

**THE NATIONAL WAR COLLEGE  
WASHINGTON, DC 20319-5078**



**DIPLOMACY ON THE ENDURING FRONT**

ELECTIVE COURSE 6064

**SYLLABUS**

Academic Year 2020-2021 (Fall)

*This document contains educational material designed to promote discussion by students of the National War College/National Defense University. It does not necessarily reflect the views of the National Defense University or the Department of Defense. The contents of this document are the property of the U.S. Government and are intended for the exclusive use of the faculty and students of the National War College (NWC) and the National Defense University (NDU). No further dissemination is authorized without the express consent of the NWC Commandant.*

---

Amb. Kelly Keiderling  
Course Co-Director  
Department of Strategy & Policy  
National War College

---

CAPT Corey Ray, USN  
Chair, Department of Strategy & Policy  
National War College

---

Ms. Kelly Adams-Smith, DOS  
Course Co-Director  
Department of Security Studies  
National War College

---

Dr. Colton Campbell  
Chair, Department of Security Studies  
National War College

# DIPLOMACY ON THE ENDURING FRONT

ELECTIVE COURSE 6064

## SYLLABUS

Academic Year 2020-2021 (Fall)

<b>Topic</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Topic Title</b>
		<b>Block I: Statecraft, Diplomacy Theory, Actors, Instruments</b>
1	14 SEP 20 0830-1030	<b>What is Statecraft? What is Diplomacy?</b>
2	21 SEP 20 0830-1030	<b>The History of American Diplomacy and the Pursuit of National Interest</b>
3	28 SEP 20 0830-1030	<b>The Enduring Front I: The Nature of our Era, the Utility of Diplomacy</b>
4	5 OCT 20 0830-1030	<b>The Enduring Front II: Diplomatic Actors and Instruments</b>
5	19 OCT 20 0830-1030	<b>The Enduring Front III: Diplomacy in Action in the Field</b>
		<b>Block II: Diplomacy in Action</b>
6	26 OCT 20 0830-1030	<b>Case Studies: Using Diplomacy in Pursuit of Security</b> <i>(Student Presentations)</i>
7	2 NOV 20 0830-1030	<b>Case Studies: Using Diplomacy in Pursuit of Prosperity</b> <i>(Student Presentations)</i>
8	9 NOV 20 0830-1030	<b>Case Studies: Using Diplomacy in Pursuit of Values</b> <i>(Student Presentations)</i>
9	16 NOV 20 0830-1030	<b>Cross-Cutting Case Studies and the Pursuit of Global Public Goods</b> <i>(Student Presentations)</i>
		<b>Block III: The Future of Diplomacy</b>
10	30 NOV 20 0830-1030	<b>Stepping onto the Domestic Stage: Goals, Trends, Actors, and Getting Things Done Domestically</b>
11	7 DEC 20 0830-1030	<b>Stepping onto the International Stage: Diplomacy Outdoors Requires Transparency, Authenticity, and Trust</b>
12	10 DEC 20 1330-1530	<b>Applications for Strategists: Objective-Instrument Packages</b>

## Course Overview

### Introduction:

What is the essence of diplomacy? It's as easy as "engagement," and as hard as persuading another individual to change his/her mind in favor of your position. Now, in the age of networks, we need to convince whole populations to agree with our position. What is diplomacy good for? Diplomacy, classically understood, is the interaction among nation-states used to advance foreign policy goals.

How do we exercise diplomacy and to what specific ends? This course will introduce students to diplomacy both as the orchestration of the instruments of national power and as one instrument to achieve foreign policy goals. The course will review the ways and means of diplomacy that the United States uses to address threats, take advantage of opportunities, and shape the international environment. Using strategic logic, students will delve into U.S. government foreign policy goals, understand the global context and partners for those goals, recognize U.S. diplomatic actors, and design ends-ways-means packages to advance particular foreign policy goals.

U.S. foreign policy over the past 100 years has converged around five essential goals:

1. **Mutual understanding:** to understand the world, have the world understand us, and together create and maintain a rules-based world order;
2. **Security:** to seek greater security for the United States in a competitive, conflictive, perennially gray-zone international system;
3. **Prosperity:** to make the U.S. more economically prosperous through international trade and investment and shared scientific and academic advances in an increasingly interdependent global economic order;
4. **Democracy:** to defend the universal (from the U.S. point of view) values of democratic systems;
5. **Justice:** to espouse more just and non-discriminatory societies, lessen poverty, and uphold human dignity in an inequitable world.

Through this course, students will gain a greater understanding of the efforts involved in keeping the United States strong and in advancing U.S. foreign policies in our fractious, chaotic world. Students will emerge with a nuanced understanding of the craft and tools of diplomacy.

International relations are simply human relations. Edgar Schein and Peter Schein<sup>1</sup> remind us of the four levels of relationships and suggest ways to make human relationships succeed at Levels 1-3:

- **Level Minus 1:** Total impersonal domination and coercion
- **Level 1:** Transactional role and rule-based supervision, service, and most forms of "professional" helping relationships

---

<sup>1</sup> Schein, Edgar H., and Peter A. Schein. *Humble Leadership: The Power of Relationships, Openness, and Trust*. Oakland: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, 2018, chapter 2.

- **Level 2:** Personal cooperative, trusting relationships as in friendships and in effective teams
- **Level 3:** Emotionally intimate total mutual commitments

Professional diplomatic work occurs at levels 1 and 2. To experience diplomatic work first-hand by building relationships with citizens of other countries, students will establish a relationship with an International Fellow student-peer who comes from the country or the region of the student's 6600 practicum country (or with an IF who specializes in the topic of the student's 6600 course). Students will also establish a relationship with a local, Foreign Service National employee from the U.S. Embassy in the student's 6600 practicum country (with the knowledge and support of the FSN's American officer supervisor). These relationships will help inform each student's ISRP (problem statement, political aim, and subordinate objectives) by providing country (or topic) context, assumption-checking, and viability-testing. That is, as the student is developing his/her ISRP problem statement, political aim, subordinate objectives, and ends-ways-means packages, each student should ask the IF and the FSN for a gut-check on the viability of each ISRP element. (See also "Assessment Policy" below for more details on these relationships)

For more on relationship levels and how to "personalize" relationships, see: Edgar H., and Peter A. Schein. *Humble Leadership: The Power of Relationships, Openness, and Trust*. Oakland: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, 2018. Chapter 2: Culturally Defined Levels of Relationship.

You can access the full text from within the NDU Library when logged into Blackboard at: <https://nduezproxy.idm.oclc.org/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,url,uid&db=e020tna&AN=1719022&site=eds-live&scope=site>

### **Approach:**

The course consists of twelve sessions that will analyze issues covered in the readings, through group discussion, and from building relationships with an International Fellow and a U.S. embassy local employee. Student presentations will augment the discussion. The seminar should be an unconstrained environment that will foster respectful, insightful analysis from all perspectives.

### **The main texts are:**

1. Stevenson, Charles A. *America's Foreign Policy Toolkit, Key Institutions and Processes*, CQ Press, 2013.
2. Freeman, Chas. W., *Arts of Power, Statecraft and Diplomacy*, United States Institute of Peace, 1997.
3. Ramo, Joshua Cooper. *The Seventh Sense: Power, Fortune, and Survival in the Age of Networks*. Little, Brown. May 2016.
4. Nye, Joseph. *Do Morals Matter? Presidents and Foreign Policy from FDR to Trump*. Oxford University Press, 2020.
5. Kissinger, Henry. *World Order*. Penguin Press, 2014.

## Course Learning Outcomes:

The course has the following *principal learning objectives*:

1. Analyze the fundamental nature, capabilities and limitations of the diplomatic instrument of national power as a tool of statecraft.
2. Understand the actors using the diplomatic instrument and the nature of the enduring front.
3. Critique actual strategies implemented in support of security, prosperity, values and cross-cutting national interests.
4. Assess the trends, forecasts, and resources that will determine the future utility of the diplomatic instrument of power.

## Additional Institutional Learning Objectives:

1. Create, construct, and adapt globally integrated, multi-instrument, all-domain strategies and plans that align with and support national objectives.
2. Assess the global security environment using appropriate inter-disciplinary, analytical frameworks.
3. Communicate effectively (oral and written) in order to provide concise policy options for senior decision-makers.
4. Demonstrate an ability to foster collaborative relationships across boundaries [to leverage joint attitudes, resources, and learning opportunities].

