

Practicing Diplomacy Abroad

INAF 363-01

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Tuesday: 2:15 p.m. - 4:05 p.m.

ICC 231

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Purpose: This seminar will look at diplomacy as a political process and as an instrument of foreign policy. It will examine the role of diplomacy and the responsibilities of the ambassador and other members of an overseas mission, explore the resources and techniques available to them, and review the way diplomats relate to the government they serve and the one to which they are accredited. It will look more briefly at the backup at the headquarters end of diplomacy (e.g. Washington), examining the functioning of the foreign policy bureaucracy and its interaction with overseas operations. It will survey the historical evolution of diplomacy and the impact of recent political, economic, social, and technological changes on diplomatic practices. It will also consider the relationship between diplomacy and intelligence operations and the growth in importance of "new" areas of foreign policy concern such as counter-terrorism and the prevention of drug trafficking and cross-border crime. It will take a look at imaginative and provocative new approaches to "the diplomacy of the future." The course will focus primarily on U.S. diplomatic practices, but much of the material is also relevant to the way other governments organize their diplomatic activities. In a mid-course session, foreign diplomats representing two countries of differing size and circumstance will discuss the way their governments practice diplomacy and compare this with the U.S. approach.

Requirements: In order to get the most benefit from the seminar, you will be expected to complete assigned readings in advance of each session, attend all class meetings (and to arrive on time), and take an active part in seminar

discussions and simulations. You will also be asked to write several papers on various aspects of diplomatic practice and make an individual presentation. There will be a take-home final examination but no mid-term exam or long term-paper.

Grading:

Most of your final grade will be based on seven written assignments. These will be weighted at ten percent each in determining the final grade; another fifteen percent of your grade will be determined by your class participation, including your performance in simulations. The take-home final exam will count for the remaining fifteen percent.

Be sure to proof-read your papers before you turn them in. A consistent record of uncorrected spelling, grammatical, or typographical errors will cost you one level in your final grade. All papers must be typed, double-spaced, but the typing does not have to be perfect: neat pen-and-ink corrections are perfectly acceptable. Lateness will carry a penalty: any paper turned in after the close of business on the due date will suffer a reduction of one grade level for each school day beyond the due date (e.g. A- reduced to B+) unless in the judgment of the instructor the student has a valid excuse. If you can't get to a class for an unavoidable cause (e.g. out-of-town university conference, fixed-in-concrete job interview), inform the instructor in advance and/or send the paper to the instructor as an attachment to an e-mail.

Readings appropriate to each of the topics in the syllabus are listed under the seminar session at which they will be discussed. It is important to complete the required reading before the class meeting for which it is assigned so that you can participate effectively in the discussion and respond to the instructor's challenges. The material is designed both in length and substance to assure that it is actually read; it should not prove onerous.

You will need to purchase four books as well as a bound packet of readings which will be supplied in class. The books are: Howard B. Schaffer, *Ellsworth Bunker: Global Troubleshooter, Vietnam Hawk*; two Institute for the Study of Diplomacy publications: Mary Locke and Casimir Yost, eds., *Who Needs Embassies* and Harold Nicolson, *Diplomacy*; and *Inside a U.S. Embassy*, a publication of the American Foreign Service Association. *Ellsworth Bunker* and *Inside a U.S. Embassy* can be purchased at the University Bookstore. The cost of the two ISD texts and the course packet and the method of payment for them will be announced by the instructor at an early session.

A list of all written assignments, with due dates and grade weights, follows the schedule of classes and reading lists.

SCHEDULE OF CLASSES AND READING LISTS

September 7
(Class I)

The Nature and Origin of Diplomacy

What do we mean by "diplomacy"? Where and how did diplomacy get started? How has diplomacy evolved over the years? (NOTE: A Video will be screened and discussed in this class.)

September 14
(Class II)

The Structures and Functions of Diplomacy/Sources of Policy

What functions do diplomats perform? What are the accepted forms for the practice of these functions? How is a typical embassy organized? What is the role of the "Country Team?" How is the practice of diplomacy influenced by the environment in which it is carried on? How important are differences of culture or political climate? Where do foreign policy decisions come from and how are they reached? To what extent and in what ways do diplomats stationed outside the country influence the policymaking process? How are foreign office headquarters organized? What forms of communications are used between overseas missions and headquarters?

Readings:

Nicolson, pp. 1-14; 28-40; 55-67

Schaffer, *Ellsworth Bunker: Global Troubleshooter, Vietnam Hawk*, pp. 86-88

Crile, "Our Man in Jamaica"

Freeman, *Arts of Power*, pp. 99-140

Freeman, *The Diplomat's Dictionary*, pp.70-92

Kopp and Gillespie, *Career Diplomacy*, pp. 51-73

Rafshoon, "Does Humor Play a Role in Diplomacy?"

