

As of July 28, 2010

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Syllabus
Workshop: MSFS-717
Fall Semester 2010
9:05-12:05, ICC 202

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CREATING A 21ST CENTURY DIPLOMACY

Course Description

The substance and practice of diplomacy are rapidly changing. The profession of representing nation states has collided with the 24-hour media cycle, terrorism and extremism, globalization and the global financial crisis, climate change, proliferation, disease, changes in demography and stresses on international institutions.

What can diplomats do to meet the challenges of the 21st century? Our workshop will consider the principles and attributes which should define 21st century diplomatic practice and then test these ideas through presentations, role-plays and written work. Success in the class will be based on doing the assigned readings, preparing an oral presentation, actively participating in the role-plays/simulations, participating in class discussion, conducting two interviews with practitioners, and completing the three types of written assignments.

Course Requirements

The assigned readings will inform our discussions and serve as the foundation for presentations, role plays and the final paper. Readings should be completed before class; the more you are able to draw on them throughout the course, in your class participation, and presentations and written work, the better.

There are 8 books to buy; they should be at the University Bookstore or available online.

- Surprise, Security and the American Experience by John Lewis Gaddis;
- Collapse by Jared Diamond;
- Cosmopolitanism by Kwame Anthony Appiah;
- The Return of History and the End of Dreams by Robert Kagan;
- The Utility of Force by General Rupert Smith;
- Terror and Consent by Phillip Bobbitt;
- War of Necessity, War of Choice by Richard Haass;
- After the Taliban by James Dobbins.

The America Abroad Media radio programs are available for downloading online at www.americaabroadmedia.org.

The following readings from the syllabus will be distributed either before or during class:

- The articles from the New York Review of Books;
- The Embassy of the Future;
- A Foreign Affairs Budget for the Future;
- Confronting the Long Crisis of Globalization: Risk, Resilience and International Order
- Toward a Brighter Future: A Transatlantic Call for Renewed Leadership and Partnership in Global Development;
- Integrating Instruments of Power and Influence;

-- Enhancing Democracy Assistance.

-- CFR Report on US Nuclear Weapons Policy (Independent Task Force Report No. 62)

The other readings are available from online sources (like the CSIS website) or on reserve at the library, which is where you will find the background readings. Students will also benefit from articles relevant to the course which appear regularly in the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Financial Times* and the *Economist*.

Each student will make a fifteen-minute oral presentation during one of our sessions. The syllabus highlights examples of topics and scenarios for these presentations. Preparation for presentations requires two interviews with current or former practitioners/experts. Presenters should turn in (hard copy) memoranda of conversation (memcons) of not more than one page apiece for each of these two interviews on the day of their presentation. We will assign these presentation dates at our class on September 14.

We will also do role-plays/simulations in the course. During our session on September 21, we will assign individual and team tasks for the role plays. On the day of their role-play/simulation, each student with a role for that day should turn in a two-page paper: the first page should be background on the role the student is about to play; the second page should be talking points on which students will draw during their active participation in the event.

Each student is also responsible for a final paper of not more than 5 pages. This paper should take the form of an action memo to the Secretary of State, identifying a foreign policy issue (a current challenge or a possible scenario) and the describing how new practices or institutions adopted by 21st century diplomats can meet the challenge. The emphasis in the memo should be on the discussion of the new practices and/or new structures you have identified to meet the challenge. The action memo should have a background section, a section reviewing the pros and cons of various options and a section outlining your recommendation. Don't forget to put an "approved/disapproved" line at the end of the memo preceded by a sentence which succinctly restates the issue, including specific action(s) requested of the Secretary or another principal.

Grades will be based 50% on written work (memcons, background/talking points papers and the final action memo), and 50% on overall classroom participation, including the role-play/simulations and the individual oral presentation.

1. September 7: Introduction and Overview: The state of diplomacy/the diplomatic profession today

Readings:

- The Embassy of the Future, October 15, 2007, (CSIS)
- Force and Statecraft, Paul Gordon Lauren, Gordon A. Craig and Alexander L. George, Chapters 6 and 7. D363.L34 2007
- Speech by Secretary Rice at Georgetown University, January 18, 2006, on “Transformational Diplomacy,”
<http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2006/59306.htm>
- Speech by Secretary Rice at Georgetown University, February 12, 2008, “Remarks on Transformational Diplomacy,”
<http://merln.ndu.edu/archivepdf/nss/state/100703.pdf>
- Speech by Secretary of Defense Robert Gates at CSIS (pre-Alfalfa luncheon, January 26, 2008),
<http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/speech.aspx?speechid=1211>
- “The Tsunami Core Group,” by Marc Grossman in Security Challenges, published by the Kokoda Foundation, Volume 1, Number 1, November 2005,
<http://www.securitychallenges.org.au/SC%20Vol%201%20No%201/vol1no1grossman.html>
- Diplomacy under Fire: Out of the Embassies, into the Streets. America Abroad Media, July 2009
- The Foreign Affairs Budget of the Future, The American Academy of Diplomacy
- President Obama's Speech at West Point,
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-united-states-military-academy-west-point-commencement>