## Assessment Policy:

Students must demonstrate mastery of the stated course objectives to pass this course. The course directors will use performance on the following assessments to determine each student's final grade: seminar participation 40%, case study presentation 25%, objective-instruments paper 20%, and relationship-building reflection 15%.

- ***Seminar Participation (40%)***. The faculty seminar leaders will evaluate seminar contribution, as evidenced by preparation and active weekly participation in discussions.
- ***Case Study Presentation (25%)***. Students will prepare and deliver a 10 minute in-class presentation, followed by 10 minutes of Q&A, assessing the use of diplomacy in pursuit of a particular national interest. Additional information will be provided about the presentation requirements on the first day of class.
- ***Objective-Instruments Paper (20%)***. Students will develop a 4-page Objective-Instruments (ends-means-ways) Package, featuring diplomatic orchestration (statecraft) of the diplomatic, informational, and economic instruments of power in support of a foreign policy goal. Students will share their papers with an assigned colleague at the beginning of Topic 12 and engage in peer review. Students will submit their final objective-instrument package via Blackboard by 2000 hours on the last day of class. More information on this requirement will be given to students in the first week of class.
- ***Relationship-Building Reflection (15%)***. Students will establish (with the help of instructors) a relationship with an International Fellow from the 6600 country (or an IF

who is an expert in the student's 6600 topic) or from the region of the 6600 country and with a U.S. Embassy Locally Employed Staff (LES) from the student's 6600 practicum country. Throughout the course, students will obtain the IF and LES's perceptions of the United States and its policies toward the 6600 practicum country or region. The students will also use knowledge gained from the IF and LES to develop and refine the student's ISRP problem statement, political aim, subordinate objectives, and ends-means-ways approaches. Also, at the end of the course, students will produce a reflection of these interactions. More information will be provided at the beginning of the course.

Students must meet all stated course objectives to pass this course. Students who fail to complete all course requirements in the time allotted will receive an overall grade of Incomplete (I), and students who cannot meet all course objectives will receive an overall grade of Fail (F). In both cases, the student will enter a remediation program in effort to bring the student's performance up to passing standards.

Any student may appeal any course grade. First, within a week of the release of the grade, request a review by the course director. Should this review not lead to a satisfactory resolution, the student should submit a written petition to the NWC Dean of Faculty and Academic Programs within two weeks of the release of the grade. The Dean of Faculty and Academic Programs will convene a faculty panel to conduct a formal review; the decision of that panel will be final.

The following grading scale will be used:

Letter Grade	Descriptor	Grade Points
A	Exceptional Quality	4.00
A-	Superior Quality	3.70
B+	High Quality	3.30
B	Expected/Acceptable Quality	3.00
B-	Below Expected Quality	2.70
C	Unsatisfactory Quality	2.00
P	Pass	0.00
F	Fail/Unacceptable Quality	0.00
I	Incomplete	0.00

**Absence Policy:**

1. Students must notify their assigned college's leadership and the course professor/instructor of absences in accordance with the College Absence/Leave Policy (see also the Student Handbook).
  - (a) *Foreseen absences* (e.g., student travel) require prior notification.
  - (b) *Unforeseen absences* (e.g., sudden personal injury or illness; sudden injury, illness, or death in the family, etc.) require notification as soon as possible, but no later than the first day the student returns to class.

2. It is the student's responsibility to complete any reading and coursework missed during the absence.
3. It is the student's responsibility to complete additional assignments as required by the professor/instructor.
4. Students who accumulate 4 or more foreseen or unforeseen absences will be required to participate in a performance review by the course's host college.

# **BLOCK I: Diplomacy and the Enduring Front: Statecraft, Diplomacy Theory, Actors, Instruments**

## **Topic 1: What is Statecraft? What is Diplomacy? Monday, September 14, 2020, 0830-1030**

*"Diplomacy is the art of letting someone else have your way."*

**~ American Proverb**

### **Overview**

Our first topic examines diplomacy as statecraft and diplomacy as a tool. We review various definitions of diplomacy and the concept of a “diplomatic trinity” to explain the enduring nature of diplomacy, fundamental tensions pulling at a diplomats and diplomatic culture. We will discuss various types of diplomacy – among states, hard, soft, smart, public, commercial, cultural, people-to-people, etc.

### **Key Questions**

1. What is statecraft? Based on the readings and your previous experience, what are some definitions of statecraft and of diplomacy? Which resonate most with you and why? What is the difference between diplomacy and the diplomatic instrument?
2. How do national interests figure into statecraft and diplomacy? What does Kissinger say about power and legitimacy?
3. Describe the different types of diplomacy. In what way are they the same? How are they different?
4. Do morals matter in foreign policy? How does Nye define morality in foreign affairs? Can the U.S. dispense with values-based (democracy, human rights, gender-racial-ethnic-religious non-discrimination, poverty alleviation) foreign policies?

### **Required Readings: (67 pages)**

1. Kissinger, Henry. *World Order*. Penguin Press, 2014, pages 3-9 (different world orders, legitimacy and power). (7 pages, *Student-issued text*).
2. Freeman, Chas. W. *Arts of Power, Statecraft and Diplomacy*, United States Institute of Peace, 1997, pages 3-5 (introduction), 9-21 (national interests, statecraft, national power), and 33-42 (political actions, political measures, cultural influence). (26 pages, *Student-issued text*).
3. Stevenson, Charles A. *America's Foreign Policy Toolkit, Key Institutions and Processes*, CQ Press, 2013, pages 141-142 (nature of diplomacy). (2 pages, *Student-issued text*).

4. Ross, Dennis. *Statecraft and How to Restore America's Standing in the World*, New York, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007, pp. x-xii (What is Statecraft?), 6-7, 11 ("Style Matters"), 21-23 (What is Statecraft?). (9 pages)

*Permalink access from within the NDU Library when logged into Blackboard:*

<http://eds.b.ebscohost.com.nduezproxy.idm.oclc.org/eds/detail/detail?vid=1&sid=4f7f1e4a-b419-4fed-973d-fe54974c8404%40pdc-v-sessmgr02&bdata=JkF1dGhUeXBIPWlwLHVybCx1aWQmc2l0ZT1lZHMtbGl2ZSZzY29wZT1zaXRl#AN=ndu.240383&db=cat04199a>

5. Nye, Joseph S., Jr, *Do Morals Matter? Presidents and Foreign Policy from FDR to Trump*, New York, NY, Oxford University Press, 2020, pp. 15-19 (What is a moral foreign policy? 3-D moral reasoning), 22-23, 27-35 (realism, cosmopolitanism, liberalism, problem of intervention). (16 pages, *Student-issued text*).

6. Cialdini, Robert B. 2001. "Harnessing the Science of Persuasion." *Harvard Business Review*, no. 9. (7 pages)

*You can access the full text from within the NDU Library when logged into Blackboard at:*

<https://nduezproxy.idm.oclc.org/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip.url.uid&db=edsbig&AN=edsbig.A80806729&site=eds-live&scope=site>

**Topic 2:**  
**The History of American Diplomacy in Pursuit of the National Interest**  
**Monday, September 21, 2020, 0830-1030**

**Overview**

Our second topic focuses on how American diplomacy has evolved over time. It covers the evolution of foreign policy goals and key diplomatic decisions and developments that have shaped American foreign relations. We also investigate the enduring U.S. national interests: security, prosperity, and values, and how strategists have used diplomacy in pursuit of these national interests over time. This will be a key theme throughout the course.

**Key Questions**

1. What is the national interest? Has the way the United States defined the national interest changed over time? Which interests and values have shaped U.S. foreign policy?
2. What are key decisions and developments that have shaped American diplomatic tradition?
3. What are the national interests and foreign policy goals of various periods in U.S. history? How has America's role in the world changed over time?

