



PA 383G  
Spring 2013  
Wednesday 9:00 a.m – 12:00 p.m.  
SRH 3.124

Ambassador Robert Hutchings  
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Office Hours: Thursday 1:30 – 3:00 p.m.  
Teaching Assistant: Megan Reiss

### *Policy Making in a Global Age*

This course offers a comparative look at the making and implementation of policy in the global arena. It explores key concepts and theories concerning national interest, ethics, negotiation, strategies of action and influence, crisis management, and conflict resolution, and it applies those concepts via case studies and simulations in diplomacy, trade policy, development assistance, complex humanitarian emergencies, security policy, and transnational advocacy movements. The course aims to help students learn not only to analyze but also to implement policy: it employs an action-oriented approach that obliges students to react as a policy-maker would and thus gain a better appreciation of how and why states, organizations, and leaders act as they do.

In seeking to bridge the gap between theory and practice, the course is divided into two parts, “Concepts” and “Applications.” The first focuses on the acquisition of key theoretical and conceptual approaches on which we will draw in part two as we apply these concepts. We will employ case studies throughout, but in the first half of the course they will be used to explicate the concepts, while in the second half we will use cases to apply concepts already learned. Cases will span every region and every major power (along with several lesser ones and a number of non-state actors), and cover a wide range of issue areas.

On Friday, March 1, in lieu of class that week, students will participate in a half-day crisis simulation organized through the U.S. Army War College as part of the training it gives to senior officers (colonels and lieutenant colonels) in its senior seminar. The exercise, dealing with a complex humanitarian emergency, will test students’ skills in crisis management, organizational behavior, decision-making, and negotiation.

### **Assignments**

Students will write four short policy papers and one longer research paper in the form of a case study, make one formal oral presentation, and participate in the simulated negotiation. Grades will be weighted roughly as follows: 40% for the four policy memos, 35% for the case study, and 25% for the oral presentation, participation in the simulation, and overall contributions to seminar discussions. There will be no exams.

**Policy Papers** (40%) Students will write four brief policy papers of no more than 1,000 words each, all based on assigned readings (i.e., no additional research is required):

- A memorandum (based on a video we will view in class on February 8) for President Bush, dated April 2001, recommending a policy for resolving the crisis with China over the airplane incident in the South China Sea, due January 30. (Alternatively, you may direct your memo to Chinese President Jiang Zemin.)
- A briefing memo for the crisis simulation (details of the assignment to be explained in class), due March 1.
- A briefing memorandum on the use of torture against terrorist suspects (assignment to be distributed in class), due March 27.
- A policy memorandum on “R2P” (Responsibility to Protect; assignment to be distributed in class), due April 17.

**Case Study** (35%) Students will write one research paper (ca. 4,000-5,000 words) in the form of a case study, along the lines of the Pew studies we will use in class and “Case Studies in International Diplomacy” (<http://wvs.princeton.edu/research/cases.xml>) written by my former students at the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University. Your study should examine a single case. It may be small or large, of short or long duration, recent or historical, but it must involve a single, discrete foreign policy episode that illuminates a clear lesson for the conduct of international diplomacy. A brief (2-page) concept paper previewing the case and the approach you plan to take is due March 6. The case study itself is due May 8.

**Oral Contributions** (25%) As we will devote at least half of each session to discussion, the quality of students’ participation will be an important component of the final grade. Additionally, each student will give a formal oral presentation on a topic arising from the subject matter under discussion.

