

**Foundations for Diplomacy (formerly Diplomacy in Theory and Action)– Draft Jan 17, 2018**  
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Description of the course

Some political scientists consider diplomacy ‘the master-institution’ or ‘the engine-room’ of international relations. A foreign policy can succeed or fail depending on the quality of a nation's diplomacy. Yet, non-diplomats - *and yes*, even students of international relations - often misunderstand the role of diplomacy. That is unfortunate because diplomacy is a primary instrument of national power and in many contexts is more effective than the application of coercion by a state. In fact, many of the global issues (e.g., climate change, pandemics, and poverty) facing the world today are incapable of a military solution, lending themselves instead to diplomacy to address.

The course analyzes the distinction between foreign policy and diplomacy. It delves into the history of diplomacy and considers the accretion of diplomatic norms and law. It explores traditional (bilateral political, consular, and headquarters), as well as non-traditional (multilateral, public, S&T, summit, ‘networked’, etc.) diplomacy. The seminar touches on non-Western approaches to diplomacy and small country and ‘niche’ diplomacy. One focus of the segment on diplomatic negotiation and mediation considers the role of culture in negotiations. We address thinkers and theories of diplomacy. Student present on these, as well as other matters, to the class. We conclude by discussing key issues in diplomacy, including personal/professional ethics such as dissent, and career diplomacy.

Aims of the course

This 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 is evolving. Students learn how diplomats contribute to the development and execution of foreign policy. In addition to the practical aspects of the course, students are introduced to theoretical bases for diplomacy.

While traditional scholars of diplomatic studies equate diplomacy with negotiation *per se* and we take up some aspects of negotiation and mediation (e.g., cross-cultural communication), this course is anything but a stand-alone course on negotiation. Neither is it a course on foreign policy, nor diplomatic history. Students who drill down on the readings, prepare the short papers and presentations will not only learn what diplomats do, but also how they do it. The course prepares students for practical careers as either national diplomats or international civil servants. Indeed, skills emphasized in this seminar will further students' understanding of international relations generally and lend themselves to the diplomatic aspect found in the range of international careers.

Outline of topics

Texts and materials – Students should obtain Kerr and Wiseman, *Diplomacy in a Globalizing World: Theories and Practices*, SECOND EDITION, Oxford University Press, 2018 (hereinafter, Kerr & Wiseman). The NYU bookstore should have it in stock. The authors maintain online updates and excellent supplemental readings.

Other books - such as the impressive Oxford *Handbook of Modern Diplomacy* and the Sage *Handbook of Diplomacy* - will be on reserve at the Bobst Library.

Scholarly, e.g., *Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, and ‘gray’ literature, e.g., CSIS, articles and podcasts will supplement readings from the required texts. These will be at Bobst, accessed through the Internet, or provided as handouts.

Students are encouraged to get to know websites useful to the study of diplomacy and students should use them when researching assignments. A favorite, for example, is [www.Clingendael.nl](http://www.Clingendael.nl), the website of the Netherlands Institute of International Relations. There are many more, e.g., [www.usip.org](http://www.usip.org) (U.S. Institute of Peace), [www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil](http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil) (The Strategic Studies Institute/U.S. Army War College); [www.CNAS.org](http://www.CNAS.org) (Center for a New America Security); [www.afsa.org](http://www.afsa.org) (The American Foreign Service Association); [www.state.gov](http://www.state.gov), (The U.S. Department of State); and, <https://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/> (the University of Southern California’s Center for Public Diplomacy).

We begin classes with a warm-up discussion on current diplomatic events or by drilling down on a recent diplomatic event. Students need to keep abreast of international news, in the same manner that diplomats do.

### **Class 1 - Who's who? What this course seeks to achieve?**

For discussion:

Mark Landler, 'Trump's Demand to Rewrite Iran Deal Tests a Weakened Diplomatic Corps', Jan. 12, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/12/world/middleeast/trump-stops-short-of-reimposing-iran-sanctions-but-sets-deadline-to-overhaul-deal.html>, (and, for example, 'U.S. ambassador to Panama resigns, says cannot serve Trump', reuters.com, Jan. 12, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-diplomacy-panama/u-s-ambassador-to-panama-resigns-says-cannot-serve-trump-idUSKBN1F1227>);

Michael Fuchs, 'An Olympic-Sized Shot at Diplomacy', *U.S. News & World Report* online edition, Jan. 11, 2018, <https://www.usnews.com/opinion/world-report/articles/2018-01-11/us-can-seize-upon-south-korean-olympics-to-start-talks-with-north-korea>

Owen Bowcott, 'Julian Assange is made an Ecuadorian citizen in effort to resolve impasse,' the guardian online, Jan 11, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2018/jan/11/julian-assange-is-made-ecuadorian-citizen-in-effort-to-resolve-impasse>

