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DIPL 6195 Creating a 21st Century Diplomacy

Marc Grossman PhD
Seton Hall University

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Syllabus
Seton Hall University

Ambassador Marc Grossman
Telephone: 202-863-7219
mgrossman@cohengroup.net

CREATING A 21ST CENTURY DIPLOMACY

Course Description

The practice of diplomacy is rapidly changing. The historic profession of representing nation states has collided with the 24-hour media cycle, terrorism, globalization, climate change, proliferation, disease, changes in demography and stresses on those institutions which still dominate the post-1945 landscape. What will need to change if diplomats are to help meet the challenges of the 21st century?

Our work together will consider what should define 21st century diplomatic practice. We will then try to apply ideas for change through presentations, role-plays and written work. Success will require regular attendance, doing the assigned readings, preparing an oral presentation, actively participating in the role-play/simulations and completing and turning in on time the three types of written assignments. In accordance with Seton Hall's procedures, students with disabilities should contact Disabilities Support Services for special accommodations.

Course Requirements

Assigned readings will inform our discussions and should be completed before class. There are three books to buy: Surprise, Security and the American Experience by John Lewis Gaddis, Collapse, by Jared Diamond, and Cosmopolitanism by Kwame Anthony Appiah. Other readings are available on the web or on reserve at the library. The radio programs from America Abroad Media can all be downloaded from www.americaabroadmedia.org/radio. There is also a selection of background readings which students may find useful. Students will also

benefit from articles relevant to the course 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 opportunities for these presentations. On the day of the presentation, students will turn in a single-spaced, two-page paper which outlines the background of the issue and the pros and cons of the position the student will advocate.

We will also do role-play/simulations in the course. 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 (single space) 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.

During our session on January 21, we will agree on presentation dates and assign individual and team tasks for the role plays.

Each student is also responsible for a final paper of not more than 5 pages. This paper should take the form of a single space action memo to the Secretary of State, identifying a foreign policy issue (a current challenge or a possible scenario) and how new practices adopted by 21st century diplomats can 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.

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

1. January 21: Introduction and Overview: The state of diplomacy/the diplomatic profession today. Attitudes toward diplomacy

Part I Readings:

The Embassy of the Future, October 15, 2007, (CSIS),
http://www.csis.org/index.php?option=com_csis_pubs&task=view&id=4094
Force and Statecraft, Paul Gordon Lauren, Gordon A. Craig and Alexander L. George, Chapters 6 and 7

Secretary Rice's Transformational Diplomacy Speeches, Georgetown University, January 18, 2006

<http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2006/59306.htm>

and Georgetown University February 12, 2008,

<http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2008/02/100703.htm>

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>

A Foreign Affairs Budget for the Future,

http://www.academyofdiplomacy.org/publications/FAB_report_2008.pdf

Background Reading:

Power & Negotiation, William Zartman and Jeffrey Rubin, Chapter 11.

Diplomacy, Henry Kissinger. Pages 56-102.

Seeing the Elephant, Hans Binnendijk & Richard Kugler, Chapter 7.

Things to Think About:

1. Do we really face a "revolution in diplomacy?"
2. Diplomats have traditionally focused on observation and reporting. In the post-Cold war world, is this sufficient?
3. What kind of people become diplomats today? Is this the same group in the US as it is in other countries?
4. How can 21st century diplomats use technology to empower themselves?

Part II Readings:

Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How it Changed the World, Walter Russell Meade, pages 56-98, 310-334.

Surprise Security and the American Experience, John Lewis Gaddis

"The Art of Peace," Chester Crocker, Foreign Affairs, July/August 2007, Pages 160-168

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20070701fareviewessay86414/chester-a-crocker/the-art-of-peace-bringing-diplomacy-back-to-washington.html>

Library of Congress, Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training,
 Foreign Service Oral Histories,
<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/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.)
 National Defense Strategy, June 2008
<http://www.scribd.com/doc/4610370/US-National-Defense-Strategy-June-2008>

Background Reading:

A Dangerous Nation, Robert Kagan, Chapters 1-4 and 7.
Founding Brothers, Joseph Ellis, Chapter 4.

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. 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?

Part III Readings:

"Communication Breakdown," American Abroad Media
 "America in the Eyes of the World," America Abroad Media
 "Battling for Hearts and Minds, America Abroad Media
US National Strategy for Public Diplomacy and Strategic Communication,
http://usepublicdiplomacy.org/pdfs/stratcommo_plan_o70531.pdf
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?

