THE PARADOX OF US DIPLOMACY? ITS RISE AND "DEMISE"

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The Paradox of US Public Diplomacy: Its Rise and "Demise"

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THE PARADOX OF US PUBLIC

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INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND GLOBAL COMMUNICATION

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ABOUT THE REPORT

US public diplomacy faces a paradox. As diplomacy's public dimension increasingly dominates study and practice, public diplomacy has less value as a term and conceptual subset of diplomacy. It marginalizes what is now mainstream. This report examines transformational changes in diplomacy's 21st century context: permeable borders and power diffusion, new diplomatic actors and issues, digital technologies and social media, and whole of government diplomacy. It critically assesses implications for diplomatic roles and risks, foreign ministries and diplomatic missions, and strategic planning. In an attempt to bridge scholarship and practice, the report explores operational and architectural consequences for diplomacy in a world that is more transparent, informal, and complex.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- Public diplomacy as a term and concept for a subset of diplomatic practice has diminishing value. It marginalizes diplomacy's public dimension, which is now central in what all diplomatic actors think and do.

- Radical changes in diplomacy's environment are (1) power diffusion and unclear boundaries between foreign and domestic; (2) many more actors, people, and issues; (3) digital technologies, new media, and networked actors; and (4) whole of government diplomacy.

- Diplomats are less concerned with bridging separation and more concerned with navigating contested politics abroad and at home.

- Diplomacy increasingly takes place in layers above, below, and beyond the state. There is more diplomacy in civil society, and more civil society in diplomacy. Diplomacy is more transparent. Its pace has accelerated.

- Most diplomacy is not digital, but new technologies are relevant to all aspects of diplomacy's public dimension. Understanding the properties and situational relevance of new tools is essential to their effective use.

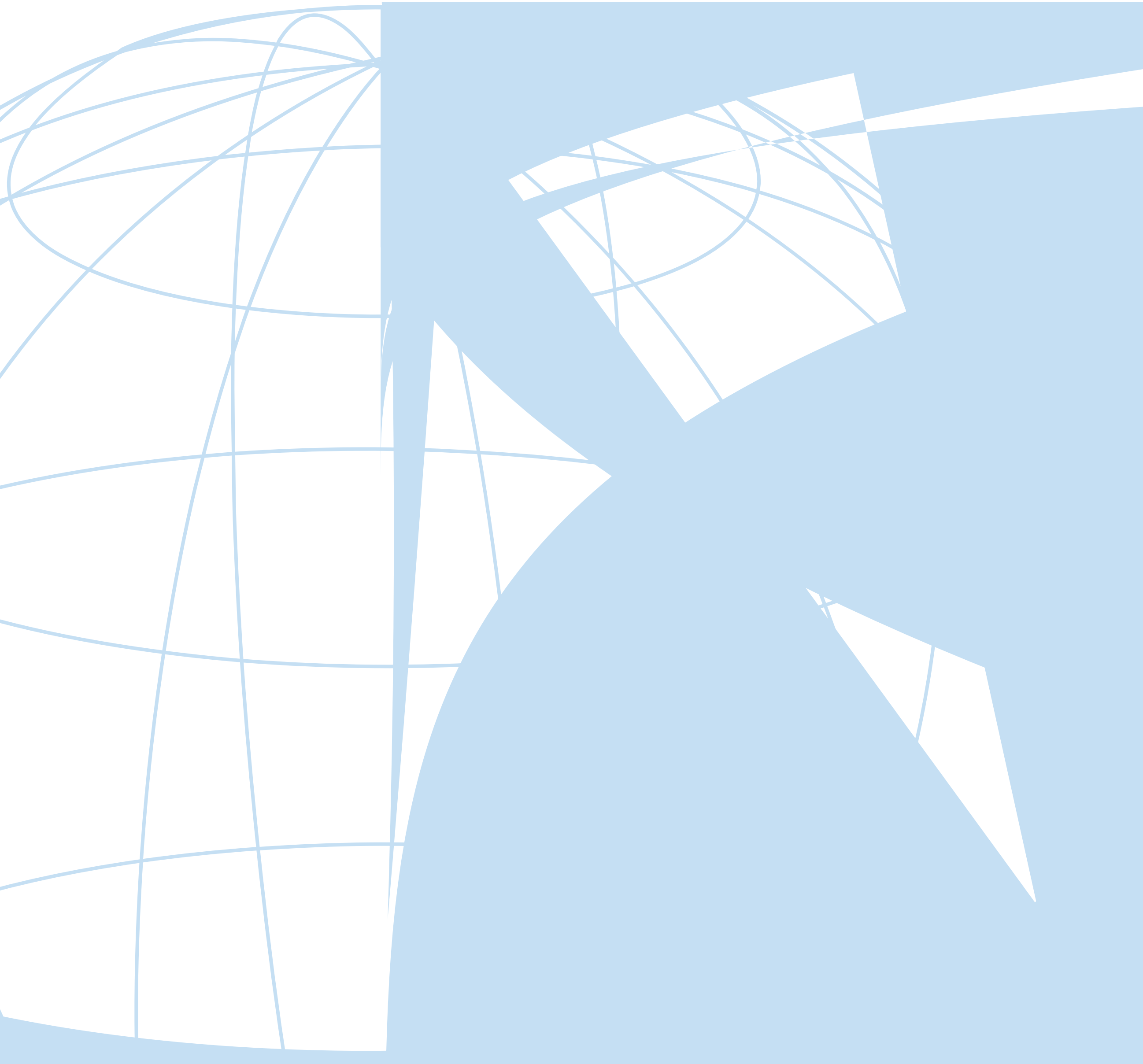
- Foreign ministries and embassies are important and subordinate parts of national diplomatic systems, the complex networks of foreign and domestic government organizations that seek to manage a state's external environment.

- Changing diplomatic roles and risks require *entrepreneurial* and *innovative* diplomats with broad issue awareness; elimination of the US Department of State's "cone" system; and better management of the security / public access dilemma.

- Foreign ministries need to better understand and leverage their advantages in whole of government diplomacy, privilege research and shared knowledge, supplement training with mandatory professional education, and create a diplomacy reserve.

- Strategic planning in US diplomacy's public dimension has been hindered by episodic meta-narratives, lack of situationally relevant cost/benefit tradeoffs, siloed government decision-making, and misunderstandings about the role and nature of strategy.

- To improve strategic planning diplomats on the move and national diplomatic systems should: Create micro-strategies. Say no. Seek and reward practical wisdom. Remember top down still matters. Rewrite "the book." Think politically.



INTRODUCTION

Mid-way in his first term President Barack Obama sent a report to Congress. His transmittal letter called it a "comprehensive interagency strategy for public diplomacy and strategic communication." Yet the words "public diplomacy" appeared nowhere in the report.[1] Nor has President Obama used the term in speeches or other public statements. Former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton occasionally referred to public diplomacy when speaking about organizational components of the Department of State and a career track in the Foreign Service. More often, however, she used broad framing categories: "diplomacy, development, and defense" and "global public engagement." Similarly, public diplomacy rarely occurs in the discourse of Secretary of State John Kerry. Does this mean public diplomacy is fading as an instrument of US statecraft? Is it a form of diplomatic practice that had a good run but now is trending downward? Clearly, no. For leaders in the US and most other countries, the public dimension of diplomacy is a high priority that calls for increasing amounts of thought and scarce time. But it does mean the term "public diplomacy" is fragile and losing salience in US practice.[2]

US public diplomacy thus confronts us with a paradox. It is easy to speak of its historical "rise." Public diplomacy is part of a global conversation among practitioners in embassies and foreign ministries. It is an emerging field of academic study. And it is a term used casually and often, albeit with a wide variety of meanings, by journalists, think tanks, lawmakers, soldiers, and a broad array of civil society activists.

