Contemporary challenges in diplomacy

MPhil in Politics and International Studies, Lent 2023

Dr Elise Rousseau < er622@cam.ac.uk>

Description

The cause of contemporary issues, and the responsibility to solve them, can be widespread in world politics. Since the second half of the 20th century, there has been an increasing willingness to ascribe moral responsibility to states. This is true, for example, of transboundary problems, the conflicting use of international commons, and domestic issues that are of concern to the world. When a new problem emerges, diplomats are often in the first line to mitigate the impact of blame on their state and, in some instances, to sketch the lines of a joint solution. This seminar uses the question of the attribution of responsibility as a point of departure to investigate current forms and practices of diplomacy. After focusing on how responsibility may – or may not – spread to different sites of diplomacy, both at the domestic and international levels, it interrogates the emergence of "new" diplomatic actors to deal with the complexification of international problems. Two particular areas will then be investigated: crisis and digital diplomacy. The seminar will end with a reflection on how diplomacy can be studied today.

Course organization and expectations

This course will be taught in seminar style, with no accompanying lecture. It will consist of seven two-hour sessions; each one of them being centred on a different topic. Regular attendance is expected, as well as active participation in the discussion.

The following reading list is divided into "required" and "supplementary" readings. Students will come to seminars having read thoroughly all the *required* readings in advance. This also includes the introductory material of each session. Students will need to engage with the assigned material and come with prepared insights and/or questions for debate. The *supplementary* readings are included for students who may want to read further on a topic. They may also be consulted when writing the final essay.

Assessment will be conducted via a 3,000-word essay. The choice of topics will be circulated at the beginning of the term.

General background reading

The following books can be consulted before, or in parallel of, the seminar for contextualizing the topics discussed during the sessions.

- Balzacq Thierry, Charillon Frédéric, and Ramel Frédéric (2020) *Global Diplomacy: An Introduction to Theory and Practice*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Berridge G. R., Keens-Sooper Maurice and Otte T. G. (eds) (2001) *Diplomatic Theory from Machiavelli to Kissinger*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Kerr Pauline and Wiseman Geoffrey (eds) (2017) *Diplomacy in a Globalizing World: Theories and Practices*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- McKercher B. J. C. (ed.) (2022) *The Routledge Handbook of Diplomacy and Statecraft*. London: Routledge.
- Sending Ole Jacob, Pouliot Vincent, and Neumann Iver B. (eds) (2015) *Diplomacy and the Making of World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sharp Paul (2009) *Diplomatic Theory of International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Journals

- Diplomacy & Statecraft
- Diplomatic History
- Foreign Affairs
- Foreign Policy
- Foreign Policy Analysis
- The Hague Journal of Diplomacy
- The Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations

Online resources and podcasts

- Clingendael Institute: https://www.clingendael.org/
- DiploFoundation: https://www.diplomacy.edu/
- Diplomatic Immunity: https://isd.georgetown.edu/news/diplomatic-immunity/
- The British Diplomatic Oral History Programme: https://archives.chu.cam.ac.uk/collections/bdohp/
- The Hague Diplomacy: https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/hjd/journal/podcast
- The Next Page: https://unitednationslibrarygeneva.podbean.com/
- USC Center on Public Diplomacy: https://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/

Course overview

1. The attribution of responsibility in world politics
2. Ministries of foreign affairs
3. International organisations
4. Diplomatic actors in the 21st century
5. Crisis diplomacy
6. Diplomacy in the digital age
7. The study of diplomacy today

Class topics and readings

Week 1. The attribution of responsibility in world politics

Required reading

- French Peter A. (1974) "Morally Blaming Whole Populations" in Virginia Held, Sidney Morgenbesser, and Thomas Nagel (eds) *Philosophy, Morality, and International Affairs: Essays edited for the Society for Philosophy and Public Affairs.* New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gilbert Margaret (2006) "Who's to Blame? Collective Moral Responsibility and Its Implications for Group Members", *Midwest Studies in Philosophy* 30 (1): 94-114.
- Soroos Marvin S. (1986) "The Agenda: The Problems That Confront Humanity" in *Beyond Sovereignty: The Challenge of Global Policy.* Columbia: University of South California Press.

