

IR 503

Fall 2009

THEORIES OF DIPLOMACY

Thursday 2.00 – 4.50 p.m.

Dr. Geoffrey Wiseman

Room: tbd

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Office Hours: tbd

Course Learning Goals:

This course provides a broad understanding of the ways in which international relations and diplomatic theories can illuminate diplomatic practice in the real world. While public diplomacy is only one of many approaches analyzed in the course, the course will enable current and future practitioners to reflect on their experiences, and, by deepening their knowledge of theories and concepts, facilitate their direct engagement with the practice of international relations and diplomacy.

The course analyzes both the limits and potential of diplomacy. It examines how thinking about diplomacy has evolved, from the classical period through to the beginning of the twenty-first century and how it might develop in the future in response to the changing issues and actors in world society and to the competing pressures of world order and justice. The course has been created in response to growing scholarly and policy interest in the potential and limits of diplomacy. The course is designed to meet the interdisciplinary needs and interests of students in such fields as International Relations, Political Science, Communications, Public Diplomacy, and History.

Theories of Diplomacy will help students understand and explain the practical policy dimensions of state-to-state bilateral and multilateral diplomacy and facilitates their understanding of the limits and potential of the emerging “diplomatic” relationships between states, international organizations (IGOs), and transnational (non-state) entities.

On successful completion of Theories in Diplomacy, students will be able to apply their new knowledge (historical, theoretical, and practical) to academic, governmental, private sector, public diplomacy, journalistic, and non-governmental organization (NGO) professional career settings. The class will be conducted on graduate seminar norms and conventions. Students will do the assigned essential readings in advance of each class, preparing brief summary notes, and opening class discussion with short presentations that address specific questions linked to readings as well as current crises and controversies.

Grading:

The final grade will be determined as follows:

- **Mid-term (30%).** This will be a two-hour, closed book in-class exam (no notes, computers, or books). Students will write two essay-answers to questions based on course materials.
- **Final research paper (40%).** This will be a take-home exam. Students will write two essay-answers: one based on course materials from the second half of the course after the mid-term, and a second one based on overall course themes.
- **Presentations and written summaries (20%).** These have a written and oral component. Each week, several students will be make a brief, 5-minute presentation answering a specific question. Presenters will distribute to the class a one-page (maximum) summary or their “answer” to the question. The presenter will *speak* to the question, summarizing the main argument and suggesting areas for wider class discussion.
- **Class participation (10%).** Students are expected to attend all class sessions, and to participate in class discussions. Participation will be graded on several criteria: evidence of careful reading of weekly course materials; willingness to volunteer for presentations and to answer questions; appropriateness, enthusiasm, and civility of comments; eagerness to contribute to the *process* of discussion; listening skills; a capacity for building on and encouraging the ideas of others, and posing constructive and thoughtful questions.

Course Texts (purchase recommended):

G. R. Berridge, *Diplomacy: Theory and Practice*. 3d ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005 (Pbk).

G. R. Berridge, Maurice Keens-Soper, and T. G. Otte, *Diplomatic Theory from Machiavelli to Kissinger*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001 (Pbk).

G. R. Berridge and Alan James, *A Dictionary of Diplomacy*, 2nd. ed., Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003 (Pbk).

Additional Main Reference Source:

Christer Jönsson and Richard Langhorne (eds), *Diplomacy*, 3 volume-set. London: Sage Publications, 2004. (On reserve at Leavey Library)

COURSE CONTENT

1. Course Scope, Content, and Themes

Paul Sharp, "For Diplomacy: Representation and the Study of International Relations," *International Studies Review*, Vol.1, No.1 (1999). pp.33–57.

Geoffrey Wiseman, "Pax Americana: Bumping into Diplomatic Culture," *International Studies Perspectives*, vol.6, no.4 (November 2005), 409–430.