At the same time, we can now speak of public diplomacy's "demise." This is not just a matter of semantics or label fatigue. Rather, it reflects transformational trends in diplomacy's 21st century environment. Diplomacy's expanding public dimension in the holistic sense is increasingly consequential in the use of all instruments of power by multiple actors on a broad range of issues. To treat public diplomacy as a separate instrument of practice marginalizes what has been "woven into the fabric of mainstream diplomatic activity."[3] Public diplomacy is what diplomatic actors now think about and do much of the time. This paper examines this paradox and its implications for practitioners and scholars.

One threshold implication relates to who is a diplomatic actor and how the public dimension of diplomacy is defined. Public diplomacy in the 20th century was viewed primarily as a state-based instrument used by foreign ministries, embassies, and independent agencies to persuade and engage foreign publics for the purpose of influencing their governments. Today, public diplomacy and the analogous term strategic communication describe an instrument used by states, associations of states, and some sub-state and non-state actors to understand cultures, attitudes, and behavior; build and manage relationships; and influence thoughts and mobilize actions to advance their interests and values.

GENERIC CONCEPTS, FLUID CONTEXTS

The purpose of diplomats is to represent and connect groups that wish to remain separate. This plurality, in Paul Sharp's classic formulation, is an essential part of human existence. People live in groups and value "conditions of separateness." Because they also value relationships between groups, "diplomacy develops to manage these relations." This understanding of the "ideas and arguments by which people make sense of their lives both to themselves and to others" distinguishes relations between groups from those within them.[4] Groups communicate, compete, and collaborate. Diplomats bridge gaps between groups and act as agents on behalf of groups. This part is timeless.

Diplomacy's context, however, changes with time and circumstance. The diplomatic actors, tools, and methods of the Roman Empire differed substantially from those of the Cold War.

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[1] "National Framework for Strategic Communication," President Barack Obama's report to Congress, March 16, 2010, http://www.fas.org/man/eprint/pubdip.pdf.

[2] The term public diplomacy also is falling out of favor with government officials in Europe, although perhaps for different reasons than in the United States. As Jan Melissen observes, among European scholars and practitioners "the term PD is commonly used to refer to various forms of official engagement with people. In official communication, however, it is losing ground, particularly in Western Europe. One can only speculate whether or to what extent it did not stick with a number of governments because of its association with the War on Terror under George W. Bush's administration." Mai'a K. Davis Cross and Jan Melissen, eds., *European Public Diplomacy: Soft Power at Work*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 206.

[3] Jan Melissen, "The New Public Diplomacy: Relation Between Theory and Practice," in Jan Melissen, ed., *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations,* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 11.

[4] Paul Sharp, *Diplomatic Theory of International Relations*, (Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 10. Sharp's argument has meaning also for groups within groups. In public diplomacy, for example, international broadcasters, foreign ministries, and cultural diplomats value "conditions of separateness" more than they value relationships with each other. Like politics and governance, diplomacy is a broad analytical construct applicable at different levels.

What changed was not a generic concept of diplomacy that included a public dimension. What changed was situational. Empires differ from state systems. Sailing ships differ from electronic technologies. Thin globalism differs from thick globalism.[5] Greeks and Egyptians took aristocrats hostage when wars were over. They took them as treaty guarantees but also, and importantly, so they would be cultural interpreters when they returned – an early international visitor program. Public diplomacy has always been part of diplomacy.

DRIVERS OF CHANGE IN DIPLOMACY'S ENVIRONMENT

Sweeping changes in diplomacy's 21st century environment have profound consequences for US public diplomacy. There are more diplomatic actors above, below, and beyond the state. There is a dramatic increase in the number and scope of issues of diplomatic concern. More armed conflict occurs among civilian populations and less between uniformed armies on separate fields of battle. Many countries have large and growing populations with huge numbers of young people. Networks have not replaced hierarchies, but networks are today's dominant social paradigm. Digital technologies and social media are transforming how people think, organize, and connect.[6] There is an emerging research consensus that thick globalism, power diffusion, multiple state and stateless actors, new transnational issues, new technologies, and omni-directional networks are driving fundamental changes in diplomacy and governance.[7]

In the endless tension between change and continuity, change has the upper hand in today's diplomacy. Four reasons stand out. First, there are no clear borders between foreign and domestic. Second, quantitative changes in the number of actors, issues, and people require qualitative changes in practice. Third, digital technologies, new media, and networked actors are reshaping all aspects of diplomacy. Fourth, states manage their external relations through whole of government policy and organizational networks. Although many tools, methods, and structures developed for "industrial age" diplomacy retain value, they are not sufficient in 21st century diplomacy's radically changed environment. Contextual changes of this magnitude require transformation, not just adaptation. This paper explores these changes and their implications for US diplomatic practice.[8]

PERMEABLE BORDERS AND POWER DIFFUSION

"In today's global world, there is no longer anything foreign about foreign policy."[9] These words in John Kerry's first speech as Secretary of State frame his views on today's intertwined connections between Americans and others. Borders between foreign and domestic have long been porous, and states are accustomed to the challenges of external ideas and threats, new technologies, and power shifts within and between governments. What is new is the magnitude of changes in governance and civil society created by what Joseph Nye calls "a power diffusion away from all states to nonstate actors." Nye is quick to say states will remain the "dominant actor on the world stage," but the stage itself is becoming "far more crowded and difficult to control."[10] Exponential increases in the density of cross border connections are changing traditional notions of sovereignty, separateness, and diplomacy.

Power diffusion has far reaching consequences for diplomatic practice. Diplomats are more involved in the politics of their own and other countries. At home, they increasingly must calculate the political consequences of what they do and mobilize support from lawmakers, business leaders, think tanks, and civil society organizations through personal contact, the media, and partnerships with others. Abroad, diplomats are driven less by the need to bridge separation between foreign and domestic and more by "the logic of mutual interference in each other's domestic affairs."[11] Importantly, they contend also with more politically charged issues in more multilateral settings with a wide variety of actors other than states.

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[5] Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, Jr, "Governance In a Globalizing World," in Robert O. Keohane, ed., *Power and Governance in a Partially Globalized World*, (Routledge, 2002), pp. 193-218. Keohane and Nye distinguish between globalism, as a condition "involving networks at multicontinental distances," and globalization as "the increase or decline of globalism." The original Silk Road is an example of "thin globalism." The Internet is an example of "thick globalism."

[6] On changes in diplomacy's environment and their implications for diplomatic practice, see Brian Hocking, Jan Melissen, Shaun Riordan, and Paul Sharp, *Futures for Diplomacy: Integrative Diplomacy for the 21st Century,* Netherlands Institute of International Relations, Clingendael, Report No. 1, October 2012, http://www.lse.ac.uk/internationalRelations/dinamfellow/conf2012/HOCKING-Futures-of-Diplomacy.pdf; Kishan S. Rana, *21st Century Diplomacy: A Practitioner's Guide*, (The Continuum International Publishing Group, 2011), pp.11-38, http://hibamo.files.wordpress.com/2013/02/21st-century-diplomacy-a-practitioners-guideteam-nanbantmrg.pdf; Pauline Kerr and Geoffrey Wiseman, eds., *Diplomacy in a Globalizing World: Theories and Practices*, (Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 1-12; and Andrew F. Cooper, Jorge Heine, and Ramesh Thaker, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy*, (Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 1-87.

[7] National Intelligence Council, *Global Trends 2030: Alternative Worlds*, December 2012; Joseph S. Nye, Jr. *The Future of Power*, (Public Affairs, 2011), pp. ix-xviii, and 113-204.

[8] This paper focuses on diplomatic actors associated with US embassies and the Department of State. However, radical environmental changes also have had a profound impact on US international broadcasting, cultural diplomacy, and other actors in public diplomacy's domain, as well as on activities of the Departments of Defense and Treasury, US Agency for International Development, and the broad range of government departments and agencies in whole of government diplomacy. Additional research and case studies are needed.

