

PA 388K – Fall 2019
Tuesday, 2:00 – 5:00 p.m.
SRH 3.214

Ambassador Robert Hutchings
rhutchings@austin.utexas.edu
SRH 3.230

International Diplomacy

This course offers a comparative look at the making and implementation of policy in the global arena. It explores key concepts and theories concerning national interest, ethics, negotiation, decision making, strategic design, and crisis management, and it applies those concepts via case studies and simulations in diplomacy, trade policy, development assistance, peacekeeping operations, mediation, and security policy. The course aims to help students learn not only to analyze but also to implement policy: it employs an action-oriented approach that obliges students to react as a policy-maker would and thus gain a better appreciation of how and why states, organizations, and leaders act as they do.

In seeking to bridge the gap between theory and practice, the course is divided into two parts, “Concepts” and “Applications.” The first focuses on the acquisition of key theoretical and conceptual approaches – a foreign policy tool box, if you will – on which we will draw in part two as we apply these concepts in different policy environments. We will employ case studies throughout, but in the first half of the course they will be used to explicate the concepts, while in the second half we will use cases to apply concepts already learned. Cases will span every region and every major power (along with several lesser ones and a number of non-state actors), and cover a wide range of issue areas.

Throughout the semester, we will follow current international issues as a “living laboratory,” exploring breaking developments against the backdrop of our expanding body of conceptual and theoretical knowledge. Students are expected to stay abreast of important international developments and come to class prepared to discuss them.

Assignments

Students will write two individual policy memoranda, contribute to one group memo, make one formal oral presentation, and submit a final paper in the form of a case study or scenarios paper. Grades will be weighted roughly as follows: 30% for the three policy memos, 40% for the case study, and 30% for the oral presentation and overall contributions to seminar discussions. There will be no exams.

Individual Policy Papers (20%) Students will write two brief policy papers of no more than 1,000 words each, based on assigned readings (i.e., no additional research is required):

- A memorandum for President George W. Bush, dated April 2001, recommending a policy approach for resolving the crisis with China over the airplane incident in the South China Sea, due September 17. (Alternatively, you may direct your memo to Chinese President Jiang Zemin.)
- A policy memorandum for an aspiring U.S. presidential candidate, presenting the elements of a new U.S. National Security Strategy that differs from the one issued in December by the Trump Administration, due November 26. (Students may opt instead to present a new national security strategy for a country other than the United States.)

Group Assignments (10%) Students will be divided into four groups – A, B, C, and D – to collaborate on two group assignments:

- Groups A and B will write short policy papers (of no more than 1,000 words) on whether to support or oppose a ban on weaponized drones, for a mock Congressional hearing, due October 15, and will make in-class briefings. Groups C and D have no written assignment but will role-play as Members of Congress during the mock hearing.
- Groups C and D will write short policy papers (of no more than 1,000 words) reflecting the positions of the G-7 and BRICs on World Bank reform, due arguing the pros and cons of greater reliance on governance indicators in the allocation of World Bank funding for individual countries, November 5, and will make in-class briefings. Groups A and B have no written assignment but will role-play for a mock summit meeting of the G-20.

Final Paper (40%) Students will write one research paper (ca. 4,000-5,000 words, single-spaced) in the form of a case study, along the lines of the Pew case studies we will use in class, with the additional expectation that your case study must include lessons or conclusions that come out of this episode. Your study should examine a single case. It may be small or large, of short or long duration, recent or historical, but it must involve a single, discrete foreign policy episode that illuminates lessons for the conduct of policy in the global arena.

Alternatively, students may opt to write their final paper in the form of a scenarios paper about a country or issue area (e.g., “Brazil 2040,” “Global Energy Futures,” or “China’s ‘Belt and Road’ Initiative: Three Scenarios”). Papers should be around 4,000-5,000 words, single-spaced and appropriately sourced. Students who wish to pursue this option should consult Peter Schwartz’s *The Art of the Long View* and the Shell Scenarios website (<https://www.shell.com/energy-and-innovation/the-energy-future/scenarios.html>), and meet with me to go over other useful sources.

A brief (2-page, single-spaced) concept paper previewing your final paper, the sources you will use, and the approach you plan to take is due October 29. The paper itself is due December 5.

