Yale University

Creating a 21st Century Diplomacy
GLBL 385
Fall Semester, 2013
Monday 1:30-3:20 pm
Classroom Location: LUCE 102

Ambassador Marc Grossman
Office: RKZ 339
Office Hours: By appointment on Mondays
Email: mgrossman@cohengroup.net

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 financial crises, climate change, proliferation, disease, changes in demography and stresses on international institutions.

Is there a design for diplomacy that can meet the challenges of the 21st century?

This seminar will consider the principles and attributes that 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 completing the assigned readings, preparing an oral presentation, actively participating in the role-plays and simulations, class discussions, conducting two interviews with practitioners and completing all of the written assignments.

Course Texts:

There are 7 required books for this course. They should be available at Barnes & Noble for purchase, or online:

The American Abroad Media radio programs are available for download online at www.americaabroadmedia.org.

Additional required reading consists of book chapters, speeches, articles in journals and other periodicals. When possible, links are included on the syllabus. All other readings will be posted on the Classes server, or are available through the Yale University online databases.

Please contact Carla.mills@yale.edu for any difficulties locating or accessing readings.

**Grading and Requirements:**

**Participation:** Students are required to attend class (on time) and be prepared to discuss the readings. Class participation will be 20% of the final grade.

**Assignment 1:** In order to be able to provide some feedback for all students before the mid-term, each student will submit a two page (hard copy, single spaced) paper at the start of class on September 9 which comments on the required readings from August 30 and September 9. Students can use the “Questions to Consider” as a basis for their work or choose a topic on their own. This assignment will be 10% of the final grade.

**Assignment 2:** Each student will make a ten-minute oral presentation during one of our sessions. The syllabus provides examples of topics and scenarios for these presentations. Preparation for presentations will require students to conduct two interviews with current or former practitioners/experts in the field. On the day of the presentation, students will turn in (hard copy, single-spaced) memoranda of conversation (Memcons) of no more than one page apiece for each of these two interviews. Students will also submit a 1 page hard copy, single-spaced backgrounder on the topic of the presentation. **We will assign presentation dates at our second class meeting so please come prepared to chose a date.** This assignment will be 20% of the final grade.

**Assignment 3:** Each student will participate in one group role-play/simulation. On the day of the role-play/simulation, each student with a role for that day should
submit a hard copy, single-spaced three page paper: the first page should be background information on the role the student is going to play, and the second and third pages should consist of talking points on which students will draw during their active participation. **We will assign participation in the role plays at our second class so please come prepared to choose your role play.** This assignment will be 20% of the final grade.

**Assignment 4:** Each student will submit a final paper of not more than 5 pages (single-spaced). 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 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 an Options 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 issues, including specific action(s) requested for the Secretary. A model paper will be posted on the Classes server. **This paper is due on the last day of reading period, December 11, 2013.** The final paper will count for 30% of the final grade.

**Late Assignment Policy**
Out of respect to those who abide by deadlines despite equally hectic schedules, extensions on assignments will be granted only in case of emergency. Late submissions will lose 1/2 a letter grade per day, unless accompanied by a dean’s excuse for incapacitating illness, the death of a family member or a comparable emergency.

**Cheating and Plagiarism**
Please familiarize yourself with the University’s policy on cheating, plagiarism and documentation. Any cases of suspected plagiarism will be reported directly to the appropriate dean.
Weekly Outline

August 30 (*Friday*) Week 1: Introduction and Overview: The state of diplomacy and the diplomatic profession today

Questions to Consider:

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

Required Readings:

- State of Disrepair, Kori N. Schake, pages 61-99

Optional Readings:

• *Diplomacy*, Henry Kissinger. Pages 56-102
• *State of Disrepair*, Kori N. Schake, Chapters 2, 3 and 5.

**September 9 Week 2: Attitudes Toward Diplomacy**

Questions to Consider: How has the practice of American diplomacy changed since 9/11?

1. What attitude does the American public bring to its view of diplomacy
2. How does the US view of its role impact / collide / enhance / constrain other countries’ “unique” diplomacy?
3. 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 budget deficit? Are there other constraints posed by the interests of other agencies represented on the National Security Council or the National Economic Council?
4. Are American attitudes 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?