[9] John Kerry, "Address at the University of Virginia," February 20, 2013, http://www.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2013/02/205021.htm.

Diplomacy top to bottom is a political domain. It is an instrument used in the context of power, political behavior, and connections between governance actors. Its analytical category is fundamentally different from education, business, journalism, religion, the arts, and armed conflict, although diplomacy partners with, borrows from, and contributes to these domains. It confuses to suggest that some public diplomacy actors are more "political" than others. Europeans are correct when they argue the EU is a "major normative and civilian power" that gains soft power through its activities in development, humanitarian aid, and the environment. They are less persuasive when they argue this differs from an American approach that is "more politicized" because it is "more closely linked to short-term foreign policy objectives."[12]

Public diplomacy too is political and interest based. Diplomats from the Baltic States use public diplomacy politically to project identity and expand trade and tourism. Chinese diplomats use public diplomacy politically to achieve energy and investment objectives in Africa. US and European diplomats use public diplomacy politically to support negotiations on Iran's nuclear ambitions. And cultural diplomats worldwide, who privilege cultural sharing in pursuit of trust and reduced global conflict, are acting politically – however great their preference for civil society and however loose their ties to the goals of states.[13] No one size fits all when it comes to diplomacy's variety of actors, goals, tools, and time frames. One size does fit all, however, in conceptualizing diplomacy at its most basic level as political in nature.

US diplomats need new skills to navigate contested politics at home and abroad. Increasingly they face accusations of "undiplomatic" interference in the internal affairs of others. The US Embassy in China publishes regular air quality updates in Chinese cities on Twitter. Chinese I-phone users download an app that displays significant discrepancies between air quality readings by their government and the US embassy. Former US Ambassador Gary Locke described this as "very forward thinking" and said his staff is developing new software for use by US embassies worldwide. The Chinese government accused US diplomats of "illegally interfering in China's domestic affairs."[14] Saskatchewan Premier Brad Wall and ten US state governors signed a joint letter to President Obama urging approval of the Keystone Pipeline in January 2013. US Ambassador to Canada David Jacobson responded in a CTV interview that the letter would have no impact on the outcome. The decision, he said, will be based on a "science-based analysis" by the State Department.[15]

US Ambassador to Turkey Francis Ricciardone, meeting with journalists in Ankara, called for Turkey to change its laws to enable its participation in the international Financial Action Task Force on terrorism. He also criticized Turkey's policies on extended imprisonment based on unclear charges. Turkey's Deputy Prime Minister responded, "It would be better and useful for his country if Ricciardone minded his own business." Turkish Foreign Ministry officials described his comments as "unacceptable" and "interference in Turkey's domestic affairs." State Department Spokesperson Victoria Nuland said there was nothing new in the Ambassador's comments. He was only repeating what former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton had said and Secretary John Kerry would say in future.[16] US Ambassador to Russia Michael McFaul's tweet in July 2013 about "apparent political motivations" behind a Russian court's embezzlement conviction of Russian activist Alexei Navalny generated nearly 1,000 retweets and many reprints in media outlets. Russia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs aggressively engages in its own Twitter offensive against McFaul's "meddling" in Russian affairs.[17]

That diplomats may be involved in the internal affairs of others is hardly new. History offers lots of examples. One of diplomacy's biggest challenges has been to engage productively with people seeking power while remaining engaged with people in power, whe�Dm foreign and domestic means involvement in "internal affairs" at home and abroad is "a normal part of a diplomat's job."[18]

MORE DIPLOMATS, MORE PEOPLE, MORE ISSUES

Increases in the number and distribution of governance actors, coupled with the rise of a new global elite and middle class, mean there are more diplomatic actors above the state in global and regional associations, below the state in cities and other sub-national authorities, and beyond the state in organizations that engage in governance and diplomatic activities once reserved for governments. In these multiple layers of "polycentric diplomacy," there are fewer settled relationships. Diplomats have new authorities, roles, and tools. Diplomacy's pace is accelerating, and response times are more rapid. Diplomacy is more transparent. There is more diplomacy in civil society, and more civil society in diplomacy. As Indian Ambassador Kishan Rana summarizes, "diplomacy has become multifaceted, pluri-directional, volatile, and intensive."[19]

These dynamics raise interesting questions for scholars and practitioners. Who is a diplomatic actor? On whose behalf do diplomats act? Do they derive authority and legitimacy from those they represent as diplomatic agents (e.g., state sponsored diplomats) or from their effectiveness in achieving diplomatic objectives in global issues (e.g., non-state actors)?[20] Do diplomats step in and out of roles in diplomacy, governance, and domains such as global business, international education, the military, or transnational activism contingent on issues and circumstance? Should career diplomats have special standing based on their appointments and because they serve "in the field?" Which emerging roles, rules, and norms best fit today's environment? A growing literature addresses these issues in frameworks that include city diplomacy, track-two diplomacy, regional actor diplomacy, diaspora diplomacy, networked diplomacy, and relational diplomacy.[21]

Today's diplomacy also takes place in a world experiencing unprecedented rates of population growth and urbanization. Consider. In the 1960s, the world's population was approximately 3 billion. Today, it is 7 billion and counting. Global population levels that took all of human history to reach 3 billion have more than doubled in less than a lifetime. In a tectonic shift from a world largely rural until the mid-20th century, more than 50 percent of the world's population now lives in cities. Most are megacities in coastal areas. According to the US National Intelligence Council (NIC), urbanization "will almost certainly climb to near 60 percent of the world's projected 8.3 billion" in 2030. Distribution patterns vary, and implications of these demographic changes are contested. However, the NIC projects four demographic trends will shape relations among states and non-state actors: aging populations in the West and in developing states, a still significant but shrinking number of youthful societies, increasing migration, and increasingly urbanized populations, connected by mobile phones and social media, that will spur economic growth and a growing middle class and place strains on food and water resources.[22]

More diplomats engaging more people must also deal with more issues. US diplomacy and its public diplomacy subset have never had single agendas regardless of America's comfort with such master narratives as anti-communism, freedom and democracy, and war on terror. But the scale and complexity of the issues in today's "strategic buffet" are far greater. Diplomacy's public dimension includes promotion of trade, investment, and tourism in an era of enhanced global competition; long-term policy goals such as climate change mitigation and adaptation, nuclear non-proliferation, and stability in the East and South China Seas; and milieu goals such as mutually advantageous relationships with emerging leaders and young people, especially girls, in a world where 60 percent of the population is under thirty.[23] Diplomacy's public dimension is central in crisis management, conflict resolution, and responding to natural disasters. It supports distribution of global public goods such as food security, rule of law, and prevention of pandemic disease. It is critical in achieving security in geographic space and in cyberspace where Internet governance, electronic surveillance, cyber defense, and offensive electronic warfare bring unprecedented challenges.

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[18] For a discussion of departures from rules and norms and circumstances in which "new international rules, conventions and norms are in the process of emerging," see Hocking et al., *Futures for Diplomacy*, pp. 27-28.

[19] Rana, *21st Century Diplomacy,* p. 14. On polycentric diplomacy, see Geoffrey Wiseman, "Polylateralism: Diplomacy's Third Dimension," *Public Diplomacy Magazine*, 4 (Summer): 24-39, and Jan Aart Scholte, "From Government to Governance: Transition to a New Diplomacy," in Cooper, et al., *Global Governance and Diplomacy, Worlds Apart?* pp. 39-60.

[20] See Teresa La Porte, "The Impact of 'Intermestic' Non-State Actors on the Conceptual Framework of Public Diplomacy," *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 7 (2012) pp. 441-458;.