I: INVENTING DIPLOMACY

2. Historical and Westphalian Diplomacy

Raymond Cohen, "The Great Tradition: The Spread of Diplomacy in the Ancient World," *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, Vol. 12, No. 1, March 2001, pp. 23-38.

Brian Campbell, "Diplomacy in the Roman World (c.500 BC–AD 235)," *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, Vol. 12, No. 1, March 2001, pp. 1-22.

G. R. Berridge, "The Origins of the Diplomatic Corps: Rome to Constantinople," in Paul Sharp and Geoffrey Wiseman, *The Diplomatic Corps as an Institution of International Society* (hereafter *DCIIS*), Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, December 2007, pp.15–30. .

Garrett Mattingly, "The First Resident Embassies: Mediaeval Italian Origins of Modern Diplomacy," *Speculum*, Vol. 12, No. 4, 1937, pp. 423-39.

Jean-Robert Leguey-Feilleux, *The Future of Diplomacy*, unpublished book manuscript, ch. 2, "Diplomacy in Historical Context," pp. 41–63.

Berridge et al., *Diplomatic Theory*. Selected chapters: G. R. Berridge, "Machiavelli," pp.7–32; G. R. Berridge, "Grotius," pp.50–70; Maurice Keens-Soper, "Callieres," pp.106–24; T. G. Otte, "Satow," pp.125–50..

3. Multilateral Diplomacy: Woodrow Wilson, the Paris Peace Conference.

Harold Nicolson, "The Ideal Diplomatist," *Diplomacy* (first published in 1939), Washington, D.C.: Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, 1988, pp.55-67.

Harold Nicolson, "The Transition Between the Old Diplomacy and the New," *The Evolution of Diplomacy* (1954), New York: Collier, 1966, pp.99-125.

T. G. Otte, "Nicolson," in *Diplomatic Theory*, pp.151–80.

Sasson Sofer, "Old and New Diplomacy" A Debate Revisited," *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 3, 1988, pp. 195-211.

Jean-Robert Leguey-Feilleux, *The Future of Diplomacy*, unpublished book manuscript, ch. 2, "Diplomacy in Historical Context".

4. Cold War Diplomacy: Nuclear, Crisis, Summit Diplomacy, the United Nations

Kenneth M. Jensen (ed.), *Origins of the Cold War: The Novikov, Kennan, and Roberts 'Long Telegrams' of 1946*, rev.ed., Washington DC: U.S. Institute of Peace, 1993, pp.1–95.

X [George Kennan], “The Sources of Soviet Conduct.” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.25, No.4 (July 1947), pp.566–82.

Jan Melissen, “Summit Diplomacy Coming of Age,” *Discussion Papers in Diplomacy*, No. 86, (The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations ‘Clingendael’, 2003).

5. The Expansion of International Society: Post-colonial and Revolutionary Diplomacy

David Armstrong, “Revolutionary Diplomacy,” in *Diplomacy*, vol. 2, pp.381–94.

Hedley Bull and Adam Watson, *The Expansion of International Society*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984, Introduction, pp.1–9. Other selected chapters.

Adam Watson, “Diplomatic Need of New and Less Developed States,” in Adam Watson, *Diplomacy: The Dialogue Between States*. Rev. ed., London: Routledge, 2004, pp.158–75.

Paul Sharp, “Revolutionary States, Outlaw Regimes and the Techniques of Public Diplomacy,” in Jan Melissen (ed.), *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*, Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, pp. 106–123.

II: THEORIZING DIPLOMACY

6. Realist Views of Diplomacy

Hans J. Morgenthau, “Diplomacy,” in *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, 2005

T.G. Otte, “Kissinger, in *Diplomatic Theory*, pp.181–203.

Hedley Bull, “Diplomacy and International Order,” in his *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*, 2002, pp.156-177.

