

# DRAFT

Syllabus for Doing Diplomacy  
PUBPOL 750.002 - Winter 2014  
University of Michigan - Ford School

Instructor: Richard Boucher  
Towsley Policy-maker in Residence

Contact: [amb.richard.boucher@gmail.com](mailto:amb.richard.boucher@gmail.com)  
[ricbouch@umich.edu](mailto:ricbouch@umich.edu)

Office: Room 4126, Weill Hall  
734-615-9680

## General description:

Nations use diplomacy to achieve their goals without resort to war. Yet, in the end, the outcomes of diplomacy are determined by people, their personalities, their interests, and their relationships. By learning lessons from history, we can improve our understanding of the practice of diplomacy.

## What you will learn?

Diplomatic skills include learning to analyze your own and other's interests, personalities and bottom lines. By analyzing these factors in historical situations, we can understand better how to work situations in the future to our advantage.

## What is required?

The readings provide background on the history and thinking of the players. They aren't too voluminous, so I would expect everyone to complete them. The videos provide a more dramatic insight and often cover the same ground in a more memorable (for some of us) way.

Three times during the course you will be asked to provide a 5 minute presentation in class and a one-page paper by the Friday before the class, to analyze a significant player or element in the situation. You will be expected to conduct research and provide information in this paper and presentation that go beyond the regular readings.

Everyone is expected to participate actively in the class discussions. Read the news to be able to cite current examples.

You will be asked to provide a 5-7 page research paper at the end of the class analyzing the players and their motivations in a historical or current situation that you and I agree in advance.

Grading will be based on 20% class participation, 40% for presentations and 40% for the final paper.

## Outline of class sessions

## January 8 - General Introduction

- Roles of Students and professor
- Three rules of diplomacy: peoples is peoples, listen first & explain.
- Key elements for roles and analysis: person, politics, interests, instructions, context, tools & incentives.
- Diplomacy, statecraft, whatever we call it.
- Handout  
Luers, William and Pickering, Thomas. Dec. 18, 2014. "Diplomatic success always trumps a military victory." *Financial Times*.

### Issues for discussion

- Why diplomacy?
- When diplomacy?
- Diplomacy and military power
- Smart power

## January 13 - Ben Franklin in Paris - The Power of Personality

Presentations: Franklin: Interests, contacts, methods  
French clandestine support - 47 Rue Vieille du Temple  
Vergennes: interests, power politics,  
British: Interests, spies

Video PBS - Benjamin Franklin: Diplomat (Episode 1 or 3)

Readings: Benjamin Franklin: An American Life, Walter Isaacson, pages 325-435.  
Statecraft, Dennis Ross. Pages ix to 28, 133 to 215

Lauria, Joe. "Dealing with Dick Holbrooke's Considerable Charms." *The Huffington Post: World*, January 16, 2014 [www.huffingtonpost.com/joe-lauria/dealing-with-dick-holbrooke\\_b\\_796624.html?view=print&comm\\_ref=false](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/joe-lauria/dealing-with-dick-holbrooke_b_796624.html?view=print&comm_ref=false)

Ross, Dennis. Statecraft. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux). ix-28;133-215

### Issues for discussion

- Preliminaries - France and Britain accepting the United States
- How much to tell to whom.
- Outlining the deal
- Multiple players: British (Oswald, Grenville, Shelburne), US (Franklin, Adams, Jefferson, Arthur Lee, John Jay)
- Making the deal: formal or informal channels

## January 15 -- Suez: Taking Advantage of Crisis

### Videos:

“Egyptian cinema – Nasser 56.” Uploaded July 5, 2010 to YouTube.  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0AZXIOAhw4E>

### Readings:

Economist Special Report, July 27, 2006. Suez: An Affair to Remember.  
<http://www.economist.com/node/7218678>

Bennet, Gill. *Six Moments of Crisis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) Ch.6  
February 14, 2013

### Presentations:

Nasser – What was he thinking

Eden: British mindset and miscalculation

France: Along for the ride?