2. February 11: A 21st Century Anti-Terrorism Diplomacy. Part II: Diplomacy, Promotion of Democracy and Free Markets

Part I Readings:

The Looming Tower, Lawrence Wright. Pages 7-31 and 333-373.

The Lesser Evil, Michael Ignatieff. Pages 1-53 and 145-170

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.

Phillip Bobbitt, Terror and Consent, pages 3-84, 125-238, 521-546

Background Readings:

Global Financial Warriors, John Taylor. Pages 1-28.

Nuclear Terrorism, Graham Allison. 176-209.

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?

Examples of Presentation Topics:

1. Brief the British PM, Gordon Brown, on the domestic terrorist threat in Britain. Describe how the Foreign Office is changing the way it does business both at home and abroad to meet this challenge.

2. You are the Japanese Ambassador to Thailand. Make a presentation to the Thai Prime Minister about the domestic effects on Thailand, and the regional effects on security in Asia, of the insurgency in southern Thailand and the Thai Government's strategy to defeat it.

3. As the US Ambassador to the EU, present the US case to the EU Council of Ministers that the EU should join the US to cut off all financial support for the PKK/Kadek. The presentation should emphasize new areas of US-EU diplomatic collaboration to achieve this objective.

4. 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).

5. You are the Director for National Intelligence. You have the opportunity to make a presentation to the National Security Council on the non-military (diplomatic) steps the United States, its friends and its Allies should be taking to deter cyber-terrorism.

Part II 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, http://www.acus.org/files/publication_pdfs/65/Enhancing%20Democracy%20Assistance.pdf

World Bank Report, "How Have the World's Poorest Fared since the Early 1980s?" http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/IW3P/IB/2004/10/15/000012009_20041015103448/Rendered/PDF/30183.pdf, The World Bank Research Observer, Volume 19, Number 2, Fall 2004, pages 141-169.

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)

Background Reading:

History of the Present, Timothy Garton Ash. Pages 326-369.

Transatlantic Leadership for a New Global Economy, Stuart Eizenstat & Grant Aldonas for the Atlantic Council of the United States, April 2007
[http://www.acus.org/docs/070420-Transatlantic%20 Global Economy.pdf](http://www.acus.org/docs/070420-Transatlantic%20Global%20Economy.pdf)

Things to Think About

1. What does the outcome (so far) in Iraq mean for democracy promotion?
2. How can diplomatic practice be changed to assist developing economies to open their markets?
3. What institutional and economic challenges remain in creating a world of free trade?

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 the Chinese leadership should use the post-Olympic period to promote political pluralism, which would in turn make China a more successful nation.

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?

3. February 25: Protecting the Global Environment: A 21st Century Diplomatic Imperative. Part II: A 21st Century Non-Proliferation Diplomacy

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

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.

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?

Role-Play/Simulation:

It is May 2009. The first international meeting on climate change to be held since January 20, 2008 has convened in Geneva. Assume that there is general agreement that it is time to act on climate change. Students will role-play key actors in the climate change debate and try to define a framework agreement for addressing this global issue that includes all of the stakeholders.

Part II Readings:

The Nuclear Tipping Point, Kurt Campbell, Robert Einhorn and Mitchell Reiss, pages 18-31, 317-348

“Mr. Counter-intuition,” The weekend interview with Thomas Schelling, by Michael Spence, *The Wall Street Journal*, February 17-18, 2007

“A world free of nuclear weapons,” George Shultz, William Perry, Henry Kissinger, Sam Nunn, *The Wall Street Journal*, January 4, 2007 & “Toward a Nuclear Free World,” January 15, 2008

“Bomb Scare: Confronting the Nuclear Threat,” America Abroad Media
Graham Allison, “Globalization, Terrorism and the US Relationship with Russia” in No More States, edited by Richard N. Rosecrance & Arthur Stein

Things to Think About:

1. Are there lessons from previous nonproliferation efforts during the Cold War that we can draw in an environment where non-state actors may pose greater proliferation threats than nation-states?