### Required Books

- Raymond Cohen, Negotiating Across Cultures (U.S. Institute of Peace Press, revised edition, 1997)
- Alex Mintz and Karl DeRouen, Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making (Cambridge University Press, 2010)
- Amy B. Zegart, Flawed by Design: The Evolution of the CIA, JCS, and NSC (Stanford University Press, 1999)
- Robert J. Art, America’s Grand Strategy and World Politics (Routledge, 2009)
- Richard K. Betts, American Force: Dangers, Delusions, and Dilemmas in National Security (Columbia University Press, 2011)
- Michael Walzer, Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations (Basic Books, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, 1977)

## Course Outline

### Date   Topic/Assignments

#### 1/16   **I. Introduction**

- G.R. Berridge, Maurice Keens-Soper and T.G. Otte, Diplomatic Theory from Machiavelli to Kissinger (Palgrave, 2001), pp. 33-44, 71-82 [chapters on Guicciardini and Richelieu]
- Henry Kissinger, White House Years (Little, Brown, and Co., 1979), Chapter 3 (pp. 54-70).
- Robert Hutchings, American Diplomacy and the End of the Cold War (Johns Hopkins, 1997), Preface and Introduction (pp. ix-xvi and 1-5)
- Sir Harold Nicolson, Diplomacy (Institute for the Study of Diplomacy reprint, 1988), Chapter 6 (pp. 68-83)

#### *Case Study: The Marshall Plan*

- George Kennan, Memoirs 1925-1950 (Bantam Books, 1967), Chapter 14, pp. 342-73.
- Dean Acheson, Present at the Creation (W.W. Norton, 1987), Chapter 26, pp. 226-35.
- Irving L. Janis, Groupthink (Houghton Mifflin, 1982) Chapter 7 (pp. 159-72)

### ***PART I: CONCEPTS***

#### 1/23   **II. Comparative Foreign Policies**

- Ryan Beasley et al., Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective (CQ Press, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 2013), chapters TBD
- Richard Solomon, Chinese Negotiating Behavior (U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 1999), Chapter 2 (pp. 25-56)
- Jerrold L. Schecter, Russian Negotiating Behavior (USIP Press, 1998), pp. 61-90
- Charles Cogan, French Negotiating Behavior: Dealing with *La Grande Nation* (USIP Press, 2003), pp. 3-19 and 257-71

#### *Case Study: China and Human Rights*

- David Gillies, Between Principle and Practice (McGill, 1996), Chapter 6 (pp. 140-73)
- Vincent Auger, "Human Rights and Trade: The Clinton Administration and China" (Pew Case Study #168)

- *Video*: Charlie Rose: debate on the April 2001 incident in the South China Sea

#### 1/30   **III. Negotiation**

- Raymond Cohen, Negotiating Across Cultures (USIP Press, revised ed., 1997)

**Memo assignment due today.**

## 2/6 IV. Analysis and Decision

- Alex Mintz and Karl DeRouen, Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making (Cambridge, 2010)

*Case Study: Obama's Decision-Making*

- James P. Pfiffner, "Decision Making in the Obama White House," Presidential Studies Quarterly 41:2 (June 2011):244-262.

## 2/13 V. Foreign Policy Organization

- Amy Zegart, Flawed by Design

## 2/20 VI. Force in Foreign Policy

- Robert Art, America's Grand Strategy, Parts I and II (pages 1-185)

## 3/1 VII. Crisis Simulation

**Note: class meets 9 a.m.-2 p.m. Friday, March 1 instead of regular meeting time**

- James L. Richardson, Crisis Diplomacy (Cambridge University Press, 1994), Chapters 1-3, 16 (pp. 3-34 and 349-69)

**Memo assignment due at start of simulation on March 1.**

## 3/6 VIII. Ethics and Foreign Policy

- Michael Walzer, Just and Unjust Wars

**Case study prospectus due today.**

**Spring Break, March 11-16**

## *PART II: APPLICATIONS*

## 3/20 IX. Intelligence and Foreign Policy

- Robert Hutchings, "Strategic Choices, Intelligence Challenges," in Representative American Speeches, 2003-04 (H.W. Wilson, 2004), pp. 1-12.