Background Reading:

- Power & Negotiation, William Zartman and Jeffrey Rubin, Chapter 11. JZ6045 .P69 2000
- Diplomacy, Henry Kissinger. Pages 56-102. JX1662 .K57 1994

- Seeing the Elephant, Hans Binnendijk & Richard Kugler, Chapter 7. UA23 .B4985 2006

Things to Think About:

1. Is there really a “revolution in diplomacy?”
2. Diplomats have traditionally focused on observation and reporting. To meet 21st century challenges, is this sufficient?
3. What kind of people become diplomats today? Is it the same group (by background, education, etc.) in the US as it is in other countries?
4. How can 21st century diplomats use technology to empower themselves and reach new audiences?

2. September 14: Attitudes Toward Diplomacy

Readings:

- Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How it Changed the World, Walter Russell Meade, pages 56-98, 310-334. E183.7 .M47156 2002
- Surprise Security and the American Experience, John Lewis Gaddis
- The Return of History and the End of Dreams, Robert Kagan
- “The Art of Peace: Bringing Diplomacy Back to Washington,” Chester Crocker, *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2007, Pages 160-168, <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/print/62670>
- Library of Congress, Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, Foreign Service Oral Histories, <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/diplomacy> or Google: Frontline Diplomacy. (Please choose three oral histories to review/skim. The object is to get a sense of what the people you are interested did for their careers as diplomats.)
- President Barak Obama’s Remarks at National Defense University Lincoln Hall Dedication, March 12, 2009, http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-by-the-President-at-the-Dedication-of-Abraham-Lincoln-Hall/
- “Diplomacy Works, But it Cannot Defuse Every Threat,” Philip Stephens, *The Financial Times*, May 7, 2009, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/34115604-3b31-11de-ba91-00144feabdc0.html>

- Hillary Clinton, foreign policy address at the Council on Foreign Relations, July 15, 2009, <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2009a/july/126071.htm>
- Marc Grossman, "Challenges to Diplomacy in the US State Department" in Matthew J. Morgan, The Impact of 9/11 on Politics and War. HV6432.7.I44 2009
- President Obama's National Security Strategy, May 2010, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2010/05/27/a-blueprint-pursuing-world-we-see>
- "Obama's Foreign Policy Challenge," Henry A. Kissinger, *The Washington Post*, April 22, 2009, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/04/21/AR2009042102967.html>

Background Reading:

- A Dangerous Nation, Robert Kagan, Chapters 1-4 and 7. E183.7 .K34 2006
- Founding Brothers, Joseph Ellis, Chapter 4. E302.5 .E45 2000

Things to Think About:

1. How has the practice of American diplomacy changed since 9/11?
2. What attitude does the American public bring to its view of diplomacy? Does this affect the way US diplomats practice their profession?
3. How does the US view of its role impact/collide/enhance/constrain other countries' "unique" diplomacy?
4. What are the external constraints on diplomacy? Presidents Bush and Obama have increased State Department budgets. Will this be possible in the future given the future of huge federal deficits? Are there other constraints posed by the interests of other agencies represented on the National Security Council or the National Economic Council? What is the future international/diplomatic role for the Department of Homeland Security?
5. Are American attitudes toward diplomacy reflected in other countries? Do Norwegian or Japanese or Brazilian diplomats face the same public ambivalence to the diplomatic profession that exists in the United States?

Examples of Presentation Topics:

1. Advise the Secretary of State on a presentation she intends to make to a group interested in joining the Foreign Service. Why should they become

diplomats? How will she describe the way their careers will be different than the past?

2. You are the Indian Foreign Minister. The remarkable changes in India over the past five years have given India a regional and global voice on many of the world's "cutting edge" diplomatic issues. Make a presentation to the Indian Cabinet seeking a 25% increase in India's diplomatic budget. Combine this request with a list of specific changes you intend to make to the practices of Indian diplomacy to most effectively pursue India's 21st century interests.