Week 2. Ministries of foreign affairs

Required reading

- <u>Introductory graphic novel:</u> Lanzac Abel and Blain Christophe (2014) *Weapons of Mass Diplomacy.* SelfMadeHero. Book I.
- Berridge G. R. (2022) "The Foreign Ministry" in *Diplomacy: Theory and Practice.* Springer International Publishing AG.
- Hood Christopher (2011) "Credit Claiming, Blame Avoidance, and Negativity Bias" in *The Blame Game: Spin, Bureaucracy, and Self-Preservation in Government.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Neumann Iver B. (2012) "The Bureaucratic Mode of Knowledge Production" in *At Home With the Diplomats: Inside a European Foreign Ministry.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Putnam Robert D. (1988) "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games", *International Organization* 42 (3): 427-60.

Supplementary reading

- Cooper Andrew F. (2019) "The Disintermediation Dilemma and its Impact on Diplomacy: A Research Agenda for Turbulent Times", *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 30 (4): 799-807.
- Greenstock Jeremy (2013) "The Bureaucracy: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Service and other Government Departments" in Andrew F. Cooper, Jorge Heine and Ramesh Thakur (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hocking Brian (ed.) (1999) *Foreign Ministries: Change and Adaptation.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lequesne Christian (ed.) (2022) *Ministries of Foreign Affairs in the World: Actors of State Diplomacy.* Leiden: Brill. Part I-III.
- Neumann Iver B. (2012) *At Home with the Diplomats: Inside a European Foreign Ministry.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Wiseman Geoffrey (2019) "Contemporary Challenges for Foreign Ministries: At Home and Abroad", *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 30 (4): 786-798.

Week 3. International organisations

Required reading

- <u>Introductory podcast:</u> "Would the World Be Better without the UN? A Conversation with Author Thomas G. Weiss", The Next Page Podcast, 22 July 2022 (43 min).
- Barnett Michael N. (1997) "The UN Security Council, Indifference, and Genocide in Rwanda" *Cultural Anthropology* 12 (4): 551-578.
- Erskine Toni (2004) "'Blood on the UN's Hands'? Assigning Duties and Apportioning Blame to an Intergovernmental Organisation", *Global Society* 18 (1): 21-42.
- Louis Marieke and Maertens Lucile (2021) "Avoiding Responsibility" in *Why International Organizations Hate Politics: Depoliticizing the World.* London: Routledge.
- Pouliot Vincent (2015) "The Practice of Permanent Representation to International Organizations" in Ole Jacob Sending, Vincent Pouliot, and Iver B. Neumann (eds) (2015) *Diplomacy and the Making of World Politics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Supplementary reading

- Buchanan Allen and Keohane Robert O. (2011) "The Legitimacy of Global Governance Institutions", *Ethics and International Affairs* 20 (4): 405-37.
- Cohen Marshal *et al.* (1974) *War and Moral Responsibility.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Colonomos Ariel and Beardsworth Richard (eds) (2020) "Plausible Norms of Warfare: Reducing the Gap Between the Normative and the Empirical", *European Review of International Studies* 7 (2-3). Special issue.
- Crawford Neta (2007) "Individual and Collective Moral Responsibility for Systematic Military Atrocity" *Journal of Political Philosophy* 15 (2): 187-212.
- Erskine Toni (ed.) (2003) *Can Institutions Have Responsibilities? Collective Moral Agency and International Relations.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Osiel Mark (2014) "Who Are Atrocity's 'Real' Perpetrators, Who Its 'True' Victims and Beneficiaries?" *Ethics and International Affairs* 28 (3): 281-97.
- Peck Richard (1979) "Socialization of Permanent Representatives in the United Nations: some evidence", *International Organization* 33 (3): 365-90.