- Richard K. Betts, Enemies of Intelligence (Columbia University Press, 2007), Chapters 4 and 5 (pp. 66-123)
- Roger George and Robert Kline, eds., Intelligence and the National Security Strategist (NDU Press, 2004), Chapters 1, 2, and 26 (pp. 3-21 and 327-40)
- Loch K. Johnson and James J. Wirtz, eds., Strategic Intelligence: Windows into a Secret World (Los Angeles: Roxbury, 2004), pp. 120-42 and 432-60
- Richard Russell, “The Fog of War: NATO’s Bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade” (Pew Case Study #253)

*Case Study: Reorganizing Intelligence*

- Paul R. Pillar, “Intelligent Design? The Unending Saga of Intelligence Reform” (Review Essay), Foreign Affairs, March/April 2008, pp. 138-44:  
<http://fullaccess.foreignaffairs.org/20080301fareviewessay87211/paul-r-pillar/intelligent-design.html?mode=print>
- The 9-11 Commission Report, Ch. 13:  
[http://govinfo.library.unt.edu/911/report/911Report\\_Ch13.pdf](http://govinfo.library.unt.edu/911/report/911Report_Ch13.pdf)
- Robert Hutchings, “The Morning After: How to Reform the Intelligence Reform,” Testimony before the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, December 6, 2007: <http://intelligence.house.gov/Media/PDFS/Hutchings120607.pdf>

### 3/27 X. Confronting International Terrorism

- Bruce Hoffman, Inside Terrorism (New York: Columbia University Press, revised and expanded edition, 2006), Chapter 1, pp.1-41.
- David Rapoport, “The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism,” in Audrey Cronin and James Ludes, eds., Attacking Terrorism (Georgetown University Press, 2004), pp. 46-73: <http://www.international.ucla.edu/media/files/Rapoport-Four-Waves-of-Modern-Terrorism.pdf>
- Robert Hutchings, “X + 9/11,” *Foreign Policy*, July/August 2004  
[http://www.dni.gov/nic/articles\\_x\\_%2B\\_911.htm](http://www.dni.gov/nic/articles_x_%2B_911.htm).
- Robert Hutchings, “The Sources of Terrorist Conduct”  
[http://www.dni.gov/nic/PDF\\_GIF\\_speeches/terrorist\\_conduct.pdf](http://www.dni.gov/nic/PDF_GIF_speeches/terrorist_conduct.pdf).
- Marc Sageman, Leaderless Jihad (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), Chapter 7, pp. 125-146.

*Case Study: The Use of Torture*

- Curtis H. Martin, “President Obama and the ‘Torture Memos’” (Pew Case Study #162; 18 pages)
- Yuval Ginbar, Why Not Torture Terrorists? (Oxford, 2008), pp. 3-29 and 95-110
- Charles Krauthammer, “Torture? No. Except...,” Washington Post, May 1, 2009  
<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/04/30/AR2009043003108.html>
- Michael Ignatieff, “If Torture Works...,” Prospect Magazine, April 20, 2006  
<http://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/2006/04/iftortureworks/>
- Human Rights Watch, “Torture Doesn’t Work,” April 26, 2006  
<http://www.hrw.org/en/news/2006/04/26/torture-doesnt-work>

#### 4/3 XI. Development Assistance and Democracy Promotion

- Amartya Sen, "Democracy as a Universal Value," Journal of Democracy 10:3 (1999):3-17.
- Samuel Huntington, "Democracy for the Long Haul," Journal of Democracy 7:2 (April 1996):3-13.
- Francis Fukuyama, State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), Chapter 1, pp. 1-42.
- Stephen Knack, "Does Foreign Aid Promote Democracy?" International Studies Quarterly 48:1 (March 2004):251-266.
- Thomas Carothers, "The Backlash against Democracy Promotion," Foreign Affairs 85:2 (March-April 2006):55-68.
- Peter Burnell, "Does International Democracy Promotion Work?" Institut für Entwicklungspolitik, Bonn, 2007. Available online at <http://edoc.vifapol.de/opus/volltexte/2011/3094/pdf/BurnellPromotionWork.pdf>.
- Arthur Goldsmith, "Making the World Safe for Partial Democracy? Questioning the Premises of Democracy Promotion," International Security 33:2 (Fall 2008):120-147.
- Erin A. Snider and David M. Faris, "The Arab Spring: U.S. Democracy Promotion in Egypt," Middle East Policy 18:3 (Fall 2011):49-62.