[21] See, for example, Jorge Heine, "From Club to Network Diplomacy," in Cooper et al, *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy*, pp. 54-69; John Robert Kelley, "The New Diplomacy: Evolution of a Revolution," *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, Vol. 21, Issue 2, pp. 286-305; Ellen Huijgh, "Public Diplomacy in Flux: Introducing the Domestic Dimension," *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 7 (2012) pp. 359-367; R.S. Zaharna, Amelia Arsenault, and Ali Fisher, eds., *Relational, Networked, and Collaborative Approaches to Public Diplomacy: The Connective Mindshift*, (Routledge, 2013); Cross and Melissen, eds., *European Public Diplomacy*; and Daryl Copeland, *Guerrilla Diplomacy: Rethinking International Relations*, (Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2009).

[22] National Intelligence Council, *Global Trends 2030: Alternative Worlds*, pp. 20-29, http://globaltrends2030.files.wordpress.com/2012/11/global-trends-2030-november2012.pdf. For a darker view of a "future that will increasingly be crowded, urban, coastal, connected – and dangerous," see David Kilcullen, *Out of the Mountains: The Coming Age of the Urban Guerrilla*, (Oxford University Press, 2013).

[23] A public diplomacy focus on emerging leaders and young people, especially girls, is a top priority for incoming US Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy Richard Stengel. See "Written Statement of Richard Stengel," Senate Foreign Relations Committee November 7, 2013, http://www.foreign.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Stengel.pdf.

Two things stand out in today's issues. First, most are interdependent. Global financial crises, Syrian refugees, organized crime in fragile states, and rising sea levels require collaboration and holistic solutions. Brian Hocking and his Clingendael colleagues frame these as "wicked issues," because "they are far less susceptible to rational policy processes of problem definition, analysis, and solution – often because there is no agreement on a definition or a solution that is politically viable.[24] Second, solutions are beyond the reach of single actors. As will be discussed in the whole of government section below, foreign ministries and their diplomats acting alone cannot manage the diplomacy these issues require.

Quantitative changes of great magnitude create conditions that could not have been anticipated when today's diplomatic structures and methods were established. Political leaders and diplomats confronting new realities must seek to transform mindsets, processes, and tools. Failure to do so does not mean transformation will not occur. It will. The challenge is to steer transformation to advantage in arenas of much greater complexity. Where multiple actors in and out of government contend in a relentless process of making choices with complicated cost/benefit tradeoffs. Where the politics of resource allocations are profoundly difficult – both between diplomacy and other instruments and within diplomacy's short, medium, and long-term time dimensions. Where small changes can have big consequences, and high impact surprises can suddenly alter strategies.

Public diplomacy remains a conceptual frame of choice for many, especially those with an institutional investment in the term. However, as a subset of diplomatic practice it is no longer adequate for the mind shifts and holistic approaches required by more diplomats, more people, and more issues.

DIGITAL TECHNOLOGIES, NEW MEDIA, AND NETWORKED ACTORS

It is unremarkable to say computing technologies, social media, and mobile phones empower new actors and create deeply connected patterns of communication. "The Information," James Glieck's phrase, is "the modern era's defining quality." Converging technologies enable "mass self-communication" – Manual Castells' description of multimodal communication that is "self generated in content, self-directed in emission, and self-selected in reception by many who communicate with many" through p2p networks and the Internet. For Clay Shirky, hybrids of new tools and community create new ways of sharing information and new strategies for collaborative and competitive collective action.[25] Optimists see greater freedom, positive and empowered discourse, and solutions to problems. Pessimists see cyber-utopianism, balkanized echo chambers of the like-minded, and threats to traditional roles and institutions. Technologies and social media are transforming learning, self-expression, identity, governance, and armed conflict. Inevitably they are driving profound changes in diplomacy.

Technologies in the 21st century will have at least as much impact as in the 19th century when electricity and the telegraph transformed connections previously limited to horse power and sailing ships. Four categories of th tury whe0l69 4BT9 0 0 9 36 145 Tm� Pe gr For 17 0 9 132.6465 171

Jared Cohen's cyber-utopia, "the Internet is a place where Iranian youth can . . . be anyone and say anything they want as they operate free from the grips of the police-state apparatus."[26] However, crucial factors in diplomacy remain political, economic, cultural, and historical. Elites, organizations, hierarchies, and contexts still matter. Root causes of the Arab revolutions in 2011were scarcity, official corruption, and social divides. Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's fall from power was due not just to Facebook, YouTube, and flash mobs, it was the work of labor unions, non-wired Egyptians seeing a disconnect between what was on state television and what their neighbors were doing in the streets, and the role of some state organizations, notably the Egyptian military.[27] New tools can *help* to build relationships and solve problems, but they did not bring the US and Iran to the bargaining table or enable Secretary of State Kerry to re-launch the Israel-Palestinian peace process. As US Ambassador Christopher R. Hill reminds, "tools alone cannot solve or build anything."[28]

Connections take place in multiple circles of concern. Because diplomats represent groups in changing circles of concern, their choices in using new tools are shaped by geographical, socio-psychological, and virtual contexts. Geographic proximity is important, Ethan Zuckerman argues, because potentially mobile flows of cheap bits are practically static. They are constrained by our interests and limited attention, language, a fondness for domestic news sources, and views of the world that are "local, incomplete, and inevitably biased."[29] Sociologists argue a basic organizing principle of groups is a preference for people of the same ethnicity, religion, education, and social class. "Most people tend toward narrowness of sympathy," Martha Nussbaum observes, which means they "are inclined to prefer a narrower group to a broader one" and "forget about the needs of those outside their inner circle."[30]

Tools, both old and new, thus are used in the constant diplomatic challenge of making hard choices about whom to hear and whom to ignore in online and offline worlds. What do diplomats owe to concerns of the groups they represent and to the concerns of others? Do the concerns of neighbors and strangers become relevant only when circles of concern overlap? Which virtual conversations have diplomatic relevance? And because technologies influence what we know and care about, how can diplomats best use new technologies to curate useful information and build bridges to diplomatic advantage?[31]

Comprehension of the properties and situational relevance of new tools comes first. Understanding the properties and situational relevance of new tools is difficult. As a team of scholars associated with the US Institute of Peace observes, "new media are powerful but have mixed effects" and traditional media can be "equally if not more important." We still know very little about new media, their causal influences, their differences, and how they relate to each other. Blogs differ from text messages, which are different from social networking sites.[32] In Matthew Wallin's similarly measured view, social media may be free to use, but their *effective use* is time and labor intensive and burdened with numerous challenges. Metrics are needed to evaluate reach and influence. For example, information in social media generally has a very short life. The link tracking organization "bit.ly" found in 2011 that "An internet half-life, defined as the time by which a link will receive half the total clicks of its existence is approximately 3 hours, while YouTube links tend to last for about 7." Extraordinary growth in mobile phone penetration worldwide does not show how many have online network access, how many are literate, and how many keep their phones charged. Quantitative analysis of Twitter followers and Facebook "likes" says little about impact and where users are located. Proxies and anonymity software often do not overcome government countermeasures. New tools work best as components of "real-world public diplomacy," and diplomats must combine requirements of accuracy and policy discipline with pressures to communicate rapidly, conversationally, and in a humanizing manner.[33]

Nevertheless, new technologies have many potential benefits. They enhance speed and reach, closing the interval between events and responses to them. In December 2013, four pro-government newspapers in Turkey displayed front page photos of the US Ambassador and

[27] Lisa Anderson, "Demystifying the Arab Spring," *Foreign Affairs,* May/June, 2011, pp. 2-7.

[28] Christopher R. Hill, "The Limits of Twitter Diplomacy," Project Syndicate, August 20, 2013, http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/why-diplomats-should-not-depend-on-social-media-by-christopher-r--hill.

[29] Zuckerman, *Rewire*, p 73.