Required Readings:

• *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How it Changed the World*, Walter Russell Meade, pages 56-98 and 310-334.
Surprise Security and the American Experience, John Lewis Gaddis, pages 69-113

Optional Readings:

- The Return of History and the End of Dreams, Robert Kagan
- A Dangerous Nation, Robert Kagan, Chapters 1-4 and 7.
- Founding Brothers, Joseph Ellis, Chapter 4.

September 16 Week 3: A Post-Afghanistan Counter-Terrorism Diplomacy-what happens next?

Questions to Consider:

1. What will need to change about the practice of American and/or Allied and partner diplomacy to defeat extremism?
2. What new diplomatic mechanisms are needed to deny extremists nuclear weapons?
3. What will effective counter-terrorism diplomacy look like following the conclusion of the war in Afghanistan?
4. Is it possible to conceive of a theory/practice of deterrence for cyber-attacks? What deterrent models (nuclear, biological, chemical) might have lessons for cyber warfare of cyber-attack? What diplomatic steps would be required to organize a deterrent system domestically and internationally?
Required Readings:

- The Looming Tower, Lawrence Wright, pages 333-373.
- Terror and Consent, Philip Bobbitt, pages 3-84 and 521-546
- The Lesser Evil, Michael Ignatieff, pages 1-24 and 145-170
- The New Digital Age, Schmidt and Cohen, pages 151-182

Optional Readings:

- Nuclear Terrorism, Graham Alison. Pages 176-209.

Examples of Presentation Topics:

1. You are Afghan President Karzai. You are meeting the leaders of ISAF nations who still have troops on the ground in Afghanistan. You want to convince these leaders that continued counter-terrorism actions by international forces promote terrorism and extremism rather than defeat it. What facts and arguments will you use to make this case?

2. You are the Ambassador of France in Mali. You have become convinced that while French troops have stemmed the tide of terror in Mali, only a comprehensive nation building effort can ultimately defeat the extremists. PM Hollande has asked for your views. You have 15 minutes to make your case. What do you say about your plan in a time of austerity?

3. You are the Chinese Special Envoy to North Korea. The North Koreans have tested another nuclear device. The leadership in Beijing has sent you to see The Young Leader to tell him that the time has come to live up to international demands, including keeping nuclear
material from terrorists, and that China has lost patience with Pyongyang. What is your presentation?

4. You are John Brennan. Tomorrow is your confirmation hearing before the Senate to become CIA Director. You believe the drone program should be both moved from CIA to DoD and made more public. You’d like to say this in your testimony but you need President Obama’s approval to do so. What arguments do you make standing in the Oval Office?

**September 23 Week 4: Promoting Pluralism and Free Markets: A 21st Century Diplomatic Challenge**

Questions to Consider:

1. Is there a relationship between economic opportunity and growth and more pluralistic societies? What lessons can be drawn from recent history in Turkey or China?

2. What are the political dimensions of “The Washington Consensus” (does it still exist?) or “The Beijing Consensus?” (Does it have any “attraction” as defined by Joseph Nye in *The Future of Power*)?

3. After Iraq and Afghanistan, where should the promotion of democracy/pluralism fit into U.S. grand strategy?

4. How much emphasis should policy makers put on economic possibilities as long-term answers to questions of peace and stability in South Asia? Can the New Silk Road promote women’s economic empowerment in Afghanistan and Pakistan or encourage trade between India and Pakistan?

Required Readings:

- *Terror and Consent*, Philip Bobbitt, pages 180-236
- “Doctrine of the International Community,” Tony Blair Speech to Chicago Economic Club, April 22, 1999 and Prime Minister Tony Blair’s Foreign Policy Speech, Georgetown University, May 26, 2006
Optional Readings:

1. Why Nations Fail, Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson, pages 428-462

Examples of Presentation Topics:

1. Brief the President on the diplomatic lessons that can be drawn for the post-Iraq war Middle East from the transition from communism to democracy 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 legitimate government, the Chinese leadership should use this period of increasing 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 briefing Secretary of State Kerry on strategies to promote greater economic integration in South Asia to help realize Secretary Clinton’s vision of a “New Silk Road” that seeks to connect Central Asian and South Asian economies with Afghanistan and Pakistan in the middle. What are the key sectors for potential investment, and how will you encourage private corporations and state actors to invest beyond
2014? What processes and diplomatic fora will you employ to accomplish these goals? How will you follow up the Istanbul Process, RECCA-V, and TIFA Council meetings? Why should Secretary Kerry spend time on this when similar visions have failed in the past?