##### *Case Study: Rethinking Foreign Aid*

- J. Brian Atwood, M. Peter McPherson, and Andrew Natsios, "Arrested Development: Making Foreign Aid a More Effective Tool," Foreign Affairs 87:6 (November/December 2008):123-132.
- Carol Lancaster, Foreign Aid: Diplomacy, Development, Domestic Politics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 1-61.
- William Easterly, The White Man's Burden (New York: Penguin, 2006), introduction (only pp. 8-17) and Chapter 11 (pp. 367-384).
- Nicholas Kristof, "Aid: Can It Work?" (New York Review of Books, 2006)

#### 4/10 XII. Non-State Actors

##### *Part I: Non-State Actors in International Affairs*

- Jessica Mathews, "Power Shift," Foreign Affairs (Jan/Feb 1997) 76 (1), pp. 50-66
- Saskia Sassen, "The State and Globalization," in Rodney Hall and Thomas Biersteker, eds., The Emergence of Private Authority in Global Governance (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 91-112.
- Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy in International Politics (Cornell, 1998), Chapter 1 (pp. 1-38)
- Phil Williams, "Transnational Organized Crime and the State," in Hall and Biersteker, eds., Private Authority in Global Governance, pp. 161-182
- Sidney Tarrow, The New Transnational Activism (Cambridge, 2005), Chapters 1-2 (pp. 1- 34)

*Part II: Case Studies in Transnational Advocacy*

- Joshua W. Busby, Moral Movements and Foreign Policy (Cambridge, 2010), Chapters 2 and 3 (pp. 33-103)
- Keck and Sikkink, Activists Beyond Borders, Chapter 4 (pp. 121-163), on environmental networks, or Chapter 5 (pp. 165-217), on networks on violence against women
- Audie Klotz, Norms in International Relations: The Struggle Against Apartheid (Cornell, 1995), Chapter 1 (pp. 3-12)
- Daniel Thomas. The Helsinki Effect (2001), Chapter 4 (pp. 121-156)

**4/17 XIII. Mediation and Peace Operations**

- Thomas Princen, Intermediaries in International Conflict (Princeton, 1992), Chapters 2, 5, and 10 (pp. 18-31, 60-6, and 214-26)
- Report of the Panel on UN Peace Operations, 2001 (“The Brahimi Report”): [http://www.un.org/peace/reports/peace\\_operations/](http://www.un.org/peace/reports/peace_operations/) (Exec. Summary only)
- Lakhdar Brahimi and Salman Ahmed, “In Pursuit of Sustainable Peace: The Seven Deadly Sins of Mediation,” NYU Center on International Cooperation, May 2008: <http://www.cic.nyu.edu/internationalsecurity/docs/7sinspolicybrief.pdf>.

*Case Studies*

- Robert Hutchings, American Diplomacy and the End of the Cold War, Chapter 8: “The Return of History,” pp. 301-21 (Background reading on Yugoslavia)
- Ivo Daalder, “The Clinton Administration and Multilateral Peace Operations” (Pew Case Study #462)
- John Ausink, “Watershed in Rwanda: President Clinton’s Humanitarian Intervention Policy” (Pew Case Study #374)
- Denis Sullivan, “The Israel-P.L.O. Declaration of Principles” (Pew Case Study #465)
- Dennis Ross, Statecraft (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007), Chs. 10-12 (pp. 216-85)