7. Pluralist Views of Diplomacy: International Society and The Diplomatic Corps

Iver B. Neumann, “The English School on Diplomacy,” *Discussion Papers in Diplomacy*, No. 79, (The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations ‘Clingendael’, 2002)

Selected chapters, based on student interest, in Sharp and Wiseman, *DCIIS*. For example:

- Alan Henrikson, "The Washington Diplomatic Corps," pp. 41–74.
 Kishan S. Rana, "Representing India in the Diplomatic Corps," pp.125–141.
 M. Humayun Kabir, "The Kathmandu Diplomatic Corps," pp. 145–167.
 Joyce E. Leader, "Genocide in Rwanda and the Kigali Diplomatic Corps," pp. 168–196.

8. Solidarist Views of Diplomacy

- Costas M. Constantinou, "Diplomatic Representations ... or Who Framed the Ambassadors?," *Millennium*, Vol.23, No.1, 1994, pp.1-24..
 James Der Derian, "Mediating Estrangement: A Theory for Diplomacy," *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 2., 1987, pp. 91-110.
 Paul Sharp, "Diplomacy and Diplomats in the Radical Tradition," in *Diplomatic Theory of International Relations*, forthcoming, pp. 47–84.

9. American Theories of Diplomacy

- Joseph Nye, *Soft Power*, New York: Public Affairs, 2005, pp.1–32, 127-47.
 Joseph S. Nye, *The Powers to Lead: Soft, Hard, and Smart*, Oxford, OUP, February 2008, pp. 176.
 Monteagle Stearns, *Talking to Strangers: Improving American Diplomacy at Home and Abroad*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996, chaps. 1, 2, 9, 10.
 Peter van Ham, "Power, Public Diplomacy, and the *Pax Americana*," in Melissen (ed.), *The New Public Diplomacy*, ch. 3, pp. 47–66.
 Craig Hayden, "Arguing Public Diplomacy: The Role of Argument Formations in US Foreign Policy," *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, vol. 2, no. 3 ((2007), pp. 229-54.

Optional (recent memoirs by US diplomats):

- Jeffrey Davidow, US ambassador to Mexico (1998-2002), author of *The US and Mexico: The Bear and the Porcupine* (2004).
 James Lilley, US ambassador to South Korea and China, author of *China Hand: Nine Decades of Adventure, Espionage, and Diplomacy in Asia* (2004).
 Thomas Pickering, US ambassador to the UN during the 1990-91 Persian Gulf War, author of *Iraq: The Day After* (2003).
 Joseph Wilson, former US career diplomat and ambassador to Gabon. Author of *The Politics of Truth: Inside the Lies that Led to War and Betrayed My Wife's CIA Identity* (2004).

10. Small and Middle Power Diplomacy

- Andrew F. Cooper (ed.), *Niche Diplomacy: Middle Powers after the Cold War*, London: Macmillan, 1997, ch. 1 "Niche Diplomacy: A Conceptual Overview," pp. 1–24.
 Lyn Boyd Judson, "Strategic Moral Diplomacy: Mandela, Qaddafi, and the Lockerbie Negotiations," *Foreign Policy Analysis*, Vol.1 No.1 (March 2005), pp.73–97.

- Kim Richard Nossal and Richard Stubbs, "Mahathir's Malaysia: An Emerging Middle Power?," in Cooper, *Niche Diplomacy*, pp. 147–163.
- James Hamill and Donna Lee, "South African Diplomacy in the Post-Apartheid Era: An Emergent Middle Power?," *International Relations*, Vol.15, No.4, 2001, pp. 33-60.
- Alan Henrikson, "Niche Diplomacy in the World Public Arena: the Global 'Corners of Canada and Norway,'" in Melissen (ed.), *The New Public Diplomacy*, pp. 67–87.