3. You are General James Jones, President Obama's National Security Advisor. The President has been reading editorial comment from both at home and abroad which questions his belief that diplomacy can be a key part of finding answers to the world's problems. The President has asked you to brief him on the status of the Administration's main diplomatic initiatives and what concrete/specific outcomes you expect by December, 2010 so that the President can highlight them in his January 2011 State of the Union address. Is anyone likely to take any more Guantanamo detainees? What progress will Senator Mitchell have made by year's end? What will be different about Afghanistan and Pakistan? Any diplomatic progress on North Korea or Iran? Did the President's speech in Cairo in June 2009 make any appreciable difference in the way the United States is viewed in the Muslim world? Has US diplomacy at the Organization of American States produced any identifiable change in the foreign or domestic behavior of Cuba or Hugo Chavez? With no US energy legislation, what can the US do about climate change?

3. September 21: A 21st Century Anti-Terrorism Diplomacy

Readings:

- The Looming Tower, Lawrence Wright. Pages 7-31 and 333-373. HV6432.7 W75 2006
- Terror and Consent, Philip Bobbitt, pages 3-124 and 521-546
- "A Larger War on Terror?" David Cole, *The New York Review of Books*, December 4, 2008
- Remarks by President Obama on "Securing Our Nation's Cyber Infrastructure," Friday, May 29, 2009, http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-by-the-President-on-Securing-Our-Nations-Cyber-Infrastructure/

- Securing Cyber Space for the 44th Presidency, CSIS, December 8, 2008 (available as a PDF at CSIS.org).
- President Bush's National Strategy for Combating Terrorism, February 14, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/02/print/20030214-7.html>
- CSIS Commission on Smart Power, Richard Armitage & Joseph Nye, http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/071106_csissmartpowerreport.pdf, forward and introduction, pages 3-14
- Deepak Lal, "Will Terrorism Defeat Globalization?" in No More States, edited by Richard N. Rosecrance & Arthur Stein, pages 35-45. JZ1318 .N6 2006

Background Readings:

- Global Financial Warriors, John Taylor. Pages 1-28. HG3881 .T39 2007
- Nuclear Terrorism, Graham Allison. 176-209. HV6432 .A45 2004

Things to Think About:

1. What will need to change about the practice of American and/or Allied diplomacy to defeat extremism?
2. What new diplomatic mechanisms are needed to deny extremists nuclear weapons?
3. Is it possible to conceive of a theory/practice of deterrence for cyber attack? What deterrent models (nuclear, biological, chemical) might have lessons for cyber warfare or cyber attack? What diplomatic steps would be required to organize a deterrent system domestically and internationally?

Examples of Presentation Topics:

1. Brief the new British PM on the domestic terrorist threat in Britain. Describe how the Foreign Office is changing (and has changed) the way it does business both at home and abroad to meet this challenge.
2. Advise the Secretary of State on the type of International Visitor Programs the US should offer current and future foreign opinion shapers. Is it possible to avoid creating more Sayyid Qutbs? (See The Looming Tower).
3. You are the Director for National Intelligence. Make a presentation to the National Security Council on the non-military (diplomatic) steps the

United States, its friends and its Allies can or should be taking to deter cyber-terrorism or cyber attacks.

4. You are the Foreign Minister of Colombia. You have been invited by the Mexican President to have lunch at the Presidential Palace in Mexico City to talk about what works and what doesn't in a campaign to defeat narco-terrorism. What will you tell the Mexican President about Colombia's experience over the past 20 years? What are the similarities and differences between Plan Colombia and the Merida Initiative? What advice will you give the Mexican President about how to manage relations with the United States on these issues?

4. September 28: Diplomacy, Promotion of Democracy and Free Markets

Readings:

- Nobel Lecture, the Nobel Peace Prize 2006, Muhammad Yunus, http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/2006/yunus-lecture-en.html.
- “Doctrine of the International Community,” Prime Minister Tony Blair’s Speech in Chicago, April 24, 1999, <http://www.number-10.gov.uk/output/Page1297.asp>
- “Freedom in Iraq and Middle East,” Remarks by President Bush at the 20th Anniversary of the National Endowment for Democracy, November 6, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/11/print/20031106-2.html>
- Enhancing Democracy Assistance, Lincoln A. Mitchell & David L. Phillips, for the Atlantic Council of the United States, January 2008
- Prime Minister Tony Blair’s Foreign Policy Speech, Georgetown University, May 26, 2006, <http://www.pm.gov.uk/output/Page9549.asp>
- No More States, edited by Richard N. Rosecrance & Arthur Stein, Chapters 1 and 2 (pages 3-34)
- Terror and Consent, Philip Bobbitt, Pages 180-236
- Toward a Brighter Future: A Transatlantic Call for Renewed Leadership and Partnership in Global Development, The German Marshall Fund of the United States, 2009
- Arrested Development: Short Changing Foreign Aid, America Abroad Media, December 2009

Background Reading:

- History of the Present, Timothy Garton Ash. Pages 326-369. D2009 .G37 2001
- Democracy in U.S. Security Strategy, Alexander T. J. Lennon, CSIS, March 2009, available at CSIS.org as PDF, http://www.csis.org/component/option,com_csis_pubs/task,view/id,532/5/

Examples of Presentation Topics

1. Brief the President on any possible diplomatic lessons that can be drawn for the post-Iraq war Middle East from the transition from communism to freedom in what was once Eastern Europe. Might it be possible to create a CSCE/OSCE diplomatic process in the Middle East?