"Raclavia": Terms of Reference (email)

September 21
(Class III)

The Ambassador, the Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM) and the Political Section

What are the roles of ambassadors? How are they selected and what is their relationship with their home governments? How do they ensure that the different parts of their missions coordinate efforts? What factors influence the role of the Deputy Chief of Mission? What is a Charge d'Affaires? How does the Political Section's work break down?

Readings:

Inside a U.S. Embassy, pp. 10-15; 18-19; 48-49; 57-60
 Schaffer, *Ellsworth Bunker*, Chaps. 2, 3, 5, 10
 Miller, *Inside an Embassy*, pp. 1-19; 26-32; 50-58
 Shawn Zeller, "Who's In Charge Here?" FSJ, December 2007
 Edward Peck, "Chief of Mission Authority," FSJ, December 2007
 Freeman, *The Diplomat's Dictionary*, pp. 13-22
 Kopp and Gillespie, *Career Diplomacy*, pp. 111-117
 Demarche exercise material (email)
 "Raclavia": Days 1 & 2 (email)

September 28
 (Class IV)

The Economic/Commercial Section; The Consular Section

How does an embassy operate in support of economic goals? What support can/should it provide to private American businesses? What other elements of the mission are concerned with economic operations? What are the major functions of the consular section? Why has visa issuance become an even greater problem for an embassy than before? What can consular officers do to protect American citizens traveling abroad?

A simulated demarche exercise will be acted out at the beginning of the class.

Readings:

Inside a U.S. Embassy, pp. 16-17; 20-27; 34-35
 Ann B. Sides, "The Consular Revolution," FSJ, June 2010
 Aileen Crowe Nandi, "FCS Delivers for U.S. Business," FSJ, May 2009
 "Raclavia": Days 3 & 4 (email)

Washington Post/New York Times

Assignment Due: Reporting cable

October 5
 (Class V)

The Cultural and Information Functions; Diplomatic Security

How can public diplomacy abet the implementation of conventional diplomacy? Why should we bother? What is the role of diplomatic security? Who carries it out?

Readings:

Inside a U.S. Embassy, pp. 28-29; 40-41, 80-81

Pamela Smith, "The Hard Road Back to Soft Power," *GJIA*, Win/Spr 2007:

Kushlis and Sharpe, "Public Diplomacy Matters More Than Ever," *Foreign Service Journal*, October 2006

Robert Callahan, "Neither Madison Avenue nor Hollywood," *ibid.*

Richard Arndt, "Rebuilding America's Cultural Diplomacy," *ibid.*

Ground Rules for Interviewing State Department Officials

Kevin Whitelaw, "D.S. Gets Its Man," *FSJ*, September 2005

"Raclavia": Days 5 & 6 (email)

Assignment Due: Reporting Cable on Demarche

October 12
(Class VI)

(A) New Areas of Diplomacy; (B) Simulation I: Embassy Islamabad

In the post-cold war world, what new areas of diplomacy have come to the fore? How do they relate to older fields? What special approaches and skills do they require? How do embassies in affected countries deal with the problems of narcotics and international crime?

[Note: Following the discussion of New Areas of Diplomacy, the class will divide into two simulated "Country Teams." Each student will be assigned a specific role, e.g. political counselor, in an e-mail message sent out a few days before the session.]

Readings:

Danny Hall, "The Very Model of a Modern....," *FSJ*, March 2007

Paul Folmsbee, "From Pinstripes to Khaki," *FSJ*, September 2009

"Embassies as Command Posts in the War on Terror," *FSJ*, March 2007

Inside a U.S. Embassy, pp.30-33; 36-37

"Raclavia": Days 7 & 8 (email)

Assignment Due: Oral History Project Paper

October 19
(Class VII)

(A) Promoting Democracy and Human Rights; (B) Other Governments' Diplomacy

What are the best techniques for promoting democracy? What is the role of the annual Human Rights Report? What policy problems arise in producing

it? How do other countries' diplomacy compare with U.S. practices?

Readings:

Country Reports on Human Rights Practices 2009: SKIM Overview, Introduction, and one country report: <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt>
 D. Roberts, "Human Rights Report for the Hun Empire," *FSJ*, June 2006
A Diplomat's Handbook for Democratic Development Support (2nd edition)
 Chapter III (pp. 23-56)
 "Raclavia": Days 9 & 10 (email)

Assignment Due: Evaluation of a Diplomatic Memoir

October 26
 (Class VIII)

Dual Student Presentations I

Readings:

"Raclavia": Days 11 & 12 (email)

November 2
 (Class IX)

Intelligence and Embassies.