[30] Martha C. Nussbaum, *Political Emotions: Why Love Matters for Justice,* (The Belknap Press, 2013), pp. 3 and 163.

[31] Zuckerman, *Rewire*, pp. 30, 167-205, and 249-272.

[32] See Sean Aday, Henry Farrell, Marc Lynch, John Sides, John Kelly, and Ethan Zuckerman, "Blogs and Bullets: New Media in Contentious Politics," Peaceworks, United States Institute of Peace, 2010. Their report was a foundation for "Blogs and Bullets II: New Media and Conflict after the Arab Spring," 2011 and "Blogs and Bullets III: Syria's Socially Mediated Civil War," 2014.

[33] Matthew Wallin, "The Challenges of the Internet and Social Media in Public Diplomacy," *Perspective*, American Security Project, February 2013, http://americansecurityproject.org/ASP%20Reports/Ref%200112%20-%20Challenges%20of%20the%20Internet%20and%20Social%20Media%20in%20PD.pdf.

[34] Tim Arango, "Turkish Premier Blames Foreign Envoys for Turmoil," *The New York Times,* December 22, 2013.

[35] In the growing literature on the benefits and challenges of new technologies for diplomacy, see Evan Ryan, Douglas Frantz, and Macon Philips, "Digital Diplomacy: Making Foreign Policy Less Foreign," US Department of State, February 18, 2014; Philip Seib, *Real-time Diplomacy: Politics and Power in the Social Media Era,* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Rachel Graaf Leslie, "Bahrain: Two Narratives in the Land of the Two Seas," Chapter 3, pp. 19-39; Michael H. Anderson, "The Story of @America," Chapter 5, pp. 54-79; and Aaron D, Snipe, "Iraq / U.S. Embassy Baghdad Social Media Outreach," Chapter 7, pp. 93-107, in William P. Kiehl, ed., *The Last Three Feet: Case Studies in Public Diplomacy,* (Public Diplomacy Council, 2012); Somini Sengupta, "New Diplomatic Avenue Emerges, in 140 Character Bursts," *The New York Times,* October 3, 2013; Tom Fletcher, "Our Man in Beirut Strips Down to 140 Characters," Chatham House Independent Thinking on International Affairs, December 2012, http://www.chathamhouse.org; and Craig Hayden, "Uncovering Logics of Technology in U.S. Public Diplomacy," CPD Blog, Center for Public Diplomacy, February 11, 2013, http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/index.php/newswire/ cpdblog_detail/ uncovering_logics_of_ technology_ in_us_public_diplomacy/.

suggested the US was behind a corruption investigation in Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan's inner circle. The Prime Minister in subsequent speeches threatened to expel foreign ambassadors for "provocative actions." The US Embassy responded immediately with messages on Twitter saying the US had no role in the corruption probe and that "All allegations in news stories are lies and slander." Coverage of the Embassy's tweets in traditional media extended their reach.[34]

New tools can provide instant access to customized information. They have potential to enable omni-directional communication by language qualified, media savvy diplomats on an equal footing with others. Diplomats on social media often are perceived to be listening and engaged. Occasionally, they frame debates and offer counter-narratives. They can connect with non-traditional audiences as demonstrated, for example, by US Ambassadors Robert Ford in Syria,

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[36] Brandon Alcorn, Gayle Christensen, and Ezekiel J. Emanuel, "Who Takes MOOCs? For Online Higher Education, the Devil May Be In the Data," *The New Republic,* December 30, 2013 and January 6, 2014, pp.12-13.

[37] Kelefa Sanneh, "Blockbuster: Who Needs Hits?" *The New Yorker,* December 2, 2013, pp. 70-74.

[38] "What is Strategic Communication and Why Does it Matter?" Report of the Defense Science Board Task Force on Strategic Communication, January 2008, pp. 10-17, http://www.acq.osd.mil/dsb/reports/ADA476331.pdf.

[39] A recent report by the State Department's Inspector General critical of the audience research and evaluation activities of State's Bureau of International Information Programs adds weight to this argument. See "Inspection of the Bureau of International Programs," Office of Inspector General, US Department of State and Broadcasting Board of Governors, ISP-I-13-28, May 2013, pp 13-15, http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/211193.pdf. For insights on using new tools for audience research and evaluation, see the Blogs and Bullets reports of the US Institute of Peace, http://www.usip.org/publications/blogs-bullets; Lina Khatib, William Dutton, and Michael Thelwall, "Public Diplomacy 2.0: A Case Study of the US Digital Outreach Team," *The Middle East Journal,* Vol. 66, No. 3, Summer 2012, 452-472: Erika A. Yepsen, *Practicing Successful Twitter Diplomacy: A Model and Case Study of U.S. Efforts in Venezuela,* CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy, USC Center on Public Diplomacy, Paper 6, 2012, http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/publications/perspectives/CPDPerspectivesTwitter.pdf; and Ali Fisher, *Mapping the Great Beyond: Identifying Meaningful Networks in Public Diplomacy,* USC Center on Public Diplomacy, CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy, Paper 2, 2010; http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/publications/perspectives/CPDPerspectives MappingNetworks.pdf.

[40] On the characteristics, potential, and challenges of big data, see Kenneth Cukier and Viktor Mayer-Schoenberger, "The Rise of Big Data: How It's Changing the Way We Think About the World," *Foreign Affairs,* May/June 2013, pp. 28-40.

[41] David Paull Nickles, *Under the Wire: How the Telegraph Changed Diplomacy* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), and Bruce Gregory, "American Public Diplomacy: Enduring Characteristics, Elusive Transformation," *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy,* 6 (2011), pp. 365-366.

Certain characteristics and challenges of these technologies are new, notably mass self-communication and the scale of quantitative and qualitative change. But Walter Lippmann's formative ideas in the 1920s about cognitive framing, stereotypes, mass media, and public opinion remain relevant.[42] What's "around" information still counts. A foreign minister's tweet with new details about diplomatic negotiations on a high profile issue will have more impact than a tweet from most professors. Humor, rhetorical skills, emotional content, and word choices matter on the Internet, just as they do on radio and television. The Internet and big data may trump industrial age technologies in volume and speed, but Lippmann understood the "paradox of plenty" well before Joseph Nye, channeling economist Herbert Simon, pointed out that a plenitude of information creates a poverty of attention.[43] Lippmann also knew a great deal about the challenges of finite knowledge and time, knowing whom to engage when, creating persuasive signals in white noise, and building political consent.

WHOLE OF GOVERNMENT DIPLOMACY

In July 2013, the Fifth Round of the annual US-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue culminated in two statements. The State Department summarized 91 outcomes in the strategic dialogue on issues ranging from biofuels to high-energy physics to agricultural projects to Iran's nuclear program. The Secretary of State led the strategic dialogue team. The Treasury Department in a separate statement summarized 64 outcomes in the economic dialogue on domestic and global growth, trade and investment, enhanced international rules and global economic governance, and financial market stability and reform. The Treasury Secretary led the economic dialogue team.[44] Both teams consisted of other cabinet secretaries, White House officials, sub-cabinet officials from numerous departments and agencies, and diplomats serving in each country. China participated with equivalent counterpart officials in all domains. A few weeks later the US and India also engaged in a strategic dialogue. Representatives of multiple government organizations in each country met on a comparable range of issues. The US participates in similar multi-actor dialogues with many other countries.