'"We Still Respect You" - U.S. Embassy Tells South Africa', Jan. 16, 2018, Huffpost, [http://www.huffingtonpost.co.za/2018/01/16/we-still-respect-you-u-s-embassy-tells-south-africa\\_a\\_23334455/](http://www.huffingtonpost.co.za/2018/01/16/we-still-respect-you-u-s-embassy-tells-south-africa_a_23334455/)  
Sheena McKenzie, 'Billion dollar US embassy opens in London', CNN online, Jan. 16, 2018, <http://www.cnn.com/2018/01/16/politics/us-embassy-opens-london-intl/index.html>

Admin. Students complete instructor's one-page form asking for contact information and brief 'bio' information (for instructor's use only). Introductions. Note taking buddies. Seminar goals. How to teach 'diplomacy'? Syllabus. Readings, including required texts and articles. Written assignments. Grading. Required private meeting with instructor. Expectations. Working as a team. &,etc.

Why study 'diplomacy'? Practice vs. theory. Practitioner vs. theoretician. Using real world examples. What can be achieved through diplomacy? (Who was Raoul Wallenberg?) The other worldly example, 'Arrival'.

### **Class 2 - What is diplomacy?**

Distinguishing diplomacy from foreign policy, statecraft, strategy, national power, etc. In fact, what is power? The power of diplomacy. Who is a diplomat? What are the roles of diplomats (or 'scripts' as anthropologist Iver Neuman has called them)? Is a diplomat 'a professional' and, for that matter, what constitutes a profession? Are diplomats part of an 'epistemic community'? What is an epistemic community? How does one train a diplomat/provide a professional formation/education? Watch in class SAGE Film featuring Iver Neumann on diplomacy.

#### Readings

Kerr & Wiseman, Introduction, pp. 1-18, and Chapter 13, *Diplomacy: A Gendered Institution*, pp. 237-250. Check out Kerr & Wiseman's companion website

Reed J. Fendrick, 'Diplomacy as an Instrument of National Power', p. 167, *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> (Fendrick's article about diplomacy begins at p.167)

Iver Neumann, 'To be a Diplomat', *International Studies Perspectives*, 2005, Vol 6, Issue 1, pp 72-83.

George F. Kennan, 'The Profession of Diplomacy', reprinted in the *Foreign Service Journal*, July/August 2015 (Go to [www.AFSA.org](http://www.AFSA.org) and go to publications, *Foreign Service Journal* archive)

AMB Robert Hutchings and Jeremi Suri, 'The Making of an Effective Diplomat: A Global View', *Foreign Service Journal*, *AFSA.org*, Dec. 2017 (Go to [www.AFSA.org](http://www.AFSA.org) and go to publications, *Foreign Service Journal* archive)

*Written Assignment - 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.*

### **Class 3 – History of Diplomacy – Not Diplomatic History**

Where does diplomacy come from? The ancient to the present. Kautilya. Sir Harold Nicolson and his 'Evolution'. Machiavelli and the Italian system (resident ambassadors/political reporting/intrigue). Richelieu and the first foreign ministry; 'continuous negotiation'; and 'raison d'état'. 'Old' diplomacy (traditional) and 'new' diplomacy. From 'Club' to 'Network' Diplomacy. What about the transition from 'national interest' (or 'raison d'état') to 'something more, call it, for example, 'raison de regime'. 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>

(NB. Sir Harold Nicholson, *The Evolution of the Diplomatic Method* (classic by one of the great diplomatic scholar/practitioners).

*Written Assignment – Each student will be assigned a 'diplomatic thinker' to research, write on (One Page – THREE PARAS ONLY of text, plus One Page ONLY bibliography), e.g., Richelieu, Callieres, Kissinger. The first para will present important historical details and what the diplomatic thinker did. The following two paras will describe the thinker's contribution to diplomacy. The written piece will be due TBD. Students will provide a five minute MAX, not more than FOUR slides presentation on the thinker. Presentations will be staggered through several class periods. Timing TBD, although we will do this in rough historical order, e.g., Kautilya will be before Machiavelli and so on.*

### **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 reporting. 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. One reason is climate change impacts in the Arctic.

#### Readings

Kerr & Wiseman, Chapter 10 – Bilateral and Multilateral Diplomatic Practices, pp. 185- 198

[NB. Kishan S. Rana, 'Bilateral Diplomacy', *Diplohandbooks Series*, DiploFoundation, 2007 (considered by many the best 'handbook' for a political officer)]

[NB. Raymond Smith, *The Craft of Political Analysis for Diplomats*, Potomac Books, 2011]

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

(NB Carne Ross, *Independent Diplomat*)

### **Class 5 – The National Diplomatic System. The Foreign Ministry (and in the US, NSC, agency process, and the Department of State). Whole of Government Operations and the PRC Experiment**

Foreign ministries have come a long way from Richelieu's time and are constantly changing to adapt to the newer, 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. The wider national security system in the United States is a complex one, involving many agencies. But beware when the system is misused. Plus, **Whole of government operations and the Provincial Reconstruction System experiment in Iraq and Afghanistan.**

#### Readings

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

(NB. Readings on PRCs.)