2. As the US Ambassador in Beijing, make a presentation to the Chinese leadership arguing that while every country will have to decide its own form of legitimacy in government, the Chinese leadership should use this period of enhanced power and influence in the world to promote a more pluralistic China; that pluralism and tolerance will make China a more successful nation over the longer term.

3. You are the Ambassador of Brazil to Venezuela. You have the opportunity to spend 30 minutes with Hugo Chavez and decide to use it to speak to the Venezuelan leader about the importance to Brazil and to the region of a Venezuela which respects democracy and free markets. What arguments will you make to the Venezuelan leader?

4. You and the Secretary of the Treasury have been invited to testify together at a Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing about the rise of "state capitalism" and the future of the free market. What will you say in your opening testimony about the future of the "Washington consensus?" What should the US policy toward national oil companies, state-owned firms such as Dubai's Nakhel, Emaar and Dubai World, Russia's Gazprom or state arms control export corporations and, of course, China's version of "state capitalism?" (You may wish to consult Ian Bremmer, *The End of the Free Market*, Penguin, New York, 2010.)

5. October 5: Protecting the Global Environment: A 21st Century Diplomatic Imperative

Readings:

- Collapse, Jared Diamond. Pages 79-119, 420-440, 486-525
- Speech by Senator Richard Lugar at the German Marshall Fund in Riga, Latvia December 2006, <http://lugar.senate.gov/energy/press/speech/riga.cfm>
- National Security Consequences of US Oil Dependency, Council on Foreign Relations Independent Task Force Report No. 58, 2006, <http://www.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/EnergyTFR.pdf>
- National Security and the Threat of Climate Change, The CNA Corporation, 2007, pp 1-48, <http://securityandclimate.cna.org/report/National%20Security%20and%20the%20Threat%20of%20Climate%20Change.pdf>
- Feeling the Heat: The Global Politics of Climate Change, America Abroad Media
- Running on Empty: America's Energy Security, America Abroad Media

Background Readings:

- A Marshall Plan for Energy, Water and Agriculture in Developing Countries. A Policy Paper of the Atlantic Council. Part 1, March 2005. Part 2, April 2007. www.acus.org
- Preventive Negotiation, I. William Zartman, Chapter 9. JZ1305 .P74 2001

Things to Think About:

1. How would the practice of international diplomacy have to change to promote energy security for the largest number of consumer countries?

2. Is there a way to balance energy security and environmental protection? Is there a 21st century diplomacy that can adapt energy security to economic development in the poorest countries?

3. How will Canadian diplomacy need to change to react to melting ice in the Arctic? Will there be a northwest passage? Will warships of other countries be able to transit north of Canada? Will Canada need to protect new northern trade routes?

4. Does the discovery of large reserves of shale gas change the way the United States, the European Union, Russia and Turkey think about the

Nabucco Pipeline? What effect will shale gas discoveries in China have on Chinese energy policy?

Role-Play/Simulation:

President Obama considers his International Conference on Nuclear Non-Proliferation held in Washington in spring, 2010, to have been a success. He would like to convene a meeting in December, 2010 (a year after Copenhagen) of the major coal consuming countries to develop and announce a major, international effort to find and then commercially deploy clean coal technologies. He has invited the leaders of China, India and Australia to attend this summit. He has invited the leaders of Russia and the European Union to join as observers. We will try two role-plays for this week: first, students will gather as members of the President's National Security Council (including the Secretary of Energy) to brief the President on his objectives at the summit and how he should carry out the diplomacy necessary to achieve those objectives; second, students will role-play part of the summit itself: students could, for example, be the President, the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Energy while others might be the leaders of China, India and Australia.