How do intelligence operations fit into embassies? How have the CIA station and the Defense Attaché's office traditionally related to the Foreign Service components of overseas missions? What changes have the end of the cold war, the downfall of the Soviet Union, and the growing importance of counterterrorism in U.S. foreign policy brought about in the operations of these offices and their role at embassies?

Readings:

Miller, *Inside an Embassy*, pp. 38-49
 Phillips, *The Night Watch*, pp. 213-235

Assignment Due: Reports on dual presentations made on Oct 26.

November 9
 (Class X)

Simulation II: "Raclavia"

Readings:

Review "Raclavia" Material

Assignment Due: Reporting/recommendations cable on Simulation II.

This session will include two simulated exercises: a Country Team meeting and a meeting between a Congressional Delegation (CODEL) and selected members of the Country Team. The class will break up into two groups for these exercises. Each student will be assigned roles in advance of the meeting.

November 16
(Class XI)

Dual Presentations II

November 23
(Class XII)

Other Forms of Bilateral Diplomacy: Summit, Track II, Shuttle

In the post-war world, many new forms of diplomacy have come to the fore. How do they relate to "conventional" diplomacy? What additional assets do they represent? What are the advantages and the pitfalls in their use?

Readings:

David H. Dunn, *Diplomacy at the Highest Level*, pp. 247-268

G.R. Berridge, *ibid.*, "Funeral Summits," pp. 106-117

Joseph Montville, article on Track II diplomacy, *The Psychodynamics of International Relationships*, pp. 161-175

[Note: Students will divide into three groups and participate in a group dynamics negotiating exercise during part of this session.]

Assignment Due: Reports on dual presentations made on Nov. 16

November 30
(Class XIII)

Dual Student Presentations III

Assignment Due: Summit Report (Students making presentations this day may submit the Summit Report on December 7)

December 7
(Class XIV)

The Future of Diplomacy

How has diplomacy been affected by developments of the last few years, especially the further improvement in communications, the end of the Cold War, and, in many countries, harsher budgetary constraints? How is it likely to evolve in future? What are the main ideas being pushed by those who want change so that embassies and their operations reflect the new reach of diplomacy and diplomats?

*Readings:**Who Needs Embassies?**The Embassy of the Future* (Center for Strategic and International Studies), pp. vi-viii, 1-57R. Neumann, "The Challenge of Professional Development, *FSJ*, May 2010**Assignment Due:** Reports on dual presentations made on Nov 30**ASSIGNMENTS**

As noted on page two, there are seven papers required in the course of the seminar; all papers must be typed and double-spaced. The due dates and grade weights for written assignments are as follows:

September 28

Reporting Cable (10 percent)

Imagine that you are the ambassador TO the United States of any country with whose policies and purposes you are familiar. One of your responsibilities is to keep your government informed of developments in the United States that have a bearing on its interests and to offer recommendations for appropriate action. Drawing on the previous week's *Washington Post* and/or *New York Times*, prepare a report of not more than four pages (double-spaced) telling your government succinctly:

- a. What one or two things (not more!) have happened that it needs to know;
- b. Why these developments are important; and
- c. What diplomatic actions (if any) you recommend as ambassador that your government make in response. (If you recommend that no action be taken, make this explicit!)

Begin your report with a one-paragraph summary (not more than three sentences) which briefly notes both the main points of the events being covered and key recommendation you may be including.

October 5 Demarche Exercise Reporting Cable (10 percent)

Imagine that you are the officer who made the demarche presented in class on September 29. Using the notes you made in class and the demarche material, prepare a telegram of not more than four pages to Washington in which your embassy (1) reports on the gist of the discussion with the host government officials; (2) analyzes its significance; and (3) recommends what steps should be taken next in dealing with the host government on the issue. In reporting the discussion, you do not need to repeat the points the embassy officer was told to make. It is sufficient to say that you made the points as instructed by the message from the State Department. You should also avoid giving a play-by-play account of the conversation ("she said, I said..."). Just recount as succinctly as you can the main points, with whatever quotes you think will be helpful, and the atmospherics.

October 12 Oral History Project Paper (10 percent)

The Foreign Service Oral History Project, based in Lauinger Library, has accumulated several hundred interviews with past and present American diplomats. Transcripts of these are housed on the fifth floor. They are more easily available on Lauinger's computers. They are also found on the website "Frontline Diplomacy." Using the index, which does not seem to be available at the "Frontline Diplomacy" website, choose any Foreign Service post at which at least five of the interview presenters have served and read those portions of the relevant interviews that deal with service at that post. On the basis of the interview material, respond to the following questions, using two to four double-spaced pages for each question. (Note: If you can't answer these questions based on your readings, pick another post and try again.)