4. It is January 2014. It is clear that the Afghan government does not intend to meet its commitments in the Tokyo MAF. Secretary Kerry is about to meet Afghanistan's major donors at a conference in Kabul. You are the SRAP. You need to give Kerry your advice on whether to do as the Tokyo MAF requires: start reducing U.S. assistance in the face of Kabul’s reluctance to make progress on women’s rights and governance. Is that the right policy (the U.S. Ambassador says we should wait another year)? If yes, how will you advise the Afghan government?

5. You are the Secretary of the Treasury and have been invited to testify 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 be toward national oil companies, sovereign wealth funds, state-owned firms such as Dubai’s Nakhel, Emaar and Dubai World, Russia’s Gazprom or state arms control export corporations and China’s version of “state capitalism?” (You may wish to consult Ian Bremmer’s *The End of the Free Market*, Penguin, New York, 2010).

**September 30 Week 5: Protecting the Global Environment: A Role for 21st Century Diplomacy?**

Questions to Consider:

1. What are the diplomatic implications of global climate change?
2. What are the diplomatic implications of America’s increasing energy resources, such as shale gas and oil?
3. 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?
4. How will diplomacy need to change to react to melting ice in the Arctic? Will there be a commercially or militarily viable northwest passage?
Required Readings:

- *Collapse*, Jared Diamond. Pages 79-119 and 420-440 and 486-525
- *Feeling the Heat: The Global Politics of Climate Change*, America Abroad Media

Optional Readings:


Role Play: It is February 2015. The Nordic countries have organized an international meeting in Copenhagen to discuss the future of the Arctic. We will explore the question of Arctic governance through a simulated debate at the meeting. Role players can include governments and international organizations, including the Arctic Council and the Council of Baltic Sea States and must also include representatives of the shipping and mining industries and concerned environmental groups.

**October 7 Week 6: Demography and Diplomacy: Refugees, Global Health, and International Crime**

Questions to Consider:
1. What is the impact of demographic change on 21st century diplomacy? How will diplomats judge the power of an aging China or Europe, a shrinking Russia and a more diverse America?
2. What is the nexus between crime and terrorism, especially narcotics and terror?
3. What is the right balance between sovereignty and international norms and action in the face of a pandemic?
4. Are refugees (including internally displaced people) a permanent feature of the 21st century diplomatic landscape? Whose responsibility are they?
5. What is the relationship between climate change and a possible future struggle between nations over access to clean water?

Required Readings:

- CSIS Commission on Smart Power, Richard Armitage and Joseph Nye, Jr. pages 37-46
Examples of Presentation Topics:

1. Brief President Obama and President Karzai (as part of a meeting between the two in the Oval Office) on the next diplomatic steps required to control heroin production in Afghanistan. What is the connection between narcotics control and political and economic development? 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 (such as narco-terrorism) and international terrorism and propose diplomatic activities to counter them.

3. You are a Russian minister asked to brief Premier Putin on actions he can take to counteract the demographic crisis in the east that Russia believes is being compounded by massive Chinese immigration. How do you propose Russia address the situation? How can Russia counteract this threat to national security without upsetting relations with China?

4. You are the CEO of the Foxconn in China. You and the CEO of Huawei have been asked to see the Chinese Premier to talk about a revision of China’s One Child Policy given its impact on your future business. Foxconn and Huawei are considering moving some manufacturing to Mexico in light of rising Chinese wages and the cost of shipping. What is your presentation?

October 14 (*mid-term week*) Week 7: Diplomacy and New Forms of Communication- the impact of “new media”

Questions to Consider:

1. What is the potential for new media to change the way that diplomats carry out public diplomacy?

2. Do the Internet and social media represent democratizing and liberalizing forces, or can they be turned into tools of oppression?

3. What new methods can 21st century diplomats employ to access previously inaccessible populations and engage them in constructive dialogue?