6. October 12: A 21st Century Non-Proliferation Diplomacy

Readings:

- US Nuclear Weapons Policy, Independent Task Force Report No. 62, Council on Foreign Relations, 2009
- The Nuclear Tipping Point, Kurt Campbell, Robert Einhorn and Mitchell Reiss, pages 18-31, 317-348
- “Mr. Counterintuition,” Weekend interview with Thomas Schelling, by Michael Spence, *The Wall Street Journal*, February 17, 2007, <http://www.opinionjournal.com/editorial/feature.html?id=110009680>
- “A World Free of Nuclear Weapons,” George Shultz, William Perry, Henry Kissinger, Sam Nunn, *The Wall Street Journal*, January 4, 2007, http://www.fcni.org/issues/item_print.php?item_id=2252&issue_id=54 & “Toward a Nuclear Free World,” January 15, 2008, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB120036422673589947.html>
- Bomb Scare: Confronting the Nuclear Threat, America Abroad Media, December, 2006
- Henry A. Kissinger, “Our Nuclear Nightmare,” *Newsweek*, February 16, 2009,

- <http://www.nukewatch.org/media2/postData.php?id=2263>
- Bruce Riedel, “Pakistan and the Bomb,” *Wall Street Journal*, May 30-31, 2009,
<http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052970203658504574191842820382548.html#printMode>
 - How to Deal with Iran, Luers, Pickering, Walsh, The New York Review of Books, February 12, 2009
 - Richard L. Kugler, An Extended Deterrence Regime to Counter Iranian Nuclear Weapons, Defense and Technology Paper 67, Center for Technology and National Security Policy, National Defense University, September 2009, www.ndu.edu/ctnsp/publications.html

Examples of Presentation Topics:

1. You are the Foreign Minister of India or China. You have decided that your nation should become a member of the Proliferation Security Initiative. This is a very controversial issue in your country. Make a presentation to the Indian or Chinese National Security Council equivalent about why it is time for the country to take this step.
2. Present a proposal to the US National Counterterrorism Center on how new avenues of diplomacy might deter proliferation from non-state actors.
3. You are a member of the Japanese or Turkish National Security Council. Iran or North Korea take steps to continue their efforts to become nuclear weapons states. You have been asked to make a presentation to the Turkish or Japanese NSC on the pros and cons of Turkey or Japan pursuing a clandestine nuclear weapons program in “self defense.” What are the most powerful diplomatic arguments pro and con and what do you conclude?
4. You are the Undersecretary of State for Security Assistance, Science and Technology. You have been invited to give a speech to the World Affairs Council of San Francisco on the subject of nuclear non-proliferation. What will be your main points for this audience, which may include former Secretary of State George Shultz and former Secretary of Defense William Perry who live just down the peninsula at Stanford? How will you weave together President Obama's speech in Prague, the results of the Non-Proliferation Summit in Washington in spring 2010, the NPT Review Conference in the same year and the Administration's Nuclear Posture Review? As you are thinking about making this presentation, what would you imagine will be the three

hardest questions which will come from the audience at the end of your talk? What will your answers be?

7. October 19: Demography and Diplomacy: Immigration, Refugees, Disease/Global Health/Narcoterrorism/Crime

Readings:

- CSIS Smart Power, pp 37-46
- The International Crooks Now in Power, Joshua Hammer, the New York Review of Books, October 23, 2008
- “The Next Pandemic?” Laurie Garrett, Foreign Affairs, July-August 2005, <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20050701faessay84401/laurie-garrett/the-next-pandemic.html?mode=print>
- “Preparing for the Next Pandemic,” Michael T. Osterholm, Foreign Affairs, July-August 2005, <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20050701faessay84402/michael-t-osterholm/preparing-for-the-next-pandemic.html?mode=print>
- Avian Flu: Pandemic Threat and the Global Response, American Abroad Media, January, 2006
- “Is Afghanistan a Narco-State,” Thomas Schweich, *The New York Times Magazine*, July 27, 2008 http://www.nytimes.com/2008/07/27/magazine/27AFGHAN-t.html?_r=1&pagewanted=print&oref=slogin
- Andrew Jack & Daniel Dombey, “WHO Bows to Criticism over its Swing Flu Alert, *The Financial Times*, May 22, 2009, http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/f73736ec-46f5-11de-923e-00144feabdc0,dwp_uid=819fc44c-33e2-11de-9eea-00144feabdc0.html
- “Water: Sin Aqua Non,” *The Economist*, April 11, 2009, http://www.economist.com/world/international/displayStory.cfm?story_id=13447271
- “Climate Change: When Glaciers Start Moving,” *The Economist*, April 11, 2009, http://www.economist.com/world/international/displaystory.cfm?story_id=13447263
- “Outsourcing’s Third Wave, *The Economist*, April 23, 2009, http://www.economist.com/world/international/displayStory.cfm?story_id=13692889