Week 4. Diplomatic actors in the 21st century

Required reading

- <u>Introductory video:</u> Ross Carne (2009) "An Independent Diplomat". Available online at <https://www.ted.com/talks/carne_ross_an_independent_diplomat> (20 min).
- Aggestam Karin and Towns Ann E. (2017) "Diplomacy: A Gendered Institution" in Pauline Kerr and Geoffrey Wiseman (eds) (2017) *Diplomacy in a Globalizing World: Theories and Practices.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cornut Jérémie (2015) "To be a Diplomat Abroad: Diplomatic Practice at Embassies", *Cooperation and Conflict* 50 (3): 385-401.
- DeWinter Rebecca (2001) "The Anti-Sweatshop Movement" in Toni Erskine (ed.) *Can Institutions Have Responsibilities?* London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Guilbaud Auriane (2020) "Diplomacy by Non-State Actors" in Thierry Balzacq, Frédéric Charillon, and Frédéric Ramel, *Global Diplomacy: An Introduction to Theory and Practice.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Supplementary reading

- Cooper Andrew F. and Cornut Jérémie (2019) "The Changing Practices of Frontline Diplomacy: New Directions for Inquiry", *Review of International Studies* 45 (2): 300-319.
- Cooper Andrew F. and Hocking Brian, "Governments, Non-Governmental Organisations and the Re-calibration of Diplomacy", *Global Society*, 14 (3), 2000: 361-376.
- Cross Mai'a K. Davis (2007) *The European Diplomatic Corps: Diplomats and International Cooperation from Westphalia to Maastricht.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Duchacek Ivo D., "Perforated Sovereignties: Towards a Typology of New Actors in International Relations" in Hans J. Michelmans, Panayotis Soldatos (eds.) *Federalism and International Relations: The Role of Subnational Units.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Grincheva Natalia and Kelley Robert (eds) (2019) "Non-state Diplomacy from Non-Western Perspectives", *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 14 (3). Special issue.
- Langhorne Richard (2005) "The Diplomacy of Non-State Actors", *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 16 (2): 331-339.
- Lequesne Christian, *et al.* (2020) "Ethnic Diversity in the Recruitment of Diplomats: Why do MFAs Take the Issue Seriously?", *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 15 (1): 1-23.
- McCarthy Helen (2009) "Petticoat Diplomacy: The Admission of Women to the British Foreign Service, c. 1919-1946", *Twentieth Century British History* 20 (3): 285-321.
- Niklasson Birgitta (2020) "The Gendered Networking of Diplomats", *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 15 (1-2): 13-42.
- Sharp Paul and Wiseman Geoffrey (eds) (2007) *The Diplomatic Corps as an Institution of International Society.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan
- Sinclair Guy Fiti (2015) "'The International Civil Servant in Theory and Practice: Law, Morality, and Expertise", *European Journal of International Law* 26 (3): 747-766.
- Sofer Sasson (2001) "Being a 'pathetic hero' in international politics: The diplomat as a historical actor", *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 12 (1): 107-112.

Week 5. Crisis diplomacy

Required reading

- <u>Introductory reading:</u> Barder Brian (2014) *What Diplomats Do: The Life and Work of Diplomats.* Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. pp. 116-120 (Ethiopian famine) and pp. 198-200 (hostage crisis).
- Acuto Michele (2011) "Diplomats in Crisis", *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 22 (3): 521-39.
- Leira Halvard (2018) "Caring and Carers: Diplomatic Personnel and the Duty of Care", *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 13 (2): 147-166.
- Sending Ole Jacob (2015) "Diplomats and Humanitarians in Crisis Governance" in Ole Jacob Sending, Vincent Pouliot, and Iver B. Neumann (eds) (2015) *Diplomacy and the Making of World Politics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Supplementary reading

- Avenell Edward and Dunn David Hastings (2016) "Crisis Diplomacy" in Costas M. Constantinou, Pauline Kerr, and Paul Sharp (eds) *The SAGE Handbook of Diplomacy.* London: SAGE.
- Constantinou Costas M. (2015) "In Pursuit of Crisis Diplomacy," *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 10(1): 29-34.
- Kurizaki Shuhei (2007) "Efficient Secrecy: Public versus Private Threats in Crisis Diplomacy," *American Political Science Review*, 101(3): 543-558.