*Written Assignment – Draft a diplomatic 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 Trump's views on diplomacy one year plus into his presidency and the impacts that may have on your (the sending) country; the region of the world in which your country is located; and the world. Cable length – not more than three pages of text, including a summary and conclusion. This project is not due until later in the semester, TBD.*

### **Class 6 – Diplomatic Negotiation and Mediation**

Focus on how diplomatic negotiation is different from, e.g., 'The Art of the Deal'. 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 (and other 'preventive diplomacy' follow on possibilities). The 'track diplomacy' system. A note on diplomacy and the use of force.

#### 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.

Kennan, 'Measures Short of War', U.S. National War College, (online)

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.)

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.

(NB. Dr. Louise Diamond & Ambassador John McDonald, **Multi-Track Diplomacy: A Systems Approach to Peace, Third Ed., Kumarian Press, 1996**)

### **Class 7 – 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 World Court case on the takeover of the US embassy in Tehran. Consider the disclosure of diplomatic communications by WikiLeaks.

Readings

Jonsson & Hall, *Essence of Diplomacy*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, pp. 67-97, on the norm of communication. (On Reserve at Bobst.)

Oglesby, *Sage Handbook of Diplomacy*, chapter on 'Diplomatic Language', pp. 242 – 267 (On Reserve at Bobst)

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

*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)

[On reserve: Sir Ivor Roberts, ed., 'Satow's Diplomatic Practice', 6<sup>th</sup> edition, Oxford, 2009. Of possible use for the below Assignment]

[On reserve: Marjorie Whiteman, Assistant Legal Adviser, the Department of State, *Digest of International Law*, Vol 7, Department of State publication, released 1970 Of possible use in the below Assignment]

*Written Assignment - Scenario-based diplomatic law/immunities project. Draft either talking points or diplomatic notes – host government to sending state; sending state to host government either way – re diplomatic immunities of Indian ambassador to the U.S. treatment by TSA; or, Raymond Davis in Pakistan; other real examples to be provided. Due TBD*

**Class 8 – Theory and Diplomacy**

Although there is no deep, unified theory of diplomacy *per se*, there is much fascinating exploration into the theoretical context of diplomacy by political scientists. This is also the opportunity to learn something about an area of international relations theory that is not frequently studied in the United States, the English School.

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

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

On reserve at Bobst: Berridge, Keens-Soper, and Otte, '*Diplomatic Theory from Machiavelli to Kissinger*', Palgrave, 2001.

*Written Assignment/Group Assignment: Students – working in groups - are assigned to write a group paper on a specific theory of diplomacy, the U.S. approach to diplomacy, Chinese diplomacy, niche diplomacy, celebrity diplomacy, religion &*

diplomacy (e.g., the experiment in the Kerry State Department), etc., and prepare a final presentation for the class as a group.

### **Class 9 – Non-traditional Diplomacy. Public Diplomacy – Receives lion’s share of attention and research)**

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. Like many topics in this syllabus, public diplomacy deserves treatment as a course in itself.

#### Readings

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

(NB Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, Public Affairs, New York, 2004)

(NB Jan Melissen, *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007)

(NB USC Center Public Diplomacy)

### **Class 10 – Consular Diplomacy**

Very difficult practical work of a diplomat. Major and growing function. How does it differ from classical diplomacy. Evolution of consular function. The new face of the US embassy. Rogers Act of 1924; etc. Having served as a consul in Baghdad myself, consular issues can be the most difficult of any to address. Consider also how to treat a psychotic national in a foreign country or, the Ebola emergency, or the repatriation of a child from a third country kidnapped by a parent, etc.

#### Readings

Kerr & Wiseman, pp. 160-173; Chapter 9 - Consular Diplomacy

On reserve - Jan Melissen and Ana Mar Fernandez, eds. ‘Consular Affairs and Diplomacy’, *Diplomatic Studies Series*, Clingendael, Vol 7, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, Leiden, Boston, 2011; and other material.

### **Class 11 – Non-traditional Diplomacy, cont’d., i.e., economic & science and technology**

Economic Statecraft, reinvigorated for the 21<sup>st</sup> century, a current focus of SecState Kerry & development diplomacy (Guest speaker?) Time permitting, watch some of the video on the AFSA website about Economic Diplomacy

#### Readings

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

Berridge, pp. 210 – 224; Chapter 14 – Economic and Commercial 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.)

The system of Multilateral Environmental Agreements (MEAs)

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

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

**Class 13 - Issues in Diplomacy & Career Diplomacy**

On ethics and dissent. Reconsideration of the morality piece. Speaking truth to power. How national interest and personal integrity can clash and how that might be addressed. The 'spoils system' in the US. Education/training in the USFS.