**Required Readings: (97 pages)**

1. Kissinger, Henry. *World Order*. Penguin Press, 2014, pages 256-317 (Wilson through Clinton). (62 pages, *Student-issued text*)
2. Brands, Henry W. "The Idea of the National Interest," *Diplomatic History* 23.2 (1999), pp: 239-261. (23 pages)  
*You can access the full text from within the NDU Library when logged into Blackboard:*  
<http://eds.b.ebscohost.com.nduezproxy.idm.oclc.org/eds/detail/detail?vid=7&sid=820471eb-fdcd-4d7f-a292-0fbfb253b3b3%40pdv-sessmgr04&bdata=JkF1dGhUeXBIPWlwLHVybCx1aWQmc2l0ZT1lZHMtbGl2ZSZzY29wZT1zaXRI#AN=1862032&db=aph>
3. Nye, Joseph S., Jr, *Do Morals Matter? Presidents and Foreign Policy from FDR to Trump*, New York, NY, Oxford University Press, 2020, pp. 43-45, 70-72, 97-98, 114-115, 132-133 (12 pages, *Student-issued text*)

**Additional Readings:**

1. United Nations. "Universal Declaration of Human Rights." <https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/> December 10, 1948.
2. *Scan for general understanding*: Congressional Research Service. "Instances of Use of United States Armed Forces Abroad, 1798-2020," Updated July 20, 2020.  
<https://fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/R42738.pdf>

**Topic 3:**  
**The Enduring Front I: The Nature of our Era, the Utility of Diplomacy**  
**Monday, October 5, 2020, 0830-1030**

**Overview**

The domestic and international context determine how successful different diplomatic approaches will be. The first step is to define “the nature of our age.” After the end of the Cold War, the nature of the age, for the United States, was one of global leadership in the search for economic prosperity, within a rules-based, international order. After 9/11, we transitioned to a global war against terrorists. The consensus in Washington seems that we’ve entered an era of great power competition, of networks, and of rising inequality and populist anger. China, Russia and every other country has its own view of the “nature of our era.” What does this mean for diplomacy in pursuit of our national interests? The day in, day out activity associated with that pursuit is the enduring front.

**Key Questions**

1. What is the nature of our age, domestically and internationally? How might other countries perceive the nature of our age? How do these views affect the utility of the diplomatic instrument?
2. What is the enduring front? Does strategy-making start when we encounter a problem?
3. What is the U.S. “national mood?” Why does it matter to diplomacy? How does the U.S. public’s general disinterest in foreign affairs and diplomacy affect the U.S. ability to carry out diplomacy?
4. According to Freeman, what are the tasks of all diplomats? What are diplomatic maneuvers?

**Required Readings: (104 pages)**

1. Nye, Joseph S., Jr, *Do Morals Matter? Presidents and Foreign Policy from FDR to Trump*, New York, NY, Oxford University Press, 2020, pp. 155-180 (Obama, Trump presidencies). (26 pages, *Student-issued text*)
2. Ramo, Joshua Cooper, *The Seventh Sense*, New York, NY, Little, Brown and Company, 2016, pp. 26-29, 32-40, 48-51, 75-92 (the age of network power); 106-124 and 220-221 (power in connected systems, concentration and distribution) (57 pages, *Student-issued text*)
3. Freeman, Chas. W. *Arts of Power, Statecraft and Diplomacy*, United States Institute of Peace, 1997, pp. 73-75 (varieties of diplomatic strategy), 77-84 (diplomatic maneuver), 87-92 (diplomatic negotiation), 93-96 (relations between states). (21 pages, *Student-issued text*)

**Additional Reading:**

Gates, Robert M. 2020. "The Overmilitarization of American Foreign Policy." *Foreign Affairs* 99 (4): 121–32.

*You can access the full text from within the NDU Library when logged into Blackboard at:*

<https://nduezproxy.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,url,uid&db=tsh&AN=143580968&site=ehost-live&scope=site>

**Topic 4:**  
**The Enduring Front II: Diplomatic Actors and Instruments**  
**Monday, September 28, 2020, 0830-1030**

**Overview**

This week's seminar dives into the institutions and actors that conduct U.S. diplomacy and reviews the tools and approaches they use. We will first cover the five official U.S. Foreign Affairs Agencies: the U.S. Department of State, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), the Foreign Commercial Service (FCS, part of the Department of Commerce), the Foreign Agriculture Service (FAS, part of the Department of Agriculture), and the U.S. Agency for Global Media (USAGM, formerly the Broadcasting Board of Governors). We'll then review the great number of U.S. Government entities that also conduct diplomacy, including the White House, the Departments of Defense, Energy, Treasury, Homeland Security, and the U.S. Congress. Our review of diplomatic actors would not be complete without a discussion of non-state actors that play an important role in U.S. diplomacy and soft power: international organizations, NGOs, think tanks, business, the media, diaspora groups, citizen groups, universities, etc. Each of these entities uses certain instruments – from negotiations to aid, sanctions to exchanges, in pursuit of their missions (which don't always coincide with the U.S. national interest). Be ready for a lively seminar that will make you think differently about who is a diplomat.

**Key Questions**

1. What are the U.S. Foreign Affairs Agencies and what are their responsibilities? What are the tools they use to advance U.S. interests, U.S. foreign policy goals, and their missions?
2. What are the key non-Foreign Affairs Agencies that engage in diplomacy? How do they do it? How do they interact with the Foreign Affairs agencies?
3. How do the White House and NSC engage diplomatically? What is Congress's role in diplomacy? How is policy coordinated with the rest of the government?
4. How does the U.S. use diplomacy in International Organizations in pursuit of U.S. interests and policy goals? Should we use them more or less?
5. What role do non-state actors play in U.S. diplomacy? What happens when their interests do not coincide with U.S. policy?

**Required Readings: (96 pages)**

1. Stevenson, Charles A. *America's Foreign Policy Toolkit, Key Institutions and Processes*, CQ Press, 2013, pp. 143-153, 155-158, 160-162 (State Dept., NSC); 170-196 (economic tools); 86-90, 163-165 (Congress); 274-300 (international organizations); 301-312(other). (91 pages, *Student-issued text*)

2. Freeman, Chas. W. *Arts of Power, Statecraft and Diplomacy*, United States Institute of Peace, 1997, pp. 43-44 (cultural exchange), 50-52 (economic measures). (5 pages, *Student-issued text*)

**Additional Reading:**

Ross, Dennis. *Statecraft and How to Restore America's Standing in the World*, New York, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007, pp. 133-142 (lessons of statecraft for today; high stakes, intensive effort, bureaucracy in harmony). (10 pages)

*Permalink access from within the NDU Library when logged into Blackboard:*

<http://eds.b.ebscohost.com.nduezproxy.idm.oclc.org/eds/detail/detail?vid=1&sid=4f7f1e4a-b419-4fed-973d-fe54974c8404%40pdc-v-sessmgr02&bdata=JkF1dGhUeXBIPWlwLHVybCx1aWQmc2l0ZT1lZHMtbGl2ZSZzY29wZT1zaXRl#AN=ndu.240383&db=cat04199a>

**Topic 5:**  
**The Enduring Front III: Diplomacy in the Field**  
**Monday, October 19, 2020, 0830-1030**

**Overview**

We'll end Block I with a discussion of how U.S. embassies operate, i.e., how the U.S. government advances on its foreign policy goals in the field. An embassy serves as the pulse for U.S. diplomatic engagements and initiatives overseas. Usually located in a capital city, the size, personnel, and activities of individual embassies vary. The ambassador, whose appointment must receive Senate approval, leads the embassy's personnel, including the deputy chief of mission, the country team, foreign and civil service officers from U.S. federal agencies, and Foreign Service National employees. Many embassies are like "little Washingtons" - hubs of interagency activity, debate, and, sometimes, rivalries. Embassies have standard functions, including interacting with foreign government counterparts, delivering messages from our government (demarches), advancing cooperation on law enforcement, intelligence sharing, reporting on political and economic issues, completing congressionally mandated reports, taking care of American citizens, promoting the interests of U.S. companies, organizing people-to-people exchange, and telling America's story to foreign audiences. Today we'll discuss the functions of embassies, consulates and other missions abroad and in international organizations, discuss traditional diplomatic maneuvers, and analyze Washington-field dynamics. We will cover negotiations (arguably, *the* tool of statecraft) and a bit of mediation.