These dialogues, symptomatic of what diplomacy scholar Brian Hocking calls *national diplomatic systems,* reflect the complexity of international policy agendas and the need for close working relations among a broad range of "foreign" and "domestic" government departments in managing a state's external environment. The State Department and most other foreign ministries are "part of, but not coterminous with, this system," Hocking argues. They exist as subsets, one actor among many. National diplomatic systems are complex policy networks. They lack the "command and control" assumptions and hierarchical organizational structures of Cold War foreign affairs, and they are not grounded in the idea that one government department has a dominant role in managing diplomacy.[45]

Embassy structures anticipated what is happening at home. Some 60 US government agencies assign employees to more than 250 US missions worldwide. Ambassadors are CEOs in "an institutionalized, 'whole of government,' all-agency operation … each with its own mandate, culture, and place in executing US foreign policy goals."[46] This is reflected in diplomacy's public dimension. Annual reports of the Interagency Working Group on US Government Sponsored Exchanges and Training inventory activities and budgets of some 65 independent US departments and agencies. In 2011, annual US government spending was approximately $2.1 billion. Non-government contributions brought the total to nearly $3 billion.[47]

Several reasons account for the rise of national diplomatic systems. First, complex global issues create challenges beyond the capacities of traditional foreign affairs agencies. They create "issue linkages" and interdependent policy agendas that "cut across national governmental structures and designated roles and responsibilities" and also require collaboration with civil societies.[48]

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[42] Sue Curry Jansen, Walter Lippmann, *A Critical Introduction to Media and Communication Theory,* (Peter Lange Publishing, Inc., 2012).

[43] Nye, *The Future of Power*, pp. 103-104.

[44] "US-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue Outcomes of the Strategic Track," Office of the Spokesperson, US Department of State, July 12, 2013, http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2013/07/211861.htm; "Joint US-China Economic Track Fact Sheet of the Fifth Meeting of the US-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue," Press Center, US Department of the Treasury, July 12, 2013, http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/jl2010.aspx.

[45] Brian Hocking, "The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the National Diplomatic System," in Kerr and Wiseman, eds., *Diplomacy in a Globalizing World*, p. 126.

[46] *Forging a 21st Century Diplomatic Service for the United States Through Professional Education and Training,* Report of the Stimson Center and The American Academy of Diplomacy, February 2011, p. 21, http://www.afsa.org/Portals/0/forging_21st_century_diplomatic_service_full.pdf.

[47] Interagency Working Group on US Government Sponsored Exchanges and Training, *FY 2012 Annual Report,* pp. 2 and 21, http://www.iawg.gov/.

[48] Hocking et al., *Futures for Diplomacy,* p. 53.

Most "domestic" government departments now have international goals and priorities that contribute to managing their country's external environment and to internal governance.

Second, the growth of "regulatory diplomacy," Hocking's term, or what Anne-Marie Slaughter calls disaggregated transgovernmentalism at the sub-state level, is creating categories of actors who combine diplomatic and governance functions.[49] In banking, law enforcement, global health, civil aviation, Internet governance, and many other domains, specialists provide expertise, negotiate regulations, and monitor compliance, domestically and internationally, with little control or guidance from their national governments. They have common professional interests. They maintain networks and solve problems. They collaborate with non-state actors. They may represent state interests, but they wear their national identities lightly. Because it is not easy to know when they are agents representing principals at home and when they are creating rules and regulations, the line between diplomacy and governance is blurred.

Third, in the US, where practitioners use the term "whole of government diplomacy," counterterrorism, wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and changes in armed conflict provide additional warrant for looking at diplomacy through the lens of national diplomatic systems. As former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton put it to the US Special Forces Command, "We need Special Operations forces who are as comfortable drinking tea with tribal elders as raiding a terrorist compound. We also need diplomats and development experts who understand modern warfare and are up to the job of being your partners."[50]

As numerous civilian and military actors shape policy agendas and occupy diplomatic space, there are tensions and hard questions. Tensions occur because traditional diplomats, long accustomed to privileged roles in foreign affairs, now share responsibilities with a wide variety of government and non-state actors, and because foreign ministries are no longer gatekeepers with assured leadership in managing a country's external relations. Diplomatic actors in all branches of government and civil society respect the foreign ministry "for the contribution it makes to their agenda," Kishan Rana observes, "not for its notional primacy in foreign affairs."[51] These tensions do not constitute an existential challenge to diplomacy. "No one doubts the future of diplomats or diplomacy," but foreign ministries become more fragile when "domestic ministries contribute more to foreign policy, which itself becomes more domestic."[52]

Difficult questions flow from these developments. What new skills and strategies do diplomatic actors require, and how should they redefine their missions, roles, and methods when engaging and influencing publics at home and abroad? Two things are clear. First, diplomats and foreign ministries have many comparative advantages. They are more likely to succeed if they are open to transformational change and willing to develop and leverage their advantages. Second, public diplomacy cannot be viewed only as the work of a few bureaus and a separate career track, or "cone," in the Department of State. Diplomacy's public dimension is central in diplomacy that is now conceived holistically and as part of an interdependent national diplomatic system.

Looking at transformational change nearly a century ago, American philosopher John Dewey observed, "We have inherited, in short, local town-meeting practices and ideas. But we live and act and have our being in a continental national state."[53] We can imagine that today he might say, "we have inherited nation-state practices and ideas, but we live and act in a globalizing world."

INNOVATION AND TRANSFORMATION

Advisory panels, think tanks, and government oversight bodies in hundreds of reports have recommended ways to strengthen US public diplomacy for more than half a century. These reports came in cycles driven by external threats and domestic political pressures. Typically they focused on reorganizations, resources, and categories of practice such as field operations, international broadcasting, educational and cultural exchanges, democracy building, and relevant military communication activities – each with its competitive champions in Congress, civil society, and professional tribal cultures. Many reports have value, but their impact overall has been episodic and marginal.

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[49] Anne Marie Slaughter, *A New World Order,* (Princeton University Press, 2004) pp. 12-64. See also Kanishka Jayasuriya, "Breaking the 'Westphalian' Frame: Regulatory State, Fragmentation, and Diplomacy," Discussion Papers in Diplomacy, Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael,' No 90, January 2004.

[50] Quoted in Eric Schmitt, "Elite Military Forces Are Denied in Bid for Expansion," *The New York Times,* June 4, 2012.

[51] Rana, *21st Century Diplomacy: A Practitioner's Guide,* p. 16.

[52] Brian Hocking, Jan Melissen, Shaun Riordan, and Paul Sharp, "Wither Foreign Ministries in a Post-Western World?" Clingendael Policy Brief, No. 20, April 2013, p. 1.

[53] John Dewey, *The Public and Its Problems,* (Henry Holt and Company, 1927, Swallow Press edition, 1954), p. 113.

The intent here is to explore innovation and transformation in diplomacy's public dimension (Figure 1), rather than revisit public diplomacy as a subset of diplomacy. There are three categories: (1) diplomatic roles and risks, (2) comparative advantages of foreign ministries and embassies in whole of government diplomacy, and (3) planning and strategic direction. These are not detailed recommendations; they seek to stimulate study and debate.