Oral Contributions (30%) As we will devote at least half of each session to discussion, the quality of students’ participation will be an important component of the final grade. Students are

expected to read all assigned readings and come to class prepared to discuss them knowledgeably. Additionally, each student will give a formal oral presentation on a topic arising from the subject matter under discussion, accompanied by a one-page summary/handout for each student. Grades for participation will be calculated roughly as follows:

- A = regular contributions to class discussion reflecting strong command of the material
- B = regular contributions to class discussion showing good understanding of the material
- C = infrequent contributions to class discussions betraying weak grasp of the material

Required Books

- Richard K. Betts, *American Force: Dangers, Delusions, and Dilemmas in National Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011)
- Robert Hutchings and Gregory F. Treverton, *Truth to Power: A History of the U.S. National Intelligence Council* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019)
- Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations* (New York: Basic Books, 5th edition, 2015). [Students may use earlier editions of Walzer's classic if they wish.]
- Robert Hutchings and Jeremi Suri, *Foreign Policy Breakthroughs: Cases in Successful Diplomacy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015)

Course Outline

Date Topic/Assignments

9/3 I. Introduction

- Jack Snyder, "One World, Rival Theories," *Foreign Policy*, No. 145, 2004, pp. 53-62.
- Betts, *American Force*, Chapters 1-2 (pp. 3-49).

Case Studies

- William M. LeoGrande and Peter Kornbluh, *Back Channel to Cuba: The Hidden History of Negotiations between Washington and Havana* (University of North Carolina Press, 2015), pp. 1-5 and 418-53.
- Robert Hutchings, "America at War," in *Truth to Power*, pp. 105-32.
- Maryann Cusimano Love, "The Vietnam Dilemma," Institute for the Study of Diplomacy Case Study #325 (2011). (15 pages)

PART I: CONCEPTS

9/10 II. Negotiating Across Cultures

- Raymond Cohen, *Negotiating Across Cultures* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 1997), pp. 22-38, 135-61, and 215-26.

- Tarak Barkawi and Keith Stanski, eds., *Orientalism and War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), Introduction and Chapter 5 (pp. 1-16 and 83-104).
- “Negotiating with Americans” (anonymous Japanese diplomat). ~5 pages

Case Study: Negotiating with China

- Richard Solomon, *Chinese Negotiating Behavior* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 1999), Chapter 2 (pp. 25-56)
- David Shambaugh, *China Goes Global: The Partial Power* (Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 60-72.
- Draft chapter on China, in Robert Hutchings and Jeremi Suri, eds., *Modern Diplomacy in Practice* (forthcoming from Palgrave Macmillan)
- Vincent Auger, “Human Rights and Trade: The Clinton Administration and China” (Pew Case Study #168)

Student presentation: Negotiating toward majority rule in Southern Africa

- James K. Sebenius, R. Nicholas Burns, and Robert H. Mnookin, *Kissinger the Negotiator: Lessons from Dealmaking at the Highest Level* (New York: Harper, 2018) Part I (pages 3-64).

Student presentation: Do language and culture matter?

- Johan Galtung, “Structure, culture and intellectual style: An essay comparing Saxonic, Teutonic, Gallic and Nipponic approaches,” *Social Science Information*, Vol. 20, No. 6 (1981): 817-856.

9/17 III. Negotiation

- P. Terrence Hopmann, “Bargaining and Problem Solving,” in Chester Crocker et al., eds., *Turbulent Peace* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace, 2001), pp. 445-68.
- Fred Charles Iklé, *How Nations Negotiate* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964; Kraus Reprint, 1987), Chapters 1 and 9 (pp. 1-6 & 143-63).
- Fen Osler Hampson, *Multilateral Negotiations: Lessons from Arms Control, Trade, and the Environment* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), pp. 23-51.

Case Study: Negotiating the End of the Cold War

- Robert Hutchings, “American Diplomacy and the End of the Cold War in Europe,” in Hutchings and Suri, eds., *Foreign Policy Breakthroughs*, pages 148-72.