**Key Questions**

1. What are the challenges and priorities of a U.S. Embassy, both in a bilateral context and working with Washington?
2. What are Dennis Ross' "Twelve Rules to Follow" in negotiations? Which do you think are most important? Which surprised you?
3. Does an embassy create or simply implement strategy, or both? How? What is the relationship between an embassy's activities and the State-USAID Joint Strategic Plan?

**Required Readings: (100 pages)**

1. Stevenson, Charles A. *America's Foreign Policy Toolkit, Key Institutions and Processes*, CQ Press, 2013, pp. 157-160. (4 pages, *Student-issued text*)
2. Freeman, Chas. W. *Arts of Power, Statecraft and Diplomacy*, United States Institute of Peace, 1997, pp. 96-104, 107-134. (37 pages, *Student-issued text*)
3. Ross, Dennis. *Statecraft and How to Restore America's Standing in the World*, New York, NY, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007, pp. 187-222 (negotiations, a bit on mediation). (36 pages) *Permalink access from within the NDU Library when logged into Blackboard:*

<http://eds.b.ebscohost.com.nduezproxy.idm.oclc.org/eds/detail/detail?vid=1&sid=4f7f1e4a-b419-4fed-973d-fe54974c8404%40pdc-v-sessmgr02&bdata=JkF1dGhUeXBIPWlwLHVybCx1aWQmc2l0ZT1lZHMtbGl2ZSZzY29wZT1zaXRl#AN=ndu.240383&db=cat04199a>

4. “State-USAID Joint Strategic Plan.” pp. 11-21 and skim Table of Contents (11 pages). PDF found at this link and on Blackboard.

<https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Joint-Strategic-Plan-FY-2018-2022.pdf>

5. Schein, Edgar H., and Peter A. Schein. *Humble Leadership: The Power of Relationships, Openness, and Trust*. Berrett-Koehler Publishers, 2018, chapter 2, pp. 24-26 (4 levels of relationships and “personization”), pp. 28-36 (levels 1 and 2) (12 pages).

*You can access the full text from within the NDU Library when logged into Blackboard):*

<http://eds.b.ebscohost.com.nduezproxy.idm.oclc.org/eds/ebookviewer/ebook/bmxlYmtfXzE3MTkwMjJfX0FO0?sid=a605b735-fc12-45f8-9f72-025059b7e64e@sessionmgr103&vid=2&format=EB&rid=2>

## BLOCK II: Diplomacy in Action

### Topic 6:

### Case Studies: Using Diplomacy in Pursuit of Security

Monday, October 26, 2020, 0830-1030

#### Overview

This week we begin Block II, which focuses on case studies that show how the United States uses diplomacy in pursuit of its national interests and specific foreign policies. Over the next four weeks, each student will have the opportunity to present an analysis of a real-world case showing how the diplomacy tool was deployed and orchestrated with other tools to achieve a political aim (or foreign policy) that supported our national interests of security, prosperity, values, and the pursuit of global public goods. (Deibel calls values “values projection.”) For Block II, each student will choose one case from any of the four “buckets” for in-depth study and to present to the class. These case studies were developed by NWC 2020 graduates Kyle Richardson, Erin Sawyer, Joy Sakurai, Michelle Riebeling and Debi Mosel.

In today’s seminar, students will present case studies in which the U.S. government used diplomacy in the pursuit of greater security for the United States. The range of diplomatic case studies in this topic illustrates the complexity and the nuance of how diplomacy is employed to advance U.S. security interests over a long time-horizon. Each student will need to read one basic reading about each “security” case to become familiar with the foreign policy goals (political aim and subordinate objectives) and the efforts involved (means and ways).

1. ***Missile Defense in Europe:*** Examines the process through which the United States pursued the establishment of a Europe-based missile defense system to defend against potential threats to Europe and the United States from Iranian missile attacks.
2. ***JCPOA (Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action) with Iran (nuclear weapons agreement):*** Examines the diplomacy behind the negotiations leading up to the signing of the JCPOA in 2015. Evaluates strategic objectives and explores whether the JCPOA was a success, a failure, or a work in progress.
3. ***Libyan Conflict in 2011 and Beyond:*** Examines the NATO-led intervention in the Libyan civil war in 2011, including the humanitarian justification for protecting civilians and the aftermath of destabilization, proxy conflict, and continued political strife.
4. ***Counternarcotics:*** Analyzes how the United States uses foreign assistance tools and diplomatic engagement to achieve bilateral security (in this case, law enforcement and the fight against transnational organized criminal networks) objectives. Specifically looks at the Merida Initiative, a counternarcotics assistance program between the United States and Mexico.
5. ***Counterterrorism (ISIS):*** Explores the U.S.-led diplomatic effort to create and sustain the global coalition to defeat ISIS and liberate the territory it controlled across large swaths of Syria and Iraq.

After doing research, students who chose to present a security case study will give a 10-minute presentation addressing the following:

- a) Context, flow of history: what had happened beforehand to build up to the decision to address the challenge, both internationally and domestically?
- b) The strategic challenge (threat or opportunity) for the United States: What political aim (i.e., overarching policy goal) did the USG decide upon? What were the countervailing pressures? What did the other country (or multinational organizations) want/not want?
- c) Subordinate objectives (the different lines of effort or courses of action) used to achieve that overall policy goal.
- d) What were the orchestration dynamics (means and ways)? Which instruments (e.g., diplomatic, informational, economic/assistance) were chosen to achieve these objectives? Which institutions and actors (USG departments/agencies, foreign allies or partners, international organizations, NGOs, others) were involved? What ways (approaches, modes of action) were used? What were the U.S. leadership considerations? Assumptions? Viability? Risks?
- e) State whether you believe the strategy was a success. Why? Unintended consequences? Long-term maintenance: what has been the enduring impact of the USG effort on the bilateral, regional and multilateral relationships? What has the USG done to maintain the success or mitigate the failure of the effort?

Each presentation will be followed by 10 minutes of Q&A. Students not presenting today will be assigned specific roles during the briefing and Q&A session.

We'll use our remaining time in class to debrief the cases and discuss the following questions:

### **Key Questions**

1. Why would strategists choose the diplomatic tool to pursue security? When would another tool be more appropriate?
2. Diplomacy is both a tool and an orchestrator of other tools. In the cases studied today, how was diplomacy used? Can you think of other cases in which diplomacy was deployed in pursuit of security, either as a tool or as an orchestrator of other tools?

### **Required Reading: (77 pages)**

**Note: All students should do the basic reading for each of the “security” case studies. To present a case study, the student should do additional research and analyze the case more deeply. Instructors will offer more research resources for each case study.**

Missile Defense in Europe

Pifer, Steven. "Missile Defense in Europe: Cooperation or Contention." *Brookings Arms Control Series Paper 8* (May 2012). [https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/0508\\_MISSILE\\_DEFENSE\\_PIFER.pdf](https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/0508_MISSILE_DEFENSE_PIFER.pdf). **Read pp. 4-17 (14 pages).**

JCPOA (Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action) with Iran

Sherman, Wendy, "How We Got the Iran Deal and Why We'll Miss It," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2018. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2018-08-14/how-we-got-iran-deal>. **Read pp. 186-197 (12 pages).**

Libyan Conflict in 2011 and Beyond

Chivvis, Christopher S., Keith Crane, Peter Mandaville, and Jeffrey Martini. "Libya's Post-Qaddafi Transition: The Nation-Building Challenge." RAND Corporation, 2012. [https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR129.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR129.html). **Read pp. 1-17 (18 pages).**

Counternarcotics

Congressional Research Service, "U.S.-Mexican Security Cooperation: The Merida Initiative and Beyond," June 29, 2017, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R41349.pdf>. **Read Summary and pp. 9-31 (23 pages).**

Counterterrorism (ISIS)

Christopher M. Blanchard and Carla Humud, "The Islamic State and U.S. Policy," Congressional Research Service, September 25, 2018. <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/R43612.pdf>. **Read Summary and pp. 1-8 (10 pages).**

**Topic 7:**  
**Case Studies: Using Diplomacy in Pursuit of Prosperity**  
**Monday, November 2, 2020, 0830-1030**

**Overview**

Today we continue our analysis of cases in which the U.S. government used diplomacy in support of the national interest. Today's topic focuses on case studies, presented by your colleagues, that showcase diplomacy in pursuit of greater economic prosperity for the United States.