FIGURE 1

DIPLOMACY'S PUBLIC DIMENSION

Legacy Concepts and Practice	21st Century Concepts and Practice
Clear boundaries between foreign and domestic, states and civil society	Permeable and non-existent boundaries, power diffusion
State-to-state diplomacy	Polycentric diplomacy—above, below, and beyond the state
Established rules and norms	Emerging rules and norms
Fewer diplomatic actors, fewer people, fewer issues	More diplomatic actors, more people, more issues
Industrial age technologies—print, radio, television—hierarchical, one-to-many	Digital age technologies—traditional & social media—networked, many-to-many
Less information, more attention	More information, less attention
Foreign ministries—gatekeepers, primary actors in foreign affairs	Whole of government diplomacy—foreign ministries as subsets, important but not primary
War on the battlefield—between state actors	Armed conflict among the people—between state and non-state actors
Public diplomacy—episodic and peripheral	Diplomacy's public dimension—enduring and central
Government to people public diplomacy	Many state, regional, sub-state, and civil society actors in diplomacy's public dimension
Persuade in "wars of ideas"—meta-narratives.	Understand, influence, engage, and collaborate in global public spheres—multiple narratives.
Single master strategies—hedgehogs	Changing strategic buffets—foxes
Get the message right	Understand what others perceive
Training and education—secondary	Training and education—essential

DIPLOMATIC ROLES AND RISKS

Few scholars and practitioners foresee replacing resident ambassadors, embassies, foreign ministries, or diplomacy's core tools and methods – negotiation, public rhetoric, mediated communication, convening and connecting, and collaborative action. However, there is a robust debate on diplomatic roles and risks in which four key questions are particularly relevant to diplomacy's public dimension. *(1) Entrepreneurial diplomats: a new specialty or the new normal? (2) What new skills and knowledge do diplomats need? (3) Should public diplomacy remain a functional specialization and separate career track? (4) How should risk and diplomacy's security / public access dilemma be managed?*

Entrepreneurial diplomats. Guerilla diplomacy. Expeditionary diplomacy. Boundary spanners. Catalytic diplomacy. Entrepreneurial diplomacy. Each term has framing strengths and limitations, but taken together they signify much common ground. They describe a new kind of diplomat. The entrepreneurial diplomat is more flexible, more innovative, more adept in using social media, and more comfortable in social networks. She is more practiced at connecting and mobilizing multiple government and non-government partners on a broad range of issues where boundaries and allegiances are constantly shifting. In addition to the longstanding willingness of diplomats to accept risks to their personal safety, the entrepreneurial diplomat is more willing to take political risks and engage in hotly contested issues at home and abroad. Canadian diplomat Daryl Copeland summarizes what is required: "autonomy, agility, acuity, and resilience; the ability to generate and use intelligence, personal and situational sensitivity; local knowledge, cultural awareness, and linguistic and communication skills; irregular representational capabilities and characteristics; an affinity for collaboration and teamwork; functionality in conflict situations; and a catalytic and transformational orientation."[54]

Those who view entrepreneurial diplomacy as an emerging specialty argue not all diplomats will have these new roles and skills. Differences or even "inherent contradictions" between "entrepreneurial diplomacy" and traditional "geopolitical diplomacy" lead some to suggest differentiated structures. Thus Clingendael's "integrative diplomacy" team distinguishes between "entrepreneurial diplomats" and "foreign service diplomats" each with its own functions and capabilities.[55] Others see "expeditionary diplomacy" as a specialization linked to the prevention and management of crises, stability operations, and surge capacity in armed conflict. This diplomat needs specialized training and skills: exceptional flexibility, adaptability, contextual intelligence, foreign language fluency, and superb social media capability. The expeditionary diplomat combines traditional negotiating skills and the ability to manage service providers. Former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Marc Grossman has urged the State Department to create "a new personnel specialty: the 'expeditionary diplomat' . . . a small but significant number of people to serve successfully in the hardest places at a moment's notice."[56]

Others see entrepreneurial diplomacy as the new normal. The State Department's first Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (QDDR) framed 21st century diplomacy as the combined force of civilians, not just Foreign Service officers, from across the US government "adapting together to fast-changing circumstances on the ground … as comfortable in work boots as wing tips."[57] State-based, closed-door diplomacy is still important, but advocates of a "new 'new' diplomacy"[58] see an increasing need for entrepreneurial diplomats working directly with populations and a host of government and non-government actors in diplomacy's public dimension.

This argument for a new normal is stronger for two reasons. First, adaptability, contextual intelligence, boundary spanning skills, language fluency, social media proficiency, and managerial competence have value as general requirements of diplomatic practice, not just in crises and conflict zones. Second, it is difficult to separate roles and skills of entrepreneurial diplomats from those required by all diplomats. Entrepreneurial diplomats need the specialized capabilities of so-called "foreign service diplomats" (negotiating and language skills; cultural, political, and historical knowledge; future modeling capabilities; and capacity to mount large scale multi-country influence campaigns). Similarly, "foreign service diplomats" need entrepreneurial capabilities (liaison with civil society actors, mastery of social media, event organization and network maintenance skills, independence of mind, capacity for dialogue and empathy, and a strategic vision for national diplomatic systems).[59] Separate categories of diplomatic practice seem to be inconsistent with the assumptions and themes of integrative diplomacy's advocates. The logic of boundary spanning is just as necessary in diplomacy's roles and capabilities as in the porous borders between foreign and domestic and "integrating different landscapes and actors of the diplomatic environment."[60]

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[54] Copeland, *Guerrilla Diplomacy*, pp. 205-232. See also Brian Hocking, "Catalytic Diplomacy: Beyond 'Newness' and 'Decline'" in Jan Melissen, ed., *Innovation in Diplomatic Practice* (Palgrave, 1999), 21-42; Kishan Rana, *The 21st Century Ambassador*, (Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 192-196; Hocking et al., *Futures for Diplomacy,* pp. 69-73; Marc Grossman, "Diplomacy Before and After Conflict," *Prism*, Vol. 1, No. 4, September 2012, 12, http://cco.dodlive.mil/files/2014/02/Prism_3-14_Grossman.pdf; and Anthony H. Cordesman, "The Death of Ambassador Chris Stevens, the Need for 'Expeditionary Diplomacy,' and the Real Lessons for U.S. Diplomacy," Commentary, Center for Strategic and International Studies, October 11, 2012, http://csis.org/publication/death-ambassador-chris-stevens-need-expeditionary-diplomacy-and-real-lessons-us-diplomac.

[55] Hocking et al., *Futures of Diplomacy*, pp. 69-73.

[56] Grossman, "Diplomacy Before and After Conflict," p. 12. For a thoughtful "credo" on today's diplomacy, which he grounds in "pluralism" and "optimistic realism," see Marc Grossman, "A Diplomat's Philosophy," *Joint Forces Quarterly,* Issue 62, 3rd Quarter 2011, http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jfq/jfq-62.pdf.

[57] *Leading Through Civilian Power*: The First Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review," US Department of State, 2010, 1-2, http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/153108.pdf.

[58] Arif Lalani, "The New 'New' Diplomacy: Open Diplomacy and Open Policy Development," in Janice Gross Stein, ed., *Diplomacy in the Digital Age*, (McClelland and Stewart, 2011), 236-250. See also Copeland, *Guerrilla Diplomacy,* pp. 161-184; Craig Hayden, *The Rhetoric of Soft Power*, (Lexington Books, 2012), 233-264; Philip Seib, *Real-Time Diplomacy: Politics and Power in The Social Media Era*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 105-122; and Paul Sharp, *Diplomatic Theory in International Relations*, (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 266-292.

[59] For separate lists of functions and capabilities for "entrepreneurial diplomats" and "foreign service diplomats," see Hocking et al., *Futures for Diplomacy,* pp. 71-72.

New skills and knowledge—*breadth* and *innovation*. The case for whole of government diplomacy turns on globalization and the increasing complexity of policy issues. The implications of these contextual factors are not new. The State Department long ago agreed that diplomacy's center of gravity on economic, financial, trade, commercial, agricultural, and development issues belonged to others in and out of government. There are good reasons the Treasury Secretary leads the annual economic dialogues with China and India. As policy domains multiply, however, more questions arise as to what diplomats can and should know. Individual diplomats cannot be equally expert on all transnational issues. Nor can they be experts on issues that may surprise and become unexpected high priorities tomorrow, next year, or in five years. Recruiting, training, and educating innovative diplomats with broad issue awareness can address these problems.

Breadth in this context does not mean uninformed. It means savvy and highly intelligent diplomats who are deeply knowledgeable in a few areas, but who have an abundance of broad, but not expert, knowledge and lateral skills in many others. This requires a capacity to find talent and expertise elsewhere in government and civil society. It calls for enough understanding of the "languages" of diverse policy issues and knowledge domains to connect experts in ways that are diplomatically productive. This "cross-category knowledge" requires going beyond what is familiar and beyond country or regional expertise. The burden of gaining such knowledge is not only on the diplomat. There are equally important challenges for subject matter experts: a willingness to discuss the policy implications of their knowledge and provide insights that are operationally useful – just enough, just right, just in time.