- Jason DeParle, "Global Migration: A World Ever More on the Move," NYT, June 25, 2010, http://www.nytimes.com/2010/06/27/weekinreview/27deparle.html?pagewanted=1&r=1&ref=jason_deparle

Background Readings:

- Latin American Drugs I: Losing the Fight, International Crisis Group Latin America Report Number 25, March 14, 2008, http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/latin_america/25_latin_american_drugs_i_losing_the_fight_final.pdf
- Latin American Drugs II: Improving Policy and Reducing Harm, International Crisis Group Latin America Report Number 26, March 14, 2008, http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/latin_america/latin_american_drugs_ii_improving_policy_and_reducing_harm_final.pdf

Possible Presentation Topics:

1. Brief President Obama and President Karzai (as part of a meeting between the two in the Oval Office) on next diplomatic steps required to eradicate heroin production in Afghanistan. What is the connection between narcotics eradication and political and economic development? What priorities should the two Presidents give to counter-narcotics strategy in the larger effort to promote counter-insurgency in Afghanistan? How does President Karzai convince President Obama that he is doing enough to keep the Americans happy but not too much to lose support at home?

2. Brief the Secretary of State on the links between international crime (including narco-terrorism) and international terrorism and propose diplomatic activities to counter them.

3. You are the Head of WHO. You have convened a meeting in Geneva of your senior leadership to do an "after action" review of the WHO/global response to the 2009 H1N1 outbreak. What were the strengths and weaknesses of WHO's response? What would you do differently next time?

4. You are Stuart Levey, Treasury Undersecretary for Terrorism and Financial Intelligence (TFI) in charge of enforcing the laws, rules and regulations designed to stop terrorist financing. You have been invited to a meeting of European Union heads of state and government. You have been given 15 minutes to brief the leaders on what the United States would like to see happen next in the effort to staunch money flows to terrorist groups, the

Iranian government (focused on Iran's nuclear weapons program) and North Korea. What are your main messages? What specifically will you ask for?

8. October 26: Challenges to Multilateral Institutions

Readings:

- CSIS Smart Power, pp 27-36
- “Rebuilding the Atlantic Alliance,” Ronald Asmus in *Foreign Affairs*, Volume 82, Number 5 (September/October, 2003); pp. 20-31, <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20030901faessay82502/ronald-d-asmus/rebuilding-the-atlantic-alliance.html>
- Transatlantic Trends, Key Findings, 2008, The German Marshall Fund, http://www.transatlantictrends.org/trends/doc/2008_English_Key.pdf
- Preventing Violent Conflicts, Michael Lund, Chapter 5 JX4473 .L86 1996.
- “New Purposes, New Plumbing: Rebuilding the Atlantic Alliance,” Ronald G. Asmus, *The American Interest*, November/December 2008, http://www.euractiv.com/29/images/Rebuilding%20EUUS%20relations_tcm29-175999.pdf
- “Modernizing Multilateralism and Markets,” Robert B. Zoellick, Remarks at the Peterson Institute, October 6, 2008, <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/NEWS/0,,contentMDK:21927552~pagePK:34370~piPK:42770~theSitePK:4607,00.html>
- Toward a New Transatlantic Compact, Richard L. Kugler and Hans Binnendijk, Defense Technology Paper, Center for Technology & National Security Policy, National Defense University, available at http://www.ndu.edu/CTNSP/Def_Tech/DTP%2052%20NATO%20Concept%20and%20Compact.pdf
- A Plan for Action: A New Era of International Cooperation for a Changed World: 2009, 2010, and Beyond, A report by Managing Global Insecurity, Brookings Institution, September 2008, http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/reports/2008/11_action_plan_mgi/11_action_plan_mgi.pdf

Background Readings:

- Preventive Negotiation, I. William Zartman, Chapter 1. JZ1305 .P74 2001

Role-Play:

The permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council has not changed since the UN's creation after World War II. There has been a long-running debate about Security Council expansion. We will constitute the workshop as the UN Security Council and invite representatives of Japan, Brazil, Germany and India to come make their case for full membership on the Council and then debate next steps.

9. November 2: Diplomacy and America's Image Abroad**Readings:**

- Communication Breakdown, America Abroad Media, February, 2008
- "New Media Tools in Public Diplomacy," Interview with Elliot Schrage, VP of Global Communications, Marketing & Public Diplomacy, Facebook & Lee Hudson Teslik, Associate Editor, CRG.org, May 11, 2009, <http://www.cfr.org/publication/19300/>
- President Obama's Remarks on a New Beginning, Cairo University, Cairo, Egypt, June 4, 2009, http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-by-the-President-at-Cairo-University-6-04-09/
- Changing Minds Winning Peace: A New Strategic Direction for US Public Diplomacy in the Arab & Muslim World, Edward J. Djerejian, Chairman of Advisory Group, October 1, 2003, <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/24882.pdf>
- Cosmopolitanism, Kwame Anthony Appiah

Things to Think About:

1. Is 21st century diplomacy only about public diplomacy?
2. Is there a special role for private sector/private citizen diplomacy in the 21st century?
3. What new ways can 21st century diplomats use to engage Islamic publics in constructive dialogue? How should diplomats leverage formal and informal networks abroad (local/global media – print, internet, blogs, working with NGOs) to better highlight the American message/mission?