The range of case studies in this topic illustrates how the diplomatic instrument can be used to advance U.S. economic-prosperity interests. The U.S. government has long advocated for U.S. commercial interests. When U.S. businesses can invest abroad and get a good return on their investments, those companies grow and create jobs and expand our nation's economic activity. And when U.S. businesses can trade with international partners--selling their goods and services and buying goods and services from other countries—they also grow and create jobs and expand our economy. Bottom line: when U.S. companies can invest and trade globally, the U.S. economy grows.

The cases below illustrate how statecraft and economic prosperity interests align and how the United States can (and should) balance collaboration and competition on the global stage. One reading from each case will be required of all students; some students will have chosen a prosperity case to study in-depth and to present to the class.

1. ***5G and Huawei***: Explores the evolution of 5G commercial and military technological development, the need for U.S. businesses to remain competitive in the tech sector, the commercial competition between the United States and China, and the security implications of adopting Chinese 5G technology. Asks how the U.S. engages in commercial diplomacy and how U.S. alliances and partnerships (including in the intelligence arena) may be affected by the development and dissemination of 5G technology by Huawei.
2. ***The Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP)***: Examines the creation and unraveling of the TPP, heralded in 2015 as the world's largest free trade area and the centerpiece of then-President Obama's 'pivot to Asia.' Explores the intersection of international and domestic interests and how the United States orchestrated diplomacy and trade negotiations.
3. ***Anti-Money Laundering / Countering the Financing of Terrorism (AML/CFT)***: Explores how the United States attempts to limit the presence of illicit funds from criminal activities in the global financial system. Describes how the U.S. has created, protected, and strengthened, in concert with other nations and multilateral organizations, an integrated AML/CFT framework through policy, regulation, enforcement actions, and capacity-building assistance projects.
4. ***Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) Protection***: Innovation improves productivity and drives economic growth. The theft of intellectual property allows competitors to create new products and to undercut sales of U.S. products, giving them an unfair

- (and illegally procured) advantage over U.S. companies, universities, media and other sectors of the economy. This case looks at the ways the United States protects intellectual property rights, encourages other countries to respect U.S. IPR, and helps establish national and global regulatory frameworks to protect IPR. Analyzes how IPR protection contributes to economic growth and explores the crucial roles played by both diplomats and international-trade professionals.
5. ***Entrepreneurship:*** Entrepreneurs create small and medium enterprises (SMEs); SMEs in turn create the most jobs and drive economic growth. The U.S. has a natural advantage in entrepreneurship; it has long been part of our culture. This case study shows how the U.S. government has encouraged entrepreneurship in other countries, with a particular focus on using entrepreneurship to generate opportunities for women and minorities. Thus, the USG combines its prosperity interest (creating links with international entrepreneurs and their businesses that will benefit the U.S. economy) with its values interest of “justice” (i.e., encouraging more just societies which provide equal opportunities to women and minorities). Both State and USAID sponsor entrepreneurship programs with this dual strategic goal (global prosperity and U.S. values).

Students who chose to study in depth a “prosperity” case will give a 10-minute presentation addressing the following:

- a) Context, flow of history: what had happened beforehand to build up to the decision to address the challenge, both internationally and domestically?
- b) The strategic challenge (threat or opportunity) for the United States: What political aim (i.e., overarching policy goal) did the USG decide upon? What were the countervailing pressures? What did the other country (or multinational organizations) want/not want?
- c) Subordinate objectives (the different lines of effort or courses of action) used to achieve that overall policy goal.
- d) What were the orchestration dynamics (means and ways)? Which instruments (e.g., diplomatic, informational, economic/assistance) were chosen to achieve these objectives? Which institutions and actors (USG departments/agencies, foreign allies or partners, international organizations, NGOs, others) were involved? What ways (approaches, modes of action) were used? What were the U.S. leadership considerations? Assumptions? Viability? Risks?
- e) State whether you believe the strategy was a success. Why? Unintended consequences? Long-term maintenance: what has been the enduring impact of the USG effort on the bilateral, regional and multilateral relationships? What has the USG done to maintain the success or mitigate the failure of the effort?

Each presentation will be followed by 10 minutes of official Q&A. Students not presenting today will be assigned specific roles during the briefing and Q&A session.

We'll use our remaining time in class to debrief the cases and discuss the following questions:

### Key Questions

1. What about the diplomatic tool would prompt strategists to choose it over others to pursue prosperity? Under what circumstances would another tool be more appropriate?
2. Diplomacy is both a tool and an orchestrator of other tools. In the cases studied today, how was diplomacy used? Were the cases explored today better described as examples of the economic instrument of power? Can you think of other cases in which diplomacy was deployed in pursuit of prosperity, either as a tool or as an orchestrator of other tools?
3. In topic 5, we explored Chas. Freeman's concept of diplomatic maneuvers. Which maneuvers were on display in today's cases?

### Required Reading: (81 pages)

***Note:*** All students should do the basic readings for all the “prosperity” case studies. The student who presents a case study should do additional research and analyze the case more deeply. Instructors will offer more research resources for each case study.

#### 5G and Huawei

Lewis, James Andrew. “How 5G Will Shape Innovation and Security.” CSIS, December 6, 2018. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/how-5g-will-shape-innovation-and-security>. **Read pp. 1-12 (scan appendices) (13 pages).**

#### The Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP)

Council on Foreign Relations. “What Is the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP)?,” January 4, 2019. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-trans-pacific-partnership-tpp>. **(9 pages).**

#### Anti-Money Laundering / Countering the Financing of Terrorism

U.S. Department of the Treasury. “National Strategy for Combating Terrorist and Other Illicit Financing 2020,” February 6, 2020. <https://home.treasury.gov/system/files/136/National-Strategy-to-Counter-Illicit-Financev2.pdf>. **Read Executive Summary, Introduction, Threat Overview, Vulnerability Overview, pp. 3-36 (34 pages).**

#### Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) Protection

Akhtar, Shayerah Ilias, Ian F Fergusson, and Liana Wong. “Intellectual Property Rights and International Trade.” Congressional Research Service, May 12, 2020. <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/RL/RL34292>. **Read Summary and pp. 1-9, 47-56 (19 pages).**

#### Entrepreneurship

Koltai, Steven R. “Entrepreneurship Needs to Be a Bigger Part of U.S. Foreign Aid.” *Harvard Business Review*, August 15, 2016. <https://hbr.org/2016/08/entrepreneurship-needs-to-be-a-bigger-part-of-us-foreign-aid>. **(6 pages)**

**Topic 8:**  
**Case Studies: Using Diplomacy in Pursuit of Values**  
**November 9, 2020, 0830-1030**

*“Ideas are more powerful than armies”*

- Lord Palmerston

**Overview**

Today we continue our analysis of cases in which the U.S. government used diplomacy in support of the national interest. Today’s topic focuses on case studies, presented by your colleagues, that showcase diplomacy in pursuit of values.

The definition of “values” in U.S. foreign policy has changed over time and continues to be debated. Your instructor, Kelly Keiderling, argues that values were first incorporated into U.S. foreign policy in a purposeful way at the level of “grand strategy” when President Woodrow Wilson sent U.S. troops into World War I to “make the world safe for democracy.” Further, when he sought to create a League of Nations after WWI, he called for the “self-determination of peoples” (i.e., the ability for nationalities to govern themselves, essentially democracy or democratic governance for national groups). Subsequently, the U.S. helped craft the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948, which affirmed an individual’s human rights. President Carter brought human rights to the fore in his foreign policy. President Reagan highlighted the lack of democracy and political-civil rights in the USSR. Subsequent U.S. presidents, to a greater or lesser extent, have stressed the importance of democratic governance and open societies (shortened to “democracy”) and of more just, more dignified human societies (shortened to “justice”), resulting from efforts both to alleviate poverty and to defend equal rights and non-discrimination for women and for racial, ethnic, religious, and regional minorities.

The range of case studies in this topic illustrates how the diplomatic instrument can be used to promote U.S. values. One reading from each case will be required of all students; some students will choose one of these cases for in-depth study and presentation to the class.