Required Readings:
Real Time Diplomacy, Philip Seib. Pages 1-41
The New Digital Age, Eric Schmidt and Jared Cohen, pages 82-120

Optional Readings:
American Idol after Iraq, Nathan Gardels and Mike Medavoy. Chapter 1: Hearts, Minds and Hollywood, and Chapter 2: The Magic is Gone and Chapter 10: Reinventing Cultural Diplomacy

Examples of Presentation Topics:

1. You are briefing the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy on priorities for the year ahead. What are the most promising new media technologies that the U.S. should use to further its interests around the world? What technologies should be avoided?
2. You are a member of President Obama’s National Security Council helping to devise a strategy to respond to the outbreak of violence in
Syria. He has heard from the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs on military contingencies, as well as from the Administrator of USAID on humanitarian aid to rebels. You are tasked with briefing the President on options for increasing non-lethal material support to the rebels. What support do you recommend, and what communications tools should be employed? How does the “light footprint” strategy play into your recommendations?

3. You are Google Chairman Eric Schmidt who has just returned from a trip to North Korea, during which you discussed the possibility of assistance in bolstering North Korea’s Internet capabilities (despite strict regime controls). Make your case to the Secretary of State that Google should be able to pursue this opportunity, being sure to explain both the potential benefits and risks to U.S. security of such a decision.

October 21 Week 8: The Role of Diplomacy Before Conflict—Preparing for War

Questions to Consider:

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?

Required Readings:

- The Utility of Force, Rupert Smith, pages 269-307
- War of Necessity, War of Choice, Richard Haass, pages 17-60 and 168-232
- Terror and Consent, Phillip Bobbitt, Pages 125-146
- Allies at a Crossroad: Turkey and the United States, America Abroad Media radio program, November, 2007
Role Play: We will role-play the debate around France’s decision to intervene in Mali by constituting the French Cabinet led in discussion by French President Hollande. After the initial role play, Hollande will call the Malian President, President Obama and NATO Secretary General Rasmussen to inform them of the decision, make the case for French action, describe France’s exit strategy and seek possible assistance.

**October 28 Week 9: Diplomacy During Conflict: The Diplomatic Campaign in Afghanistan and Pakistan**

Questions to Consider:

1. What is the right role of diplomacy while a nation’s forces are actively engaged in combat?
2. Is it possible to carry out a diplomatic campaign at the same time as a large military effort? What lessons can be learned from Iraq and Afghanistan?
3. It is crucial that the international community be engaged in a multilateral military and diplomatic effort. What is the best mechanism for achieving this?

Required Readings:

- Secretary Clinton’s Remarks at Asia Society: Richard Holbrooke Memorial Address, February 18, 2011, [http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2011/02/156815.htm](http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2011/02/156815.htm)
- *The New Digital Age*, Schmidt and Cohen, pages 183-216
- *War of Necessity, War Of Choice*, Haass, pages 116-133
Examples of Presentation Topics

1. You are the Deputy Secretary of State assigned to make a recommendation to the Secretary about the future of Provincial Reconstruction Teams in Afghanistan. The Secretary wants to know whether PRTs should be closed and the U.S. presence reconfigured to a more traditional embassy and consulate system. What is your recommendation? How should the diplomatic apparatus be organized in Afghanistan to best fulfill the goals of the 2012 U.S.-Afghan Strategic Partnership Agreement?

2. You are Iranian Foreign Minister. After participating in the Bonn, Istanbul, and Tokyo Conferences, and signing the agreements at each, you were angered by the Strategic Partnership Agreement that the United States and Afghanistan signed in 2012. In a presentation to the Supreme Leader, outline your Afghan policy between now and 2014.

3. It is September 2013. You are the General Dunford, ISAF Commander in Afghanistan. You will soon complete the task President Obama set for you to take 34,000 U.S. troops out of Afghanistan. You now need to present the President with your recommendation on how to remove another 20,000 U.S. forces by December 2014. How fast should they come out (remember there is an Afghan presidential election in April 2014)? What kind of forces should be left? At 10,000 remaining, how large a U.S. diplomatic presence can U.S. forces protect? How many international troops will you need to augment this force?

November 4 Week 10: The Role of Diplomacy After Conflict

Questions to Consider:

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. What elements in international diplomacy or factors in the nature of the conflict contribute to successful conflict management/resolution?

Required Readings:
Examples of Presentation Topics:

1. The North Korean regime is about to collapse under the weight of its own terror and starvation policies. You are the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs. You have been tasked by the President to travel with the U.S. Commander of Pacific Forces and the E.U.’s foreign policy chief to Beijing to propose a multilateral effort to replace the regime, contain a refugee crisis and launch an aid program to bring North Korea into the modern world. What is your plan? What arguments will you make to address China’s objectives and anxieties about chaos and encirclement?

