology*, 2008, Vol 29, Iss 4, pp 593-603

John Robert Kelley, 'The New Diplomacy: Evolution of a Revolution', *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, Vol. 21, pp 286-305, 2010.

Robert Jackson, 'Martin Wight's Thought on Diplomacy', *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, Vol. 13, No. 4, pp. 1-28

Iver Neuman, 'The English School on Diplomacy: Scholarly Promise Unfulfilled', *International Relations*, Vol. 17, No. 3, pp. 341-369, 2003

Stuart Murray, 'Consolidating the Gains Made in Diplomacy: A Taxonomy', *International Studies Perspectives*, Vol. 9, pp. 22-30, 2008

[TBD: Group Presentations - Final Written Exercise (#6) Assignment/Group Assignment: Students – working in groups - are assigned to write a paper on a specific theory of diplomacy, the U.S. approach to diplomacy, Chinese diplomacy, niche diplomacy, celebrity diplomacy, small states diplomacy, etc., and prepare a final presentation for the class as a group.

Instructor's note: See, e.g., Stuart Murray, 'Consolidating the Gains Made in Diplomacy: A Taxonomy', *International Studies Perspectives*, Vol. 9, pp. 22-30, 2008. See separate handout regarding this TBD paper/exercise.]

April 24: Class 12 – Exploring Case Studies, e.g., The West/East Pakistan (modern Bangladesh) Conflict; The Benghazi Affair and its Fallout; Vietnam Normalization Process; Bosnia Peace Conference Dayton, and The Application of 'Measures Short of War' in the resolution of a dispute/conflict

Having studied about diplomacy, consider the cases of the formation of Bangladesh (and the sad role of the U.S. in it); the sad history of U.S. Taliban negotiations; the horrendous killing of Ambassador Christopher Stevens and aftermath, etc. While students are not expected to read the following accounts, we can still discuss them in class.

Readings:

[Ethan Chorin, *Benghazi!: A New History of the Fiasco That Pushed America and Its World to the Brink*, Hachette Books: New York, 2022

[George Packer, *Our Man: Richard Holbrooke and the End of the American Century*, Alfred Knopf: New York, 2019]

[Written Assignments due as are presentations thereof]

May 1: Class 13 – Continuation of Class 12, as appropriate; Make up or Possible Presentations of Scene Setter Exercises (TBD)

May 8: Class 14 - Ethics and Dissent in Diplomacy & Career Diplomacy

On ethics and dissent. Introduce the aspirational ethics work of Terry Newell of Leadership for a Responsible Society and his book, Terry Newell, *To Serve with Honor: Doing the Right Thing in Government*, Loftlands Press, 2015. Home in on speaking truth to power. How national interest and personal integrity can clash and how those ethical issues might be addressed. The embarrassing - and dysfunctional - element of the 'spoils system' in U.S. diplomacy, i.e., the selling of ambassadorships and high positions. Education/training in the USFS. Ethics challenges, in particular in the Trump Administration, e.g., especially over the role of ambassadors to coordinate governmental activity in the receiving state (consider U.S. agency in Saudi Arabia).

(NYU Professor) Hannah Gurman, 'The Other Plumbers Unit: The Dissent Channel of the U.S. State Department', *Diplomatic History*, April 2011, Vol 35, Issue 2, p. 321

Robert William Dry, 'Loyalty: The Hallmark of the Professional Diplomat', *Foreign Service Journal*, July-Aug 2013, Vol 90, No. 7-8,  
[http://afsa.org/sites/default/files/flipping\\_book/0713/files/mobile/index.html#4](http://afsa.org/sites/default/files/flipping_book/0713/files/mobile/index.html#4)

Kerr & Wiseman, Conclusion, pp. 346-356. ###

*\*\*The instructor is a retired U.S. diplomat, a Senior Foreign Service Officer (Counselor of the United States Foreign Service, Ret.). His views expressed in the seminar are attributable to the instructor personally and are not intended to represent the official position of the Department of State or the United States government. Similarly, his personal views do not represent those of New York University.*