Eisenhower: importance of US, economic muscle, decolonization

### Topics for discussion

- Miscalculation or calculation
- Allies means never having to say you're sorry
- Personal history and attitude

## January 22 -- Suez - The moment of historic change

### Readings

The Future of Power, Joseph Nye, pages ix to 24, 207-234

Doran, Michael. “Hagel’s misreading of how to treat an ally.” *The Washington Post* January 31, 2013 [www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/chuck-hagels-misreading-of-suez-crisis/2013/01/31/35e7ddee-6b21-11e2-af53-7b2b2a7510a8\\_print.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/chuck-hagels-misreading-of-suez-crisis/2013/01/31/35e7ddee-6b21-11e2-af53-7b2b2a7510a8_print.html)

Ignatius, David. “What the Suez crisis can remind us about U.S. power.” *The Washington Post*. January 25, 2013 [http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/david-ignatius-what-suez-crisis-can-remind-us-about-us-power/2013/01/25/e3a3ca5e-6682-11e2-85f5-a8a9228e55e7\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/david-ignatius-what-suez-crisis-can-remind-us-about-us-power/2013/01/25/e3a3ca5e-6682-11e2-85f5-a8a9228e55e7_story.html)

Subramanian, Arvind. Eclipse: Living in the Shadow of China’s Economic Dominance. (Washington DC: Institute of International Economics) (excerpts) September 16, 2011

Boughton, James. "Northwest of Suez: The 1956 Crisis and the IMF." (International Monetary Fund) 2001 v. 48, no.3

Presentations: Economic Power – US, France, UK  
Money – US and the British Pound  
US ascendance after Suez

Topics for discussion

- Military, economic and soft power
- How do you know who will cave?

### **January 27 -- German Reunification - Structures and outcomes**

Readings: Ross, Dennis. Statecraft. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux June 24, 2008 pages 29-47  
The Politics of Diplomacy, James Baker, pages 195-259  
George Bush and Rent Scowcroft interview "Summit and Solutions" 299-301  
Ash, Timothy Garton. "The Magic Lantern." (New York: Random House). 61-77

Presentations: Fall of Berlin Wall: Popular movements. Honecker's choices.  
Thatcher: Opposed unification but turned around.  
James Baker: strategic consequences, finding a forum (2+4)  
Gorbachev: His bottom lines.

Topics for discussion

- Finding the right players
- Why did 2 plus 4 work?
- Who was unhappy?

### **January 29 - German Reunification and now**

Readings Diplomacy by the Digits, Anne Gearan, Washington Post, Oct 3, 2013  
Robert Zoellick, "Two Plus Four: The Lessons of German Unification."  
*National Interest*, Fall 2000.

Presentations: Angela Merkel and the legacy of unification  
Six party talks

P5 plus one

Topics for discussion

- Does the structure determine the outcome?
- How long does history last?
- Japan, China, Korean history.

### **February 3 -- Tiananmen - Crisis and Taking a position**

Readings

FRONTLINE: The Tank Man DVD  
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/tankman/view/>

Beijing Domestic Service "It is necessary to take a clear cut stand against disturbances." April 26, 1989 pp.23-24  
[www.tsquare.tv/chronology/April26ed.html](http://www.tsquare.tv/chronology/April26ed.html)

Extract: "Prisoner of the State: The secret Journal of Zhao Ziyang."  
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/china/5325047/Extract-Prisoner-of-the-State-The-secret-Journal-of-Zhao-Ziyang.html>

"Tiananmen Sanctions: 20 years & Counting" 29 January 2010 Dui Hua Foundation <http://duihua.org/wp/?p=2662>

Presentations:

Deng Xiaoping: Fear of chaos  
Gorbachev: catalyst  
Bush: Balancing revulsion with pragmatism.

Topics for discussions

- Easier to do than undo
- Striking a pose or changing their interests
- Popular pressures vs prudent policy

### **February 5 -- Tiananmen Now**

Readings

NBR Analysis (Dec 1990): China's Foreign Relations After Tiananmen: Challenges for the US, Harry Harding

Presentations:

Legacy – sanctions and image.  
Real legacy – any effect on trade, growth, investment

Domestic: Falungong  
Sarkozy: Lifting the arms embargo

#### Topics for discussions

- How does China get out of it?
- Short-term vs Long Term
- What's the standard? (Darfur - genocide)

### **February 10 - 9/11 - Call to Action**

Videos                    PBS Frontline: Bush's War. 3/24/2008  
<http://video.pbs.org/video/1278730554/>

Readings                9/11 Commission report - Section 10.2  
[http://www.9-11commission.gov/report/911Report\\_Ch10.htm](http://www.9-11commission.gov/report/911Report_Ch10.htm)

Burns, Nick. Ambassador Recollection of NATO decision (email on 2/5/2014)

Cable on Armitage Mahmud meeting p.1-5

Rice, Condoleezza. No Higher Honor. (New York: Broadway Paperbacks)  
September 4, 2012 P.77-79

In Afghanistan the Choice is Ours, Richard Haas, New York Times, August 21,  
2009 <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/21/opinion/21haass.html>

Presentations:        George W. Bush: Identifying the threat.  
                              Condoleezza Rice: Weekend at Camp David.  
                              Powell: Allies and coalitions.