Examples of Presentation Topics:

1. As the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy, brief the President on what new things America's diplomats are doing, including using new technology, to improve the US image in the world.

2. As a prospective recipient of a grant to visit the US, what concerns you about your trip? What would you like to see? Whom would you like to meet?

10. November 9: The Role of Diplomacy Before Conflict

Readings:

- The Utility of Force, Rupert Smith, pages 269-307
- War of Necessity, War of Choice, Richard Haass, pages 13-115 and 168-232
- Terror and Consent, Philip Bobbitt, Pages 125-179
- Global Financial Warriors, John Taylor, Chapter 6 HG 3881 .T39 2007
- Allies at a Crossroad: Turkey and the United States, America Abroad Media, November, 2007
- “Addressing State Failure,” *Foreign Affairs*, Stephen Krasner, Carlos Pascual, (July/Aug 2005),
<http://www.nps.edu/CSRS/Resources/S&R/Foreign%20Affairs-FINAL.pdf>

Background Reading:

- Preventive Negotiation, William Zartman, Chapter 2. JZ1305 .P74 2001
- Preventing Violent Conflicts, Michael Lund, Chapter 4, p. 43, 47, 55-57, p. 203-205. JX4473 .L86 1996

Things to Think About:

1. What diplomatic tools are appropriate for pre-conflict zones, and in what situations would they be employed? What are the warning signs that conflict will turn violent?
2. How can diplomacy be used to help failing states contain violence?
3. What is the role of the diplomat in the lead up to war?

Role-Play:

We will examine the decisions and events leading up to the March 1, 2003 decision by the Turkish Parliament to deny access by the US 4th Infantry Division to Turkey on the way to Iraq. We will do two role-plays during the session:

- An NSC meeting, chaired by the US President, where the decision is taken to ask Turkey for permission to transit US forces.

- A telescoped negotiation between Turkish and American officials to set the military, political and economic terms for the transit.

11. November 16: The Role of Diplomacy After Conflict

Readings:

- America's Role in Nation Building, Jim Dobbins, Executive Summary and chapters 7 and 8, http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1753/
- The Utility of Force, Rupert Smith, pages 308-373
- War of Necessity, War of Choice, Richard Haass, pages 233-266 & 279-293
- Terror & Consent, Philip Bobbitt, pages 146-179
- After the Taliban, James Dobbins
- "Winning the Peace," America Abroad Media
- Improving Capacity for Stabilization and Reconstruction Operations, Nora Bensahel, Olga Oliker, Heather Peterson, RAND Corporation, 2009, http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2009/RAND_MG852.pdf
- Integrating Instruments of Power and Influence, Robert Hunter, RAND & The American Academy of Diplomacy, 2008, http://www.rand.org/pubs/conf_proceedings/CF251/
- Articles by Lugar, Binnendijk, Herbst, Schnaubelt and Dobbins in *Prism*, a journal of the Center for Complex Operations, Volume 1, Number 1, December 2009, available at ndupress.ndu.

Things to Think About:

1. Are there new techniques diplomats should adopt to affect post-conflict zones?
2. What are the best mechanisms for nations to work together in building peace in post-conflict zones?
3. Are there new kinds of international mediation tools or mechanisms that can be designed to avoid/quickly end ethnic regional conflicts?
4. Are there lessons that can be learned from previous negotiations in Bosnia, Kosovo, Darfur, Cambodia, for nations managing internal strife, and external mediators working to avert disaster?
5. Are there certain elements in international diplomacy or factors in the nature of the conflict that contribute to successful conflict management/resolution?

Role-Play/Simulation:

All peaceful/diplomatic efforts to force North Korea to give up its nuclear weapons program have failed. In mid-November 2010, the UN Security Council unanimously passed a Chapter 7 resolution authorizing the use of force to end North Korea's nuclear weapons program. The resolution gives Pyongyang 90 days fully to comply or face the consequences. No member of the Security Council expects the North Korean leadership to meet this deadline; military preparations are advancing rapidly.