III: THE FUTURE OF DIPLOMACY

11. Obsolescence and Reform

- Robert Wolfe, "Still Lying Abroad? On the Institution of the Resident Ambassador," *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, Vol.9, No.2 (July 1998), pp.23-54.
- Paul Sharp, "Who Needs Diplomats? The Problem of Diplomatic Representation," in *Diplomacy*, Vol. 3, pp. 58-78.
- Brian Hocking, "Catalytic Diplomacy: Beyond 'Newness' and 'Decline'," in Melissen, *Innovation in Diplomatic Practice*, pp.21–42.
- Jan Melissen, "Introduction," in Jan Melissen (ed.), *Innovation in Diplomatic Practice*, London: Macmillan, 1999. See also individual chapters on some 12 case-countries.
- Jovan Kurbalija, *Diplomacy in the Age of Information Technology*, in Melissen (ed.), *Innovation in Diplomatic Practice*, pp.171– 91.

12. European Diplomacy

- Mai'a Davis Cross, "A European Epistemic Community of Diplomats," in Sharp and Wiseman, *DCIIS*, pp. 223–245.
- Hocking, Brian and David Spence, "Towards a European Diplomatic System?" *Discussion Papers in Diplomacy*, No. 98, (The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael', 2005).
- Brian Hocking and David Spence (eds.), *Foreign Ministries in the European Union: Integrating Diplomats*, Basingstoke: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2002. See ch. 1 (Hocking), pp.1–17; and ch. 2)Spence), pp. 18–36.
- Stephen Keukeleire, "The EU as a Diplomatic Actor," *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, (September 2003), pp. 31-56.

13. Transforming and Enlarging Diplomacy: New Actors

- Andrew F. Cooper and Brian Hocking, "Governments, Non-governmental Organizations and the Re-calibration of Diplomacy," *Global Society* Vol. 14, No. 3, 2000, pp.361-367.

- Rik Coolsaet, "The Transformation of Diplomacy at the Threshold of the New Millennium," in *Diplomacy*, vol.3, pp.1–24.
- Richard Langhorne, "Current Developments in Diplomacy: Who are the Diplomats Now?," *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 1997, pp. 1-15.
- Mark Leonard, "Diplomacy by Other Means," *Foreign Policy*, Vol. 132, 2002, pp. 48-56.
- Geoffrey Wiseman, "'Polylateralism' and New Modes of Global Dialogue" in Jönsson and Langhorne *Diplomacy* Vol. III, pp. 36–57.

14. The New Public Diplomacy

- Jan Melissen, "The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practice," in Melissen (ed.), *The New Public Diplomacy*, ch. 1, pp. 3–27.
- Brian Hocking, "Rethinking the "New" Public Diplomacy", in Melissen (ed.), *The New Public Diplomacy*, ch. 2, pp. 28–43.

15. Diplomacy's Theoretical Future: Language, Norms, and Culture

- Ernest Satow, "Diplomacy; and the Language and Forms of Diplomatic Intercourse," in *Diplomacy*, Vol.1, pp.25–50
- Lars G. Løse, "Communicative Action and the World of Diplomacy," in Karin M. Fierke and Knud Erik Joergensen (eds.), *Constructing International Relations: The Next Generation*, Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2001, pp.179–201.
- Alan K Henrikson, "Diplomacy's Possible Futures." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, vol. 1 no. 1 (2006), pp. 3–27.
- Thomas Risse, "'Let's Argue!': Communicative Action in World Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 54, No.1 (Winter 2000), pp.1–39.

Review. Final take-home exam distributed.

Statement on Academic Integrity

USC seeks to maintain an optimal learning environment. General principles of academic honesty include the concept of respect for the intellectual property of others, the expectation that individual work will be submitted unless otherwise allowed by an instructor, and the obligations both to protect one's own academic work from misuse by others as well as to avoid using another's work as one's own. All students are expected to understand and abide by these principles. *Scampus*, the Student Guidebook, contains the Student Conduct Code in Section 11.00, while the recommended sanctions are located in Appendix A: <http://www.usc.edu/dept/publications/SCAMPUS/gov/>. Students will be referred to the Office of Student Judicial Affairs and Community Standards for further review, should there be any suspicion of academic dishonesty.

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(Feb. 10, 2008)