**4/24 XIV. Grand Strategy: The Uses of Power**

- Robert Art, America’s Grand Strategy, Parts III and IV (pages 187-392)

**5/1 XIV. Grand Strategy: The Misuses and Abuses of Power**

- Richard Betts, American Force: Dangers, Delusions, and Dilemmas

**Case study due May 8.**

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*Case Study: Libya and R2P*

- Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, “The Responsibility to Protect,” International Development and Research Center, 2001. Available online at <http://responsibilitytoprotect.org/ICISS%20Report.pdf>.
- United Nations General Assembly, “2005 World Summit Outcome Document,” United Nations A/RES/60/1, October 2005. Available online at <http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php?module=uploads&func=download&fileId=497>.
- Bajoria, Jayshree. “Libya and the Responsibility to Protect.” Council on Foreign Relations. Available online at <http://www.cfr.org/libya/libya-responsibility-protect/p24480>. Accessed September 26, 2011.
- Jonas Claes, “Libya and the ‘Responsibility to Protect,’” United States Institute of Peace, March 1, 2011. Available online at <http://www.usip.org/publications/libya-and-the-responsibility-protect>.
- Lawrence Wocher, “Libya: Preventing Violence Against Citizens,” United States Institute for Peace, March 4, 2011. Available online at <http://www.usip.org/publications/libya-preventing-violence-against-citizens>.
- Amitai Etzioni, “Sovereignty as Responsibility,” *Orbis* 51:1 (Winter 2006): 71-85.
- Bruce D. Jones, “Libya and the Responsibilities of Power.” *Survival* 53:3 (2011): 51-60. Available online at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00396338.2011.586188>.
- Garwood-Gowers, Andrew. “Libya and the international community’s ‘responsibility to protect.’” *On line Opinion: Australia’s eJournal of Social and Political Debate* (2011). Available online at <http://eprints.qut.edu.au/45425/2/45425.pdf>.
- Thomas Renard, “Libya and the Post-American World: Implications for the EU,” *Security Policy Brief*, No. 20 (April 2011), 1-6. Available online at <http://aei.pitt.edu/32037/1/SPB20-Libya-in-new-world-order.pdf>.
- Pippan Christian, “The 2011 Libyan Uprising, Foreign Military Intervention, and International Law.” *Juridikum: Zeitschrift für Kritik-Recht-Gesellschaft* 2 (May 2011): 159-169. Available online at <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1878444>.

*Articles for Assignment*

- Jennifer Welsh, “Civilian Protection in Libya: Putting Coercion and Controversy Back into RtoP,” *Ethics & International Affairs* 25:3 (September 2011): 255-262.
- Alex J. Bellamy, “Libya and the Responsibility to Protect: The Exception and the Norm,” *Ethics & International Affairs* 25:3 (September 2011): 263-269.
- James Pattison, “The Ethics of Humanitarian Intervention in Libya,” *Ethics & International Affairs* 25:3 (September 2011): 271-277.
- Simon Chesterman, “‘Leading from Behind’: The Responsibility to Protect, the Obama Doctrine, and Humanitarian Intervention after Libya.” *Ethics & International Affairs* 25:3 (September 2011): 279-285.
- Thomas G. Weiss, “RtoP Alive and Well after Libya,” *Ethics & International Affairs* 25:3 (September 2011): 287-292.



*Additional readings on negotiation*

- Fen Osler Hampson, Multilateral Negotiations: Lessons from Arms Control, Trade, and the Environment (Johns Hopkins, 1995) pp. 23-51
- Peter Evans, Harold Jacobson, and Robert Putnam, eds. Double-Edged Diplomacy (California, 1993), Chapter 1 (pp. 3-17 and 23-34 only), Chapter 12 (case study on the IMF, pp. 363-94), and Chapter 13 (pp. 397-412 only)
- Hutchings, American Diplomacy, Chapter 3 (pp. 90-142) [case study on the diplomacy of German unification]