Background material for the first memo assignment:

- Background reading on the April 2001 incident in the South China Sea
- *Video*: Charlie Rose debate on the South China Sea incident

➤ **First individual memo assignment due by 10:00 a.m. September 17.**

9/24 IV. Analysis and Decision

- Derek Beach, *Analyzing Foreign Policy* (London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), Chapters 4-5 (pp. 97-148).
- Daniel Kahneman, *Thinking, Fast and Slow* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011), Chapters 6-9 and 19-21 (pp. 71-105 and 199-233).
- Irving L. Janis, *Groupthink* (Boston: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 1982), Chapters 1 and 11 (pp. 2-13 and 260-76).

Case Study: Groupthink in LBJ's Vietnam Decisions

- Janis, *Groupthink*, Chapter 5 (pp. 97-130)

Student presentation: Why are experts so often wrong?

- Philip E. Tetlock, *Expert Political Judgment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), Chapters 1-2 (pp. 1-49).

Student presentation: Planning for "Inevitable Surprises"

- Taleb, *The Black Swan*, Chapters 10-13 (pages 137-211)

10/1 V. The Role of Institutions

- Betts, *American Force*, Chapter 9 (pp. 201-31).
- Amy Zegart, *Flawed by Design: The Evolution of the CIA, JCS and NSC* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), Introduction and Chapters 1-2 (pp. 1-75).
- Bert A. Rockman, "America's Departments of State," in Karl Inderfurth and Loch Johnson, eds., *Fateful Decisions: Inside the National Security Council* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 289-307.

Case Studies: Comparing diplomatic services

- Draft chapters (on Brazil, Germany, Great Britain, and the U.S.) and Conclusion, in Robert Hutchings and Jeremi Suri, *Modern Diplomacy in Practice* (forthcoming from Palgrave Macmillan)

Student presentation: TBD

10/8 VI. Strategy and the Use of Force

- Betts, *American Force*, Chapters 6, 7, and 12 (pp. 128-98 and 284-99).
- Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, Parts One and Two

Student presentation: Clausewitz on strategy

- Carl von Clausewitz, *On War* (New York: Penguin Classics, 1982), Chapters 1- 2.

10/15 VII. The Ethics of the Use of Force

- Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, Parts Three, Four, and Five

Case assignment: A Ban on Weaponized Drones? (a memo, pro or con)

- Christopher Woody, "Trump is ordering air strikes at 5 times the pace Obama did," *Business insider*, April 4, 2017: <http://www.businessinsider.com/trump-is-ordering-airstrikes-at-5-times-the-pace-obama-did-2017-4>
- Jacob Marthaller, "Trump's new drone strike policy might violate centuries of Christian ethics," *Washington Post*, March 23, 2017: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/acts-of-faith/wp/2017/03/23/trumps-new-drone-policy-might-violate-centuries-of-christian-ethics/?utm_term=.f15cc93d57df
- "Drones" section of the ProCon.org website: <http://drones.procon.org/>.
- Michael Walzer, "Targeted Killing and Drone Warfare," *Dissent*, January 11, 2013: http://www.dissentmagazine.org/online_articles/targeted-killing-and-drone-warfare.
- "Remarks by the President at the National Defense University," Washington, D.C., May 23, 2013: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2013/05/23/remarks-president-national-defense-university>.
- "The Ethics and Efficacy of the President's Counterterrorism Strategy: Remarks by John O. Brennan," April 30, 2012: <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/event/the-ethics-and-ethics-us-counterterrorism-strategy>.
- Daniel Byman: "Why Drones Work," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 92, No. 4, 2013.
- Audrey Kurth Cronin: "Why Drones Fail," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 92, No. 4, 2013.
- Micah Zenko, "Reforming U.S. Drone Strike Policies," Council on Foreign Relations Special Report No. 65, January 2013: <http://www.cfr.org/wars-and-warfare/reforming-us-drone-strike-policies/p29736>.

➤ **First group memo assignment due by 10:00 a.m. October 15.**

PART II: APPLICATIONS

10/22 VIII. Guest lecture TBD

10/29 IX. Liberalism and Its Discontents

Marxism-Leninism

- Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (Parts I and II only): <http://www.anu.edu.au/polsci/marx/classics/manifesto.html>. (14 pages)

Anti-Colonialism

- Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Ch. 1 ("On Violence"), pp. 1-52.