#### Topics for discussion

- Invading Afghanistan - world acceptance
- Mistakes were made?
- International support

### **February 12 - 9/11 and the Iraq Pivot**

Readings                9/11 Commission report - Section 10.3  
[http://www.9-11commission.gov/report/911Report\\_Ch10.htm](http://www.9-11commission.gov/report/911Report_Ch10.htm)

Presentations:        Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz: The case for Iraq

Clinton: Response to 1993 World Trade Center bombing  
Senator xxx : How to vote?

#### Topics for discussion

- Good war, bad war
- First casualty is truth
- Dynamic of discussion and decision

### **February 17 - Arab Spring - Platforms for change**

#### Readings

*Rock the Casbah: Rage and Rebellion across the Islamic World*,  
Robin Wright. Simon and Schuster Paperbacks, 2012.

“Remarks by the President on the Middle East and North Africa.” The  
White House Office of the Press Secretary. May 19, 2011  
[http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/05/19/remarks-  
president-middle-east-and-north-africa%20](http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/05/19/remarks-president-middle-east-and-north-africa%20)

The Square documentary Noujaim Films [https://www.youtube.com/watch?  
v=VLFGgeEIF2c](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VLFGgeEIF2c)

Obama Cairo Speech, June 4, 2009:  
[http://www.whitehouse.gov/the\\_press\\_office/Remarks-by-the-  
President-at-Cairo-University-6-04-09/](http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-by-the-President-at-Cairo-University-6-04-09/)

Fisher, Max. “The Square is a beautiful documentary. But its politics  
are dangerous.” *The Washington Post*. January 17, 2014

#### Presentations:

(Robin Wright by Skype for 30-40 mins)  
Facebook, Google, Twitter.  
Obama: Leader or follower in Middle East  
Sarkozy: France's special role.  
Egypt's Military: revolution and counter-revolution

#### Topics for discussion

- Role of Bloggers
- Music
- Internet
- Google
- Swept by the Street

## February 19 - Arab Revolutions - What's the new platform?

### Reading

“Communication, Power and Counter-power in the Network Society”  
MANUEL CASTELLS, International Journal of Communication 1 (2007),  
238-266 1932-8036/20070238  
<http://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/46/35>

Wael Ghonim, Egypt, and Viral Revolution, by Nancy Scola,  
Wednesday, February 9 2011, <http://techpresident.com/blog-entry/wael-ghonim-egypt-and-viral-revolution>

### TED Talk:

Wael Ghonim: Inside the Egyptian revolution  
FILMED MAR 2011 • POSTED MAR 2011 • TED2011  
[http://www.ted.com/talks/wael\\_ghonim\\_inside\\_the\\_egyptian\\_revolution.html](http://www.ted.com/talks/wael_ghonim_inside_the_egyptian_revolution.html)

### Presentations:

Controlling the internet: Iran, China, North Korea  
Smart phones – who's got em.  
Occupy Wall Street communications vs Tea Party

### Topics for discussion

- Constant scrutiny of government
- Does the platform influence outcome?
- Authoritarian use of content
- Obama, Occupy Wall Street, Tea Party: who uses what and how



## **February 24 Ukraine Crisis** (Chosen by the Class)

### Readings

Friedman, Geroge and Lanthemann, Marc. "A More Assertive German Foreign Policy." *Stratfor Global Intelligence*. February 3, 2014 <http://www.stratfor.com/weekly/more-assertive-german-foreign-policy>

Rettman, Andrew. "Ukraine leak designed to 'split' EU-US diplomacy." *EU Observer* February 6, 2014. <http://euobserver.com/foreign/123036>

Conant, Eve. "How history, geography, help explain Ukraine's political crisis." *National Geographic*. January 29, 2014 <http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2014/01/140129-protests-ukraine-russia-geography-history/>

Haran, Olexiy. "Ukraine." *Russian Social Science Review* vol. 54, no. 3 May-June 2013 pp.68-89

"West's interpretation of freedom for Ukraine 'strange' *Russian Times*. February 1, 2014 <http://rt.com/news/lavrov-munich-ukraine-freedom-515/>

## **Feb 26 - General Discussion**

Class discussion to identify examples of when and how various elements of diplomacy were used and manipulated by the players, and how they influenced outcomes.

- Interests
- Personality
- Politics
- Public perceptions
- Pressures

Final Paper due Mar 3: each student should submit a five to seven page research paper analyzing a diplomatic situation (past or present), examining the major players based on the elements introduced in the first class (person, politics, interests, instructions, context, tools & incentives) and describing how the players will achieve their desired outcomes.