1. ***Rohingya***: Explores U.S. policy toward Burma when, in 2017, Burmese security forces attacked unarmed Rohingya in northern Rakhine State and caused the ensuing humanitarian crisis. The case highlights diplomacy as a tool for intervention (of various kinds) in a humanitarian crisis, conflict prevention, and protection of human rights.
2. ***Refugee Flows***: This case examines two crises which produced significant refugee flows to neighboring countries – Syria and Venezuela. Each case provides insight into how the United States promotes its core values by contributing humanitarian assistance and using diplomatic tools to advocate for conflict resolution.
3. ***Democracy Promotion in CEE and CIS Countries***: To advance democracy, the U.S. promoted democratic systems (responsible executive branches, responsive legislatures, independent judiciaries, free press, and vibrant civil societies) in Central/Eastern Europe and the countries of the former Soviet Union following the

end of the Cold War. The U.S. assisted these countries transition from totalitarian or authoritarian systems of governance to democratic governance.

4. **Cuba:** Examines the evolution of U.S. policy toward Cuba from the severing of diplomatic relations in 1961 to the secret negotiations with the Cuban government under the Obama Administration which led to the reestablishment of formal diplomatic ties in 2015. When Fidel Castro's revolution established a Communist dictatorship on the island, the U.S. foreign policy response was to decry the lack of democracy and human rights (and also the imposition of a command economy). Over the years, the U.S. used various tools to try to force the Castro government out of power and to encourage democratic values and human rights among the people of Cuba. U.S. foreign policy efforts to encourage a market economy in Cuba could rightly be categorized in the "prosperity" bucket, but we've chosen to emphasize the values-projection interest (democracy and political-civil human rights) in this case.
5. **South Sudan:** Examines the evolution of conflict in South Sudan from independence in 2011 to the present. Queries the effectiveness of U.S. diplomatic efforts to end the violence and to help South Sudan establish a strong, robust, independent country.

Students who chose a "values" case study will do further research and will give a 10-minute presentation addressing the following:

- a) Context, flow of history: what had happened beforehand to build up to the decision to address the challenge, both internationally and domestically?
- b) The strategic challenge (threat or opportunity) for the United States: What political aim (i.e., overarching policy goal) did the USG decide upon? What were the countervailing pressures? What did the other country (or multinational organizations) want/not want?
- c) Subordinate objectives (the different lines of effort or courses of action) used to achieve that overall policy goal.
- d) What were the orchestration dynamics (means and ways)? Which instruments (e.g., diplomatic, informational, economic/assistance) were chosen to achieve these objectives? Which institutions and actors (USG departments/agencies, foreign allies or partners, international organizations, NGOs, others) were involved? What ways (approaches, modes of action) were used? What were the U.S. leadership considerations? Assumptions? Viability? Risks?
- e) State whether you believe the strategy was a success. Why? Unintended consequences? Long-term maintenance: what has been the enduring impact of the USG effort on the bilateral, regional and multilateral relationships? What has the USG done to maintain the success or mitigate the failure of the effort?

Each presentation will be followed by 10 minutes of official Q&A. Students not presenting today will be assigned specific roles during the briefing and Q&A session.

We'll use our remaining time in class to debrief the cases and discuss the following questions:

## Key Questions

1. Why would strategists choose the diplomatic tool to advance values? Would another tool be more appropriate? Why? When should the United States deploy its instruments of power in support of values?
2. Diplomacy is both a tool and an orchestrator of other tools. In the cases studied today, how was diplomacy used? Can you think of other cases in which diplomacy was deployed in pursuit of values (democracy or justice), either as a tool or as an orchestrator of other tools?

## Required Reading: (83 pages)

***Note:*** All students should do the basic readings for all the “values” case studies. The student who presents a case study should do additional research and analyze the case more deeply. Instructors will offer more research resources for each case study.

### Rohingya

Hiebert, Murray. “Whither U.S. Myanmar Policy after the Rohingya Crisis?” CSIS Southeast Asia Program. Center for International and Strategic Studies, April 2018.

<https://www.csis.org/analysis/whither-us-myanmar-policy-after-rohingya-crisis>. (19 pages)

### Refugee Flows: Syria and Venezuela

Congressional Research Service, “Armed Conflict in Syria: Overview and U.S. Response,” Updated February 12, 2020; <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33487.pdf>. **Read pp. 20-22, 34-36 (7 pages).**

Congressional Research Service, “Venezuela: Background and U.S. Relations,” Updated January 21, 2019; <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R44841/17>. **Read Summary and pp. 18-27 (11 pages).**

### Democracy Promotion in CEE and CIS Countries

Lawson, Marian L, and Susan B Epstein. “Democracy Promotion: An Objective of U.S. Foreign Assistance.” Congressional Research Service, January 4, 2019.

<https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R44858.pdf>. **Read pp. 1-20 (21 pages).**

### Cuba

Anderson, John Lee, “A New Cuba,” *The New Yorker*, September 26, 2016 (18 pages).

### South Sudan

Jon Temin, “What the United States Got Wrong in South Sudan: Learning from Past Failures to Prevent Future Atrocities,” *Foreign Affairs*, August 21, 2018.

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/africa/2018-08-21/what-united-states-got-wrong-south-sudan> (4 pages)

Congressional Research Service, “South Sudan’s Civil War: Nearly 400,000 Estimated Dead,”  
Updated September 28,  
2018. [https://www.everycrsreport.com/files/20180928\\_IN10975\\_f3f75f4f34c5ac447f1c418b45d08748c5288b2.pdf](https://www.everycrsreport.com/files/20180928_IN10975_f3f75f4f34c5ac447f1c418b45d08748c5288b2.pdf) (3 pages)

**Topic 9:**  
**Cross-cutting Case Studies and the Pursuit of Global Public Goods**  
**Monday, November 16, 2020, 0830-1030**

*What governments and people don't realize is that sometimes the collective interest - the international interest - is also the national interest.*

~Kofi Annan

## Overview

Today we conclude our analysis of cases in which the U.S. government used diplomacy in support of the national interest. Today's topic focuses on case studies that showcase diplomacy in pursuit of cross-cutting interests.

The range of case studies in this topic illustrates how the diplomatic instrument can be used to advance the pursuit of global public goods. These cross-cutting case studies demonstrate the overlapping of U.S. national interests in one region, project, international agreement, or sector. The cases also highlight U.S. efforts to secure global public goods which are available more or less worldwide in a non-rivalrous form (consumption by one person does not lesson its availability to others) and non-excludable form (not possible to prevent people from using that good). Examples: the world's air and ocean water, financial stability, freedom of navigation, global public health. One reading from each case will be required of all students; students who chose a "cross-cutting" case will conduct additional, in-depth study.

1. ***The Arctic:*** The warming of the Arctic poses new challenges regarding freedom of navigation, commercial mineral and fishing rights, scientific research, location of international borders, and the rights of indigenous peoples. It is also an area of growing great power competition with expanding Russian militarization and Chinese economic activity. How the United States positions itself as a leader in the Arctic with our allies and partners will affect U.S. security, prosperity, and values into the future.
2. ***Plan Colombia:*** The Colombian civil war and conflict with narco-guerrilla groups lasted for decades and became for the hemisphere a source of instability, drug trafficking, kidnappings, economic failure, and the displacement of peoples. Over the course of two decades, the Colombian government, with strong support from the United States in the form of Plan Colombia, demobilized the country's paramilitaries, rebuilt the economy of some areas, addressed chronic poverty and suffering of some populations, and finally negotiated a peace accord with the largest guerrilla group, the FARC.
3. ***The Paris Climate Accord (2015):*** This case examines the role of U.S. diplomacy in setting the stage, negotiating, and ultimately withdrawing from the Paris Climate Accord. The case study analyzes how the United States engaged in the early stages of the process and how the U.S. may stay involved in global discussions about climate change.
4. ***Trafficking in Persons:*** The United States has a robust anti-trafficking laws and policy to 1) prevent trafficking, (2) protect trafficking victims, and (3) prosecute and

- punish traffickers (known as the three Ps). This case explores how the State Department ranks countries based on anti-trafficking efforts and engages with nations to prioritize the issue and build capacity to combat it.
5. ***Global Health Diplomacy***: Examines the effectiveness of soft power to prevent and protect the U.S. population from the spread of disease.