Islamism

- S. Sayyid, *A Fundamental Fear: Eurocentrism and the Emergence of Islamism* (London: Zed Books, 2015), Prologue and Chapters 1 and 4 (pp. 1-30 and 84-126).

Student presentation: Lenin's concept of the revolutionary party

- Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?* (brief excerpts) and *State and Revolution*, Chapter 5
- **Prospectus for the case study due 10:00 a.m. October 29.**

11/5 X. Development Assistance and Democracy Promotion

- Daniel Nielson and Michael Tierney, "Delegation to International Organizations," *International Organization* 57 (2003): 241-76.
- Francis Fukuyama, *State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), Ch. 1, pp. 1-42.
- Carol Lancaster, *Foreign Aid: Diplomacy, Development, Domestic Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), Chapter 3, pp. 62-109.
- Susan B. Epstein and Matthew C. Weed, "Foreign Aid Reform: Studies and Recommendations," Congressional Research Service, July 28, 2009: <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R40102.pdf>

Case Assignment: Reforming the World Bank

- Jakob Vestergaard and Robert H. Wade, "Protecting Power: How Western States Retain the Dominant Voice in the World Bank's Governance," *World Development*, Vol. 46 (2103), pp. 153-64.
- Catherine Weaver and Manuela Moschella, "Bounded Reform in Global Economic Governance," in *International Politics and Institutions in Time*, ed. Orfeo Fioretos (Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 274-92.
- Matthew S. Winters and Shyam Kulkarni, "The World Bank in the post-structural adjustment era," in *Handbook of Global Economic Governance*, ed. Manuela Moschella and Catherine Weaver (Routledge, 2014), pp. 249-64.
- Daniel W. Drezner, "The contradictions of post-crisis global economic governance," in *Handbook of Global Economic Governance*, pp. 345-60.
- Ngaire Woods, "From intervention to cooperation: reforming the IMF and World Bank," *Progressive Governance* (London, 2008): http://www.policy-network.net/uploadedFiles/Publications/Publications/Ngaire_Woods.pdf
- Oliver Stuenkel, *The BRICS and the Future of Global Order* (Lexington Books, 2016), Introduction and Chapters 1-2 (ix-xiv and pp. 1-23).
- "China calls for reform at the World Bank, IMF and ADB cannot be ignored," *South China Morning Post* editorial, September 12, 2016: <https://www.scmp.com/comment/insight-opinion/article/2018461/chinas-calls-reform-world-bank-imf-and-adb-cannot-be-ignored>
- Robert Hutchings, "A Global Grand Bargain," in *Renewing Globalization in a Post-Crisis World: The Future of the G-20 Agenda*, ed. Alexei Monsarrat and Kiron K. Skinner, Carnegie Mellon and the Atlantic Council, September 2009, pp. 117-20.
- **2nd group memo assignment due 10:00 a.m. November 5 (Groups C and D only)**

11/12 XI. Multilateral Diplomacy: Mediation and Peace Operations

- Betts, *American Force*, Chapter 3 (pp. 50-80).
- Thomas Princen, *Intermediaries in International Conflict* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), Chapters 2, 5, and 10 (pp. 18-31, 60-6, and 214-26).
- Robert Hutchings, *American Diplomacy and the End of the Cold War* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), pp. 301-21.
- Ivo Daalder, “The Clinton Administration and Multilateral Peace Operations” (Pew Case Study #462).

Case Study: A “Responsibility to Protect”?

- UN General Assembly, “2005 World Summit Outcome”:
<http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php?module=uploads&func=download&fileId=497>
- Jayshree Bajoria, “Libya and the Responsibility to Protect,” Council on Foreign Relations Report: <http://www.cfr.org/libya/libya-responsibility-protect/p24480>
- Alan J. Kuperman, “A Model Humanitarian Intervention? Reassessing NATO's Libya Campaign,” *International Security*, vol. 38. no. 1. (Summer 2013): 105-136.