The role-play will be a meeting chaired by Secretary of State Clinton to which she has invited counterparts from Russia, China, South Korea, Japan, Thailand and Australia. The objective of the session is to establish a broad plan of action and to divide responsibilities for the immediate post-conflict period in North Korea. Secretary Clinton is accompanied by the Director of USAID and by the Director of the State Department's Office of Reconstruction and Stabilization. The United Nations is represented by the Director of the Office of Peacekeeping Operations.

The role-play should focus on this question: What should nations/international organizations be doing now to prepare for the post-conflict situation in North Korea, which will be characterized by casualties from the military action, refugees pushing into China and/or South Korea, IDPs, the possibility of a North Korean military threat to South Korea, the question of who governs after conflict, and issues of long-term reconstruction and stabilization?

12. November 23: New Forms of Diplomacy**Readings:**

- Politics is About Relationship, Harold H. Saunders (Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), pp 1-11, 47-81, 211-222, JC337 .S28 2005
- Unsilencing the Past, David L. Phillips (Berghahn Books, 2005), pp 1-26, 51-57, 135-149, DS195 .P35 2005
- Independent Diplomat, Carne Ross (Cornell University Press, 2007), PP 1-26, 83-106, 187-203, JZ1305 .R674 2007
- One Nation Under Contract, Allison Stanger (Yale University Press, London and New Haven, 2009), J21480.577 2009

Things to Think About:

1. If Philip Bobbitt (Terror and Consent) and others are right that we are in a transition from the "nation state" to the "market state," will this transition

encourage more or less private diplomacy? Is there a real opportunity in the medium to longer term for private efforts?

2. Are private diplomatic efforts related to or connected to the general “contracting out” of government services and foreign policy? Might Blackwater and Independent Diplomat be part of the same phenomenon?

3. What is the best way for government to incorporate private efforts into long-term policymaking? Should governments initiate private efforts, such as the Turkish-Armenian Reconciliation Commission, or does government initiation taint private efforts? What position should private foreign policy operators take if government rejects their advice?

Examples of Presentation Topics:

1. You are the President of the International Crisis Group. You have just issued a report on narcotics in Latin America (see background readings for October 20). You have the opportunity to make a presentation about the ICG’s findings to the OAS Council of Ambassadors. What are your talking points?

2. Independent Diplomat is a for-profit organization. You are Carne Ross and Ambassador Tom Miller, ID's Washington Representative. You are about to go into a meeting with the leadership of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, who is at the end of their first year of retaining Independent Diplomat to speak for their TRNC in world fora and advise on negotiations with the Greek Cypriots and the UN. What presentation do you make to the TRNC leadership to convince them to sign up for another year?

3. You have been studying the Oslo negotiations. You have come to the conclusion that there is a requirement, if there is to be any progress on Middle East peace, for another round of Oslo-like private negotiations. You have secured funding from the Norwegian government for the meetings. You are about to present your suggestion to a group of Israelis and Palestinians that you have assembled who you think might be the core of Oslo II. What do you say to them? What kind of people do you hope are sitting in front of you? Have you informed the relevant governments of your approach?

13. November 30: A Diplomacy for the 21st Century: Wrapping Up

Required Readings:

- Thinking in Time, Richard Neustadt & Ernest May. Preface, Pages 34-57 and 232-246
- “Waving Goodbye to Hegemony,” by Parag Khanna, *New York Times Magazine*, January 27, 2008,

- http://www.paragkhanna.com/2008/01/waving_goodbye_to_hegemony.html
- Diplomacy for the Next Century, Abba Eban, Chapter 2. JZ1305 .E72 1998
 - “The Age of Nonpolarity: What Will Follow US Dominance,” Richard N. Haass, *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2008, <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080501faessay87304-p0/richard-n-haass/the-age-of-nonpolarity.html>
 - The Cold War. John Lewis Gaddis, Epilogue
 - “What You Can Learn from Reinhold Niebuhr,” Brian Urquhart, *The New York Review of Books*, March 26, 2009
 - “The View from Gate 14,” Peggy Noonan, *The Wall Street Journal*, April 26-27, 2008, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB120906741679842493.html#>
 - “Burma’s Victims Pay the Bill for Foreign Policy Realism, Philip Stephens, *The Financial Times*, August 16, 2008, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/215bca00-22a3-11dd-93a9-000077b07658.html>
 - “Power Play, Robert Kagan, *The Wall Street Journal*, August 30-31, 2008, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB122005366593885103.html#printMode>
 - CSIS Smart Power, pp 61-70
 - Confronting the Long Crisis of Globalization, Risk, Resilience and International Order, Alex Evans, Bruce Jones, David Steven, *Managing Global Insecurity*, The Brookings Institution.