Students who selected a “cross-cutting” case will give a 10-minute presentation addressing the following:

- a) Context, flow of history: what had happened beforehand to build up to the decision to address the challenge, both internationally and domestically?
- b) The strategic challenge (threat or opportunity) for the United States: What political aim (i.e., overarching policy goal) did the USG decide upon? What were the countervailing pressures? What did the other country (or multinational organizations) want/not want?
- c) Subordinate objectives (the different lines of effort or courses of action) used to achieve that overall policy goal.
- d) What were the orchestration dynamics (means and ways)? Which instruments (e.g., diplomatic, informational, economic/assistance) were chosen to achieve these objectives? Which institutions and actors (USG departments/agencies, foreign allies or partners, international organizations, NGOs, others) were involved? What ways (approaches, modes of action) were used? What were the U.S. leadership considerations? Assumptions? Viability? Risks?
- e) State whether you believe the strategy was a success. Why? Unintended consequences? Long-term maintenance: what has been the enduring impact of the USG effort on the bilateral, regional and multilateral relationships? What has the USG done to maintain the success or mitigate the failure of the effort?

Each presentation will be followed by 10 minutes of official Q&A. Students not presenting today will be assigned specific roles during the briefing and Q&A session.

We’ll use our remaining time in class to debrief the cases and discuss the following questions:

### **Key Questions**

1. Are cross-cutting national interests more difficult to advance than those that are more clearly defined in separate security, prosperity, or values buckets?
2. Which diplomatic maneuvers were at work in the cases discussed today?
3. Diplomacy is both a tool and an orchestrator of other tools. In which way was diplomacy used in today’s cases? Can you name other cases in which diplomacy was deployed to support cross-cutting interests or to protect global public goods?

**Required Reading: (80 pages)**

***Note:*** All students should do the basic readings for all the “cross-cutting” case studies. The student who presents a case study should do additional research and analyze the case more deeply. Instructors will offer more research resources for each case study.

Arctic

Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy. “Department of Defense Arctic Strategy,” June 2019. <https://media.defense.gov/2019/Jun/06/2002141657/-1/-1/1/2019-DOD-ARCTIC-STRATEGY.PDF>. *Read pp. 1-14 (15 pages).*

Plan Colombia

Congressional Research Service, “Colombia: Background and U.S. Relations,” updated November 29, 2019, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R43813.pdf>. *Read Executive Summary and pp. 1-7 and 27-32 (14 pages).*

Michael Shifter, “Plan Colombia: A Retrospective,” *Americas Quarterly*, July 18, 2012. <https://www.americasquarterly.org/fulltextarticle/plan-colombia-a-retrospective/> (9 pages).

Paris Climate Accord (2015)

Domonoske, Camila. “So What Exactly Is In The Paris Climate Accord?” NPR, June 1, 2017. <https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2017/06/01/531048986/so-what-exactly-is-in-the-paris-climate-accord>. (8 pages – access the web link for interactive features).

Trafficking in Persons

Department of State, Trafficking in Persons Report 20<sup>th</sup> Edition; <https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/2020-TIP-Report-Complete-062420-FINAL.pdf>. *Read pp. 2-17 (16 pages).*

Global Health Diplomacy

“Focus on Global Health Diplomacy.” *Foreign Service Journal* 94, no. 4 (May 2017). <http://www.afsa.org/foreign-service-journal-may2017>. *Read pp. 23-40 (18 pages).*

## **BLOCK III: The Future of Diplomacy**

### **Topic 10: Stepping onto the Domestic Stage: Goals, Trends, Actors and Getting Things Done Domestically Monday, November 30, 2020, 0830-1030**

*"If you don't fund the State Department fully, then I need to buy more ammunition ultimately"*  
~ Jim Mattis

#### **Overview**

Foreign policy-making takes place in a domestic context, and cannot be separated from national trends, the President's preferences, congressional and public involvement, and interagency dynamics. Students will be exposed to these principal actors in the domestic foreign affairs arena. They will examine the preferences of these actors in foreign policy-making. We'll also discuss best practices for succeeding in the inter-agency policy-development and policy-implementation processes.

#### **Key Questions**

1. What are the trends in the United States today which will affect foreign affairs tomorrow? What is the U.S. national mood and how will that affect both foreign policy and our ability to use the diplomatic instrument? Do you agree/disagree with the majority view in the EGF survey on, for example, American leadership internationally, achieving and sustaining peace, intervention to stop human rights abuses, and a theoretical U.S. military response to eject Russian invading forces from a NATO country?
2. Describe the trends that will affect Executive and Legislative Branch interactions on foreign affairs. What are the points of view and preferences of the President and Congress on foreign policy today? How might foreign policy evolve in the near term, given U.S. domestic public opinion and the preferences of the President and Congress?
3. What needed interagency reforms do George and Rishikoff recommend? When you work in the interagency in the future, who will be part of your network? If you were to send them an email today, what do you say, what do you ask of them? Ambassador Stephen McFarland lists "30 Rules to Survive and Thrive" for a new diplomat. Which resonate with you? What skills and qualities will the diplomat/interagency officer of the future need?

#### **Required Readings: (43 pages)**

1. Hannah, Mark. Survey Report: "Worlds Apart: U.S. Foreign Policy and American Public Opinion." Eurasia Group Foundation, February 2019. Executive Summary, pages 3-4. <https://egfound.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/EGF-WorldsApart-2019.pdf>. (2 pages)
2. "President Donald Trump Remarks on National Security Strategy." Political/Congressional Transcript Wire, December 18, 2017.

See full text (access from within the NDU Library when logged into Blackboard):

<https://nduezproxy.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A519311647/ITOF?u=wash60683&sid=ITOF&xid=fb70644d> (6 pages)

3. Hirsh, Michael; MacKinnon, Amy; Gramer, Robbie. “Five Foreign-Policy Takeaways from Trump’s 2020 State of the Union.” *Foreign Policy*, February 5, 2020.

See PDF full text (access from within the NDU Library when logged into Blackboard):

<https://nduezproxy.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/02/05/five-foreign-policy-takeaways-from-trumps-state-of-the-union/> (4 pages)

*The U.S. president’s third State of the Union address was perhaps his most significant. Here’s what he said—and didn’t say—about foreign policy.*

4. Pearlstein, Deborah. “Foreign Policy Isn’t Just Up To Trump.” *The Atlantic Monthly Online*, November 23, 2019. <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/11/congress-constitutional-role-us-foreign-policy/602485/> (2 pages)

[Alternative link to article](#) for anyone who’s already hit the 5 article per month paywall. (You may enter via a Defense One advertisement, then click on “continue to Defense One”)

*The president’s defenders argue that U.S. foreign policy is whatever he says it is. Trouble is, that’s not what the Constitution says.*

5. O’Rourke, Ronald, and Michael Moodie. “U.S. Role in the World: Background and Issues for Congress.” *Congressional Research Service: Report*, May 7, 2020, pp. 2, 4-15.

<https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R44891> (13 pages)

6. George, Roger Z. and Rishikof, Harvey, Eds. *The National Security Enterprise: Navigating the Labyrinth*. Second Edition, Georgetown University Press, 2017, pp. 390-396, 399-400 (9 pages)

7. McFarland, Stephen G. “A Roadmap for New Hires: 30 Rules to Survive and Thrive.” *The Foreign Service Journal*, July/August 2016. <https://www.afsa.org/roadmap-new-hires-30-rules-survive-and-thrive> (7 pages)

### **Additional Reading:**

Haass, Richard. *The Bureaucratic Entrepreneur: How to Be Effective in Any Unruly Organization*. Brookings Institution Press, 1999.

You can access the full text from within the NDU Library when logged into Blackboard at:

<https://nduezproxy.idm.oclc.org/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,url,uid&db=catalog04199a&AN=ndu.179983&site=eds-live&scope=site>

**Topic 11:**  
**Stepping onto the International Stage: Diplomacy Outdoors Requires  
Transparency, Authenticity, and Trust**  
**Monday, December 7, 2020, 0830-1030**

**Overview**

In addition to understanding the domestic context for foreign affairs, we need to understand the international context for advancing foreign policy goals. Classic diplomacy of private, state-to-state discussions, protected from public commentary, still exists. In the globalized, digitally interconnected world of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, however, diplomacy increasingly is conducted out in the open. Many more actors push and pull on foreign policy decisions. Diplomats must prepare to conduct much of their country's diplomacy in public.