2. What new mechanisms can states use to achieve non-proliferation objectives in the 21st century?

Examples of Presentation Topics:

1. Present a proposal to the US Secretary of State/or other nation’s Foreign Minister on how to strengthen the Proliferation Security Initiative.
2. What key points will the ambassadors of Russia, France, China and Iran make at the next U.N. Review Conference of the NPT?
3. Present a proposal to the US National Counterterrorism Center on how new avenues of diplomacy might deter proliferation from non-state actors.
5. 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. March 18: Demography and Diplomacy: Immigration, Refugees, Disease/Global Health/Narcoterrorism/Crime. Part II: What Next for Multilateral Institutions?

Part I Readings:

CSIS Smart Power, pp 37-46

“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

“The Taliban’s Opium War,” Jon Lee Anderson, *The New Yorker*, July 9-16, 2007, pages 60-71

“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

Things to Think About:

1. What role can international diplomacy play in preventing potential pandemics?
2. Are there case studies that serve as positive models for countries using diplomacy to battle international narcoterrorism?

Possible Presentation Topics:

1. Brief the new US President and President Kharzai (as part of a meeting between the two in the Oval Office) on next diplomatic steps required to eradicate heroin production in Afghanistan. Is it time to use aerial eradication?
2. Brief the Secretary of State on the possible links between international crime and international terrorism and propose diplomatic activities to counter them.
3. As the Head of WHO, brief the Chinese leadership on efforts to control the next SARS-like outbreak based on lessons learned from the last international effort. Focus on new ways of jointly approaching this challenge.

Part II Readings:

CSIS Smart Power, pp 27-36

“New Purposes, New Plumbing, Rebuilding the Atlantic Alliance,” Ronald D. Asmus, *The American Interest*, November/December 2008.

<http://www.gmfus.org//doc/AsmusAmericanInterest.pdf>

Preventing Violent Conflicts, Michael Lund, Chapter 5

Herding Cats, Chester A. Crocker, et al, Chapter 2

A Plan for Action, Managing Global Insecurity, Bruce Jones, Carlos Pascual, Stephen John Stedman, Co-Directors, The 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.

Things to Think About:

- What is the right balance between the necessity for unilateral defense or preemptive action and multilateral coordination in times of crisis?
- What are the principal challenges to multilateral activities on national foreign policy goals, and how can these challenges be overcome through modern diplomacy?

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 and Germany to come make their case for full membership on the Council.

5. April 22: New Forms of Diplomacy. Parts II & III: Diplomacy and Conflict. Part IV: Wrapping Up

Part I Readings:

Politics is About Relationship, Harold H. Saunders (Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), pp 1-11, 47-81

Unsilencing the Past, David L. Phillips (Berghahn Books, 2005), pp 1-26, 51-57, 135-149

Independent Diplomat, Carne Ross (Cornell University Press, 2007), PP 1-26, 83-106, 187-203

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 14). 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. 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?
4. You are President Uribe of Colombia. Ingrid Bettencourt’s family has come to see you to plead with you to let them open a private channel to the FARC to see if they can obtain Ms. Bettencourt’s release. You have also

had a letter from President Sarkozy asking the same thing. You are in the midst of preparing a rescue operation against the FARC but cannot let this be known to the Bettencourt family. What talking points do you use to convince them that, in this case, it is a government responsibility to secure Ms. Bettencourt's (and the other hostages') release?

Part II Readings:

Global Financial Warriors, John Taylor, Chapter 6

Managing Global Chaos by Chester A. Crocker, et al, Chapter 28.

"Allies at a Crossroad: Turkey and the United States," *America Abroad Media*

Background Reading:

Preventive Negotiation, William Zartman, Chapter 2.

Herding Cats, Chester A. Crocker, et al, 7.

Preventing Violent Conflicts, Michael Lund, Chapter 4, p. 43, 47, 55-57, p. 203-205.

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 three 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.
- Debate in the Turkish Parliament of March 1, 2003.

Part III Readings:

America's Role in Nation Building, Jim Dobbins, Executive Summary and chapters 7 and 8, [http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1753/Managing Global Chaos](http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1753/Managing_Global_Chaos), Chester A. Crocker, et al, Chapter 12.

"Addressing State Failure," *Foreign Affairs*, Stephen Krasner, Carlos Pascual, (July/Aug 2005).

<http://www.nps.edu/CSRS/Resources/S&R/Foreign%20Affairs-FINAL.pdf>

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?

Part IV: 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.

Force and Statecraft, Chapter 12

"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

Cosmopolitanism, Kwame Anthony Appiah

CSIS Smart Power, pp 61-70