Student presentation: Carter’s mediation at Camp David

- Galia Golan, “Sadat and Begin, Successful Diplomacy to Peace,” in Hutchings and Suri, eds., *Foreign Policy Breakthroughs*, pp. 121-47.

11/19 XII. Strategic Intelligence

- *Truth to Power*, Introduction, Chapters 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, and Conclusion

Case Study: Mapping the future

- Robert Hutchings, “Is There a Map to the Future?” *Foreign Policy*, August 31, 2011.
- National Intelligence Council, “Mapping the Global Future,” pages 8-18:
https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/Global%20Trends_Mapping%20the%20Global%20Future%202020%20Project.pdf
- National Intelligence Council, “Global Trends: Paradox of Progress,” pages 3-28:
<https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/nic/GT-Full-Report.pdf>

11/26 XIII. Strategy and Grand Strategy

- “Searching for a Strategy,” *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2019): 10-43
- John Lewis Gaddis, *On Grand Strategy* (Penguin Books, 2017), pages TBD.
- Michael Lind, *The American Way of Strategy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), Chapters 1-2 (pp. 3-40).

- James Goldgeier and Jeremi Suri, “Revitalizing the U.S. National Security Strategy,” *Washington Quarterly*, Winter 2016, pp. 35-55.
 - Hal Brands, *What Good is Grand Strategy?* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014), Introduction and Conclusion (pp. 1-16 and 190-206).
 - Walter A. McDougall, “Can the United States do Grand Strategy?” *Orbis*, Spring 2010, pp, 165-84.
 - National Security Strategy of the United States, December 2017 (Washington, D.C.: The White House, 2017), pages 1-4.
- **2nd individual policy memo due by 10:00 a.m. November 26.**

Thanksgiving recess, November 27-30

12/3 XIV. International Diplomacy: What Constitutes Success?

- Hutchings and Suri, *Foreign Policy Breakthroughs* (entire)
- **Case study due December 5.**

ADDITIONAL COURSE INFORMATION

Students with disabilities

Any student with a documented disability who requires academic accommodations should contact Services for Students with Disabilities at 471-6259 (voice) or 512-410-6644 (Video Phone) as soon as possible to request an official letter outlining authorized accommodations.

Academic honesty

I expect students to understand and observe the University's standards regarding Academic Honesty. You owe it to yourself, your fellow students, and the institution to familiarize yourself with these standards and observe them. There is a summary of UT's policies on the Office of the Dean of Students web page: <http://deanofstudents.utexas.edu/conduct/academicintegrity.php>. I also encourage you to read Princeton University's excellent handbook on academic integrity: https://odoc.princeton.edu/sites/odoc/files/950045_AcademicIntegrity2018-19_FINAL_PDF.pdf.

Emergency evacuation routes

The following recommendations regarding emergency evacuation from the Office of Campus Safety and Security, 512-471-5767, <http://operations.utexas.edu/units/csas/terms.php>:

- a. Occupants of buildings on The University of Texas at Austin campus are required to evacuate buildings when a fire alarm is activated. Alarm activation or announcement requires exiting and assembling outside.
- b. Familiarize yourself with all exit doors of each classroom and building you may occupy. Remember that the nearest exit door may not be the one you used when entering the building.
- c. Students requiring assistance in evacuation shall inform their instructor in writing during the first week of class. In the event of an evacuation, follow the instruction of faculty or class instructors.
- d. Do not re-enter a building unless given instructions by the following: Austin Fire Department, The University of Texas at Austin Police Department, or Fire Prevention Services office.
- e. Behavior Concerns Advice Line (BCAL): 512-232-5050
- f. Link to information regarding emergency evacuation routes and emergency procedures can be found at: <https://preparedness.utexas.edu/emergency-plans>

Religious holidays

By UT Austin policy, you must notify me of your pending absence at least fourteen days prior to the date of observance of a religious holy day. If you must miss a class, an exam, an assignment, or a project in order to observe a religious holy day, you will be given an opportunity to complete the missed work within a reasonable time after the absence.

Campus safety and wellness resources

More information on how to sign up for emergency text alerts, contact information for various UT offices, wellness resources, and campus initiatives relating to safety and/or wellness can be found at <https://www.utexas.edu/campus-life/safety-and-security>