- Leira Halvard and Neumann Iver B. (2017) "Consular Diplomacy" in Pauline Kerr and Geoffrey Wiseman (eds) *Diplomacy in a Globalizing World: Theories and Practices*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Melissen Jan and Okano-Heijmans Maaike (eds) (2018) "Diplomacy and the Duty of Care", *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 13 (2). Special issue.
- Richardson James L. (1994) *Crisis Diplomacy: The Great Powers Since the Mid-Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rousseau Elise and Sommo Pende Achille (2020) "Humanitarian Diplomacy" in Thierry Balzacq, Frédéric Charillon, and Frédéric Ramel, *Global Diplomacy: An Introduction to Theory and Practice*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Week 6. Diplomacy in the digital age

Required reading

- <u>Introductory reading:</u> Fletcher Tom (2016) *The Naked Diplomat: Understanding Power and Political in the Digital Age*. Chapter 12.
- Bjola Corneliu and Manor Ilan (2018) "Revisiting Putnam's Two-level Game Theory in the Digital Age: Domestic Digital Diplomacy and the Iran Nuclear Deal", *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 31 (1): 3-32.
- Bos Michèle and Melissen Jan (2019) "Rebel Diplomacy and Digital Communication: Public Diplomacy in the Sahel", *International Affairs* 95 (6): 1331-48.
- Manor Ilan (2019) "The Specter of Echo Chambers – Public Diplomacy in the Age of Disinformation" in *The Digitalization of Public Diplomacy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mor Ben D. (2009) "Accounts and Impression Management in Public Diplomacy: Israeli Justification of Force during the 2006 Lebanon War", *Global Change, Peace & Security* 21 (2): 219-39.

Supplementary reading

- Archetti Christina (2012) "The Impact of New Media on Diplomatic Practice: An Evolutionary Model of Change", *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 7 (2): 181-206.
- Bjola Corneliu (2018) "The Ethics of Countering Digital Propaganda", *Ethics and International Affairs* 32 (3): 305-315.
- Bjola Corneliu and Holmes Marcus (eds) (2015) *Digital Diplomacy: Theory and Practice*. Routledge.
- Campbell Alan (2004) "From Carbon Paper to e-mail: Changes in Methods in the Foreign Office, 1950-2000", *Contemporary British History* 18 (3): 168-176.
- Cornut Jérémie and Dale Nadia (2019) "Historical, Practical, and Theoretical Perspectives on the Digitalisation of Diplomacy: An Exploratory Analysis", *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 30 (4): 829-36.
- Duncombe Constance (2017) "Twitter and Transformative Diplomacy: Social Media and Iran-US Relations", *International Affairs* 93 (3): 545-62.
- Gilboa Eytan (2016) "Digital Diplomacy" in Costas M. Constantinou, Pauline Kerr, and Paul Sharp (eds) *The SAGE Handbook of Diplomacy*. London: SAGE.
- Kurbalija Jovan (2017) "The Impact of the Internet and ICT on Contemporary Diplomacy" in Pauline Kerr and Geoffrey Wiseman (eds) *Diplomacy in a Globalizing World: Theories and Practices*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pilegaard Jess (2017) "Virtually Virtual? The New Frontiers of Diplomacy", *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 12 (4): 316-336.

- Shirky Clay (2011) "The Political Power of Social Media: Technology, the Public Sphere, and Political Change", *Foreign Affairs* 90 (1): 28-41.

Week 7. The study of diplomacy today

Required reading

- Adler-Nissen Rebecca (2015) "Relationalism: Why Diplomats find International Relations Theory strange" in Ole Jacob Sending, Vincent Pouliot, and Iver B. Neumann (eds) *Diplomacy and the Making of World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cornut Jeremie, De Zamaroczy Nicolas (2021) "How can documents speak about practices? Practice tracing, the Wikileaks cables, and diplomatic culture", *Cooperation and Conflict* 56 (3): 328-45.
- Neumann Iver B. (2022) "Approaching Ministries of Foreign Affairs through Ethnographic Work", in Christian Lequesne (ed.), *Ministries of Foreign Affairs in the World: Actors of State Diplomacy*. Leiden: Brill.

Supplementary reading

- Cornut Jérémie and Pouliot Vincent (2015) "Practice Theory and the Study of Diplomacy: A Research Agenda", *Cooperation and Conflict* 50 (3): 297-315.
- Jönsson Christer and Hall Martin (2005) *Essence of Diplomacy*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. Introduction and Chapter 1.
- Lequesne Christian (ed.) (2022) *Ministries of Foreign Affairs in the World: Actors of State Diplomacy*. Leiden: Brill. Part IV.