--In what ways did the mission influence U.S. policy towards the country where the post is located? You should focus on ways the post influenced Washington's decisions, rather than its role in implementing policies that were already in place.

--How did the environment of the post (political, societal, security, etc.) affect its operations?

Include as an appendix to your paper, a list of the names of the individuals whose interviews you have consulted and the positions they held while serving at your chosen post.

October 19

Evaluation of Diplomatic Memoir (10 percent)

Choosing a memoir in the list that appears on the final pages of this syllabus, prepare a critical, 5-7 page evaluation of the book as a source of information on the practice of diplomacy. Is it useful as a guide to students of diplomatic practice? What episodes that the author handled especially well (or badly) offer particular lessons for diplomats today? (The list is not the final word. Should you be interested in assessing a memoir that does not appear on it, consult with the instructor.)

October 26,
November 16,
November 30

Dual Student Presentations (10 percent)

In choosing subjects for their presentations, students should consult the list on the last page of this syllabus. This list is not meant to be exclusive. With the consent of the instructor, students may make presentations on other subjects that interest them and are relevant to the course. To avoid duplication and receive guidance and advice, students should consult the instructor at least two weeks in advance. This will allow them time to arrange interviews with foreign policy practitioners and others suggested by the instructor who can be helpful to them. Each student should team up with a classmate and make a dual presentation. Past experience suggest that these can be very stimulating, particularly if the presenters take different viewpoints. But how you divide the presentation is up to you. You may also choose two of the listed subjects for your dual presentation provided they are appropriately related. The two presenters will receive the same grade. Please let the instructor know if you have any problem finding a presentation partner and he will undertake to work things out.

Presentations should take 20-25 minutes, leaving a further 10-15 minutes for questions and discussion. You should use **PowerPoint** if you possibly can. Past experience has demonstrated that this adds a great deal to the presentation. Students should avoid writing out their presentations and reading them to the class. This can be a powerful soporific; it will in any event not win you high marks from the instructor. Reading from notes is acceptable. If you wish, you may want to provide the class with supplementary handouts. A written report reflecting the oral presentation *and the discussion that followed*, plus any further thoughts you might come up with afterwards, will be due a week later. It should run to six or seven double-spaced pages.

November 9 Reporting Cable on Simulation II, with recommendations (10 percent)

Instructions detailing the preparation of this cable will be given out at the preceding class.

November 30 Summit Report (10 percent)

During 2010, President Obama made several visits to foreign countries, and many foreign heads of state and government came to Washington on similar trips. For this paper, select either one Obama foreign trip or one trip of a foreign leader to this country in 2010 and report on the following:

- What were the main features of the trip as reported in the media and other sources available to you?
- What were the principal purposes of the visit as seen from each side? Were the travelers and their hosts seeking to accomplish anything other than heightening good will and achieving other intangibles? Or did they have concrete agendas they believed could be advanced through their visits. Did these include domestic political objectives?
- What kind of publicity did the visit receive in the country visited and the country from which the visitor set out? (This will be more difficult to unearth for overseas reaction than for coverage in the American media, but see what you can find out.)
- How successful did the visit seem to be in terms of (1) U.S. interests and (2) the interests of the foreign country? To what extent were the objectives of the trip met by each side? What did they fail to achieve? How did the U.S. side spin its accomplishments/failures with the American media?
- In your view, would it have been possible to achieve what the trip accomplished by standard diplomatic contacts?

The report should run 4-5 double-spaced pages. *You should deal only with bilateral visits*, avoiding such multilateral events as the travel by Obama to participate in the summit meetings of multilateral groupings (e.g. the G-8 and the G-20) or foreign leaders' visits to the United States for similar sessions.

DIPLOMATIC MEMOIRS

This is a list of selected memoirs by American diplomats, all of them in Lauinger. You may pick from this list, or select any other full-length memoir by an American diplomat. But if you go outside this list, you need to get the instructor's consent.