Trust has always been the coin of the realm for state-to-state diplomacy. Trust is also the most valued currency of diplomacy outdoors. Diplomats now have to engender trust not only in the minds and hearts of foreign officials, but also in audiences as diverse as media, business representatives, academia, rural groups, and cosmopolitan elites. Diplomats will need to explain their foreign policy goals and actions to these groups in a manner that is perceived as authentic, transparent, and "real." Diplomacy outdoors will require officers who understand the specific context into which they are launching their messages; who understand the audiences who have a stake in their country's decision-making; and who are effective in delivering messages that will advance and not create resistance to their policy goals.

**Develop a public campaign to advance a policy goal:**

For today's lesson, you will use a "PADA" approach to prepare a communicational campaign that will advance a single subordinate objective (a policy goal) of your ISRP in your 6600 practicum country. Come to class prepared with a policy goal that you may want to advance in your 6600 country. (We recognize that, at this time of the academic year, you may still be developing your political aim and therefore also your subordinate objectives. For the purposes of this exercise, select a subordinate policy goal to work on, even if you don't use it later in your ISRP.) In class, you will have 30 minutes total to discuss your PADA approach (see below) with another student and have the other student discuss his/her PADA campaign with you. The student pairs should seek feedback on each other's public campaign. Then, for a maximum of five minutes, each student will brief out to the class your public campaign with the following elements:

- **Policy:** Define your policy goal and craft three messages that will explain the policy goal to the audience(s) in your 6600 practicum country.
- **Audience:** Define the audience(s) in your 6600 country that will be most interested in your policy messages. Who will care about those three messages? What are their points of view and biases? What do they know of the issue? What do they think of the U.S. government and embassy representatives? Are USG representatives trusted, authentic, "real"? What behaviors, if any, do you want to see from those audiences?

- **Delivery:** Determine who will send the message. Which embassy actors? How, in what format? In what context, with what demeanor, and in what sequence?
- **Assessment:** Evaluate your messages. How will you know if your message was effective or bombed? How will you know if your messenger was perceived as trustworthy and authentic or perceived to be hiding something? How will you iterate or adjust your message the next time you issue it?

For the last 30 minutes of class, students will discuss which messages they think will resonate the most with a foreign audience.

### **Key Questions:**

1. Think about your ISRP topic. What is your overall political aim? What is one subordinate policy objective (or one line of effort or one course of action) that you might select to advance your overall political aim? What are three messages that explain your objective to the audience in your 6600 practicum country?
2. Who are the audiences in your 6600 country that will be most interested in your policy messages? Who would be the stakeholders for those messages? What might be their points of view and biases? [You might prepare by asking your FSN colleague what s/he thinks about possible audiences and biases.] What do they know of the issue? Whom do they trust or distrust from among U.S. government representatives? What behaviors, if any, would you want to see from those audiences?
3. Who from the U.S. embassy will send the message? How, in what format? In what context and with what demeanor?
4. How would you know if your message was effective or bombed? How would you iterate or adjust your message next time you issue it?
5. What are the broad international views of the U.S.? How might they affect our efforts to advance U.S. foreign policy goals?

### **Required Readings: (71 pages)**

1. Research public opinion of the U.S. in your 6600 country or in the broader region of your 6600 country. Discuss with your embassy's local staff member in your 6600 country the audiences and their views.
2. Ramo, Joshua Cooper. *The Seventh Sense: Power, Fortune, and Survival in the Age of Networks*. Little, Brown. May 2016, pp. 250-275 ("Hard Gatekeeping") (26 pages, *Student-issued text*)
3. Wike, Richard, et. al. "Trump Ratings Remain Low Around Globe, While Views of U.S. Stay Mostly Favorable," Pew Research Center, January 8, 2020.

<https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2020/01/08/trump-ratings-remain-low-around-globe-while-views-of-u-s-stay-mostly-favorable/> (10 pages)

4. “Global Public Opinion in the Bush Years (2001-2008).” *Pew Global Attitudes Project*. Pew Research Center, December 18, 2008. <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2008/12/18/global-public-opinion-in-the-bush-years-2001-2008/> (23 pages)

5. Haass, Richard. “Deglobalization and Its Discontents,” CFR, May 12, 2020. Globalization is a reality that cannot be ignored or wished away. The only choice is how best to respond. <https://www.cfr.org/article/deglobalization-and-its-discontents> (5 pages)

6. King, Charles. “How a Great Power Falls Apart,” *Foreign Affairs*, July 10, 2020. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2020-06-30/how-great-power-falls-apart> (7 pages)

### **Additional information:**

For social media and digital engagement, the State Department uses an approach called “ABCDEF” (Audience-Behaviors-Content-Delivery-Engagement-Follow up). See [https://fam.state.gov/FAM/10FAH01/10FAH010060.html#H063\\_2](https://fam.state.gov/FAM/10FAH01/10FAH010060.html#H063_2) and below:

- a. *Audiences*: Identify which target audience segments you must reach in order to accomplish your goals. Conduct audience research to identify specific audience segments that are accessible via social media.
- b. *Behaviors*: What actions or attitudes do you want each segmented audience to adopt as a result of your digital and social media outreach?
- c. *Content*: Consider how you will curate and use official content produced by Department sources or non-official content from public sources in order to impart messages to audiences and set up opportunities for two-way engagement with them.
- d. *Delivery*: How will you deliver content to the identified audience segments? What kinds of platforms - and which platforms specifically - do the identified audience segments use to communicate with one another and exchange information?
- e. *Engagement*: How will you deliver content in a way that sparks conversations with and amongst your audiences? How can you use digital and social media to strengthen relationships and outreach with important organizations, individuals and networks of individuals?
- f. *Follow-up/Evaluation*: Establish a plan to gauge progress and adjust strategies and tactics over time in order to meet your specific objectives and goals.

**Topic 12:**  
**Applications for Strategists: Peer Review of Objective/Instrument Packages**  
**Thursday, December 10, 2020, 1330-1530**

Paper due at 2000 hours: Objective-instrument package for one narrow policy goal derived from your ISRP's political aim (or overarching policy goal).

**Overview**

Our final topic again puts you in the practitioner's chair and asks you to develop your thinking on your Topic 11 policy goal. For the paper due today, you should a) choose one specific policy goal (aka, a subordinate objective or line of effort or course of action), b) identify the diplomatic, informational, and economic tools that you would use to achieve the policy goal, c) select the people and institutions who would be involved in pressing ahead toward that goal, and d) identify the ways (approaches) they would act on the international stage. Finally, you should check the viability of this objective-instrument package with your FSN colleague, and incorporate that gut-check into your concluding assessment.

In class today, we will discuss the complexities of identifying and pushing forward on foreign policy goals. For the first 30 minutes of class, you will pair up with a different student in class and discuss your objective-instrument package with each other. Together, decide on at least three lessons learned from this paper and present those lessons to class. You may use these lessons learned to put the finishing touches on your paper, which will be due at 20:00 hours the evening of this class. We will also peer into the future to sketch out possible shifts in the conduct of diplomacy, given challenges to the current world order and to a future moral foreign policy, and given a super-networked world.

**Key Questions**

1. What did you learn from developing your objective-instrument package?
2. What future trends will affect the conduct of diplomacy?
3. Which policy goals will this Administration and future Administrations prioritize and which policy goals will be less important? Why do you think this?

**Required Readings (68 pages)**

1. Kissinger, Henry. *World Order*. Penguin Press, 2014. Pages 361-374. (14 pages, *Student-issued text*)
2. Nye, Joseph. *Do Morals Matter? Presidents and Foreign Policy from FDR to Trump*. Oxford University Press, 2020. Pages 196-218. (23 pages, *Student-issued text*)
3. Ramo, Joshua Cooper. *The Seventh Sense: Power, Fortune, and Survival in the Age of Networks*. Little, Brown. May 2016. Pages 235-236, 239, 241-249, 254-269, 273-275. (31 pages, *Student-issued text*)