2. You are the Director of the Agency for International Development. You admire the work the State Department has done in the QDDR and you appreciate the efforts of the Office of Conflict and Stability Operations. But as you look out on the “whole of government,” you perceive too many people – including DoD, JCS and the Combatant Commanders – in the post-conflict space. You believe AID has the human talent, history and organizational structures (like the Bureau of Democracy, Post-Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance) to be the leader of USG post-conflict efforts. The President has invited you to an NSC meeting to make your case. What is your best pitch based on the ideas of 21st century diplomacy?

3. You are the Japanese Ambassador to Kabul. The Japanese Prime Minister is preparing his annual budget speech to Parliament and you have word he will cut Japanese aid to Afghanistan. Japan faces severe economic challenges, but since 2003, Japan has been the second largest aid donor to Afghanistan. You believe in this and want similar aid levels to continue. What arguments about the future of Japanese diplomacy can you make to sway the PM?
November 11 Week 11: How Wars End

Questions to Consider:

1. In what ways, and under what conditions should diplomats engage with an enemy at the same time that their country is engaged in a military conflict?
2. What are the different ways to bring about the end of a war? Are there lessons to be learned for Afghanistan (and other conflict zones) from Bosnia, Kosovo, Colombia, and Northern Ireland?
3. How does the end of a conflict with a state differ from the end of a conflict with a non-state actor?

Required Readings:

- **Negotiating with Evil**, Mitchell B Reiss, ages 9-33 and 221-247
- **How Insurgencies End**, Ben Connable and Martin Libicki, pages 25-62 and 151-156
- **Pakistan on the Brink**, Ahmed Rashid, pages 113-136
- **Afghan Peace talks: A Primer**, James Dobbins and James Shinn, pages 3-14 and 71-99

Role Play: We will form three groups to simulate the preparation for and then imagine an initial set of conversations between U.S. officials and the Taliban in 2011 and early 2012. The first group of students will role play the internal U.S. government conversation that defined the goals and objectives for the imagined contacts with the Taliban. The second group will role play the Taliban’s preparation for the same contacts, focusing on Taliban expectations, goals and objectives. A third group will role play the imagined U.S.-Taliban contact.

November 18 Week 12: New Forms of Diplomacy

Questions to Consider:

1. If Philip Bobbitt and others are right in that we are in a transition from the “nation-state” to the “market state,” will this transition encourage more or less private diplomacy?
2. Are private diplomatic efforts (Track II) related to or connected to the general “contracting out” of government services and foreign policy?
Might private security contractors 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 them? What position should private foreign policy operators take if governments reject their advice?

Required Readings:

- Politics is About Relationship, Harold H Saunders, pages 1-11, 47-81, 211-222
- Unsilencing the Past, David L Phillips, pages 1-26, 51-57, 135-149
- One Nation Under Contract, Allison Stanger, pages 1-11, 34-83, 162-184

Examples of Presentation Topics:

1. You are the President of the International Crisis Group. You have just issued a report on the use of private security contractors in the Afghan reconstruction and stabilization effort. You have the opportunity to make a presentation about the ICG’s findings to the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) and NATO, who are interested in learning about the efficacy of contractors for future missions. What are your talking points?

2. 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?

3. Due to a difficult budget climate, Congress is looking at cutting funds for the U.S. Institute of Peace, citing State Department and other private entities as sufficient to carry out the mission of the organization. You are the current President and CEO of USIP, called before Congress to testify. What are your arguments for keeping the organization funded? Which of the Institute’s programs have been the most effective, and which can be cut? Has USIP been a successful experiment?
December 2 Week 13: Diplomacy for the 21st Century- Wrapping Up

Required Readings:

- Thinking in Time, Richard Neustadt and Ernest May. Preface, pages 34-57 and 232-246
- The Revenge of Geography, Robert Kaplan, pages 23-37, 188-283
- The Cold War, John Lewis Gaddis, pages 259-266
- Presidential Leadership and the Creation of the American Era, Joseph S. Nye, pages 99-133.

Examples of Presentation Topics:

1. You are the outgoing Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan. You’ve been invited to make a presentation to Secretary of State Kerry about the future of the SRAP office. You have heard from his assistants that Secretary Kerry is thinking about abolishing Special Representatives and Special Envoys. Do you recommend he keep your former position?

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 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 2013, so that the President can highlight them in his January 2014 State of the Union address?