- Bohlen, Charles, Witness to History, 1929-1969, (1972)
- Chester, J. Chapman, Sr., From Foggy Bottom to Capitol Hill: Exploits of a G.I., Diplomat, and Congressional Aide, (2000)
- Cohen, Herman J., Intervening in Africa: Superpower Peacemaking in a Troubled Continent, (2000)
- Cross, Charles T., Born a Foreigner: A Memoir of the American Presence in Asia, (2002)
- Davidow, Jeffrey, The Bear and the Porcupine, [The U.S. and Mexico], 2007.
- Dean, John Gunther, Battle Zones, (2009)
- Djerejian, Edward P, Danger and Opportunity: An American Ambassador's Journey Through the Middle East (2008)
- Grove, Brandon H. Jr., Behind Embassy Walls, (2005)
- Hillenbrand, Martin, Fragments of our Time: Memoirs of a Diplomat, (1998)
- Holdridge, John H., Crossing the Divide: An Insider's Account of the Normalization of U.S.- China Relations, (1997)
- Hume, Cameron, Mission to Algiers, (2006)
- Jenkins, Alfred, Country, Conscience and Caviar, (1993)
- Jenkins, Kempton, Cold War Saga, (2010)
- Kaiser, Philip M., Journeying Far and Wide, (1992)
- Kennan, George, Memoirs -- either volume, (1967, 1972)
- Lyman, Princeton, Partner to History, The U.S. Role in South Africa's Transition to Democracy, (2002)
- Meyer, Armin, Quiet Diplomacy: From Cairo to Tokyo in the Twilight of Imperialism, (2004)
- Miller, Robert H., Vietnam in Beyond: A Diplomat's Cold War Education, (2002)
- Newsom, David, Witness to a Changing World, (2008)
- Ortiz, Frank, Ambassador Ortiz, Lessons from a Life of Service, (2005)
- Perkins, Edward, Mr. Ambassador: Warrior for Peace, (2006)
- Platt, Nicholas, China Boys (2010)
- Richmond, Yale, Practicing Public Diplomacy: A Cold War Odyssey, (2008)
- Simpson, Howard R., Bush Hat, Black Tie: Adventures of a Foreign Service Officer, (1999)
- Spain, James W., In Those Days: A Diplomat Remembers, (1998)
- Tuthill, John, Some Thoughts to Some Men: Serving in the Foreign Service, (1996)
- Wilkowski, Jean, Abroad for Her Country: Tales of a Pioneer Woman Ambassador in the U.S. Foreign Service (2008)
- Zimmerman, Warren, Origins of a Catastrophe: Yugoslavia and its Destroyers, (1996)

SUGGESTED TOPICS FOR DUAL STUDENT REPORTS

This list of topics is illustrative of the range of subjects available for study, and is not intended to limit your scope of inquiry. You are encouraged to suggest other topics, but be sure to obtain the instructor's approval before pursuing a topic not on this list. Please make an appointment and consult with the instructor before you undertake your study. This will allow him to suggest useful sources for you.

- Training of Foreign Service personnel
- Security of embassies and diplomatic personnel
- Career vs. non-career ambassadors
- Women officers in the Foreign Service
- Science and technology issues in diplomacy
- Minorities in the Foreign Service
- Dealing with the opposition
- "Clientitis" and "localitis"
- Dealing with Congress abroad
- Refugee issues in diplomacy
- Setting up a new embassy
- The Foreign Commercial Service
- Working with Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)
- Embassy Summer Intern Programs: Are They Worth Keeping?
- The role of Junior Officers
- Relations with other countries' embassies in the same country
- The Foreign Agricultural Service
- Language skills in diplomacy
- Multiple Accreditation: advantages and pitfalls
- Overseas roles of the Treasury, the Ex-Im Bank, and other U.S. economic agencies
- The Federal Bureau of Investigation abroad
- The Drug Enforcement Agency abroad
- Embassy relations with locally-based U.S. military units
- Dealing with the U.S. media abroad
- Dealing with the foreign media abroad
- Evacuation of American citizens in times of emergency
- The role of an embassy's Foreign Service National staff
- The evolving role of the spouse overseas
- Dealing with natural disasters overseas
- Dealing with terrorist attacks
- Embassy relations with the local American community
- Coordination of embassies within a region
- Getting to know your country of assignment
- Visa problems caused by the international terrorist threat
- Dealing with official visitors from headquarters
- Serving Abroad vs. Working in Washington

Working in very dangerous posts, e.g. Baghdad, Kabul
Embassy-Peace Corps relations
Foreign Service regional expertise
Role of the ambassador's staff aides
"Foreign Service brats" (children of FSOs)
The role of Consulates General and Consulates
The evolution of communications systems and its impact
The role of diplomatic "political advisors" at major military headquarters
Embassies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs)
"Tandem Couples" (spouses) in the Foreign Service
Conducting bilateral diplomacy without formal relations
One-officer posts
The role of embassy officers' spouses
Working on a Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) in Iraq or Afghanistan
The role of environmental officers
The management function at embassies