Innovation in this context means diplomats who can take imagination and creativity to a new level. Several years ago journalist Thomas L. Friedman and scholar Michael Mandelbaum put the same question to an employer of low skilled workers in India, an employer of highly skilled lawyers in Washington, DC, a US army general, and the CEO of a global corporation: "What are you looking for in an employee today?" All four wanted workers who could think critically, handle non-routine complex tasw6oQ(diplsu 1720bllablly impo18(e)6(ae4( )10(tlok cdipls3.9(a his conamshomas Blbaum (dw

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60 Hocking et al., *Futures for Diplomacy*, p 5.

61 Thomas L. Friedman and Michael Mandelbaum, *That Used to Be Us: How America Fell Behind in the World It Invented and How We Can Come Back,* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 20110, pp. 81-98.

62 *State Department Reform*, Report of an Independent Task Force Cosponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations and the Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2001, pp. 9 and 20. Retired Foreign Service Officer Frank Carlucci chaired the Task Force.

63 Richard Haass, "The Case for Messy Multilateralism," *Financial Times*, January 5, 2010.

diplomats and members of the US foreign policy establishment. More than a decade later, as the centrality of diplomacy's public dimension is even more evident, it is hard to justify a State Department personnel system that structures public diplomacy as a separate career track.

Categorizing State Department Foreign Service Officers into political, economic, and public diplomacy cones is not congruent with the "messy multilateralism" of diplomacy's external environment.[63] Nor does it reflect internal organizational realities where cross-cone assignments increasingly are the norm. Cones marginalize what should be central. They create inflexibilities in an organizational culture striving to be flexible, innovative, and adaptable. They perpetuate invidious comparisons. As a former Director General of the Foreign Service put it fifteen years ago, "I have become convinced that the existing cone system has outlived its usefulness. It is too rigid and creates a caste consciousness which is not only hurtful but counterproductive."[64]

What to do about cones is one manifestation of a debate between those who favor generalized diplomatic skills and those who support functional specialization. Critics of a holistic approach argue the expertise and experience required in public diplomacy calls for specialized training and personnel categories. True, not every diplomat can be equally adept at managing an exchange program, using social media in politically charged dialogue, advising political leaders and military commanders on public implications of policies and strategies, engaging journalists in a media briefing, or convening and connecting in cultural diplomacy. The goal is not a completely homogenous diplomatic service. But training for these and other activities, including priority for language training, will be essential whether or not diplomats are assigned to specialty career paths. The US is virtually the only diplomatic service that uses cones. Others deploy diplomats who see "external relationships as an integrated whole, where each specialized functional area serves also a larger interconnected purpose."[65]

Merging cones has long had its champions. Fifteen years ago a group of practitioners concluded that diplomats, foreign ministries, and embassy structures should focus more on issues than personnel categories. They called for a holistic career service with "officers who can serve as information interpreters and knowledge integrators, who are broadly knowledgeable about the politics, economics, and culture of the United States and about the region or country in which they serve."[66] Fast forward. As US Ambassador to Zimbabwe Bruce Wharton put it recently, "The next generation of successful PDOs will make PD programs such a natural and integral part of an embassy's exercise of smart power that we will stop thinking about public diplomacy as a separate diplomatic function."[67]

Manage risk and diplomacy's security / public access dilemma. The tragic deaths of US Ambassador Chris Stevens and three other Americans in Benghazi, Libya on September 11, 2012 had many consequences. The attack turned "Benghazi" into a presidential campaign issue and source of continuing partisan opportunism. It raised public awareness of risks diplomats take in dangerous places and accountability issues as to what went wrong and who was responsible. Although it did not prompt sufficient debate on risk management in the context of transformational currents in diplomatic practice, it framed anew important unresolved questions on fortress embassies and strategies in diplomacy's security / public access dilemma.

The roots of these questions can be found in the 1980s when kidnappings, hijackings, and bombings of the US Embassy and Marine barracks in Beirut led to intense Congressional pressure and the State Department's appointment of an Advisory Panel on Overseas Security chaired by Admiral Bobby R. Inman. The Inman Panel's report in 1985 launched the practice of relocating and "hardening" US embassies and consulates outside city centers to protect against car bombings and mob violence.[68] In response, the US Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy issued a report on the disadvantages for diplomatic practice. "The 'relocation-and-hardening' principle," the Commission argued, "runs directly against the 'accessibility-and-openness' principle of public diplomacy." Warning that new embassy security policies would undermine US public diplomacy, the Commission called for maximum flexibility in determining security standards for different countries, full recognition of differences in local threat levels, and the least possible isolation of US libraries, cultural centers, and other overseas public diplomacy facilities.[69]

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[64] Anthony C. E. Quainton, "The Foreign Service: Varied, Viable, and Vital," Remarks of a former Director General of the Foreign Service and Director of Personnel, American Foreign Service Association, Washington, DC, September 25, 1997, p. 5, author's copy.

[65] See Rana, *21st Century Diplomacy,* p. 254.

[66] Richard Burt, et al., *Reinventing Diplomacy in the Information Age*, p. 60. The more than 50 former practitioners and other experts who signed this report called for two categories of equally necessary professionals: a merged category of political, economic, and public diplomacy officers whose assignments would focus on particular countries and regions, and a second category of administrative and consular officers deployed worldwide.

[67] Bruce Wharton, "Successful Public Diplomacy Officers in the Future," in William P. Kiehl, ed., *The Last Three Feet: Case Studies in Public Diplomacy,* (Public Diplomacy Council, 2012), p. 121.

[68] "Report of the Secretary of State's Advisory Panel on Overseas Security," US Department of State, 1985, http://www.fas.org/irp/threat/inman/index.html.

[69] "Terrorism and Security: The Challenge for Public Diplomacy," Report of the United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, December 1985, author's copy.

Central issues then and now are more or less the same. A sharp divide exists between the risk tolerance of diplomats and the risk aversion of lawmakers and officials in Washington. As the US builds more fortresses, senior diplomats lament the consequences for diplomacy. There is "less willingness among our political leaders to accept risks," argues Ambassador Ronald Neumann, "and all that has driven us into the bunker." Ambassador Ryan Crocker recalls that before the Beirut bombings, there was always danger, but it was the cost of doing diplomacy. "Congress accepted it; the public accepted it. The top priority was getting the job done."[70] A second issue lies in identifying policies and practices that can achieve both manageable risk and diplomatic engagement. Many government studies, advisory panels, and Congressional hearings have addressed diplomatic security. Most stipulate a need for both protection and outreach. Very few offer practical suggestions on moving from risk avoidance to workable risk management grounded, as Secretary Hillary Clinton observed, in the recognition that "Our people cannot live in bunkers and do their jobs."[71]

Modern ambassadors increasingly are high profile diplomats who are skilled in social media and who give high priority to work outside embassies. "My whole purpose in going to Syria," US Ambassador to Syria Robert Ford explained in an interview in 2011, "is to be able to communicate not only with the Syrian Government but with the Syrian people more generally . . . we are looking for ways to reach out to the Syrian public through social media, through things like Facebook, and by going out and about the country."[72] Because diplomacy's public dimension requires a new breed of diplomat and a broader array of diplomatic actors, policies that focus disproportionately on hardening embassies or rest on nostrums about needing both security and outreach do not suffice.

A more granular approach is needed. Elements, some currently underway, include: a review of the role of Marines at embassies, study of when and how to use US military or other security support in high threat areas beyond that provided by host governments, assessment of the design of accountability review boards, moving from cookie-cutter embassy structures to architectural designs that are safe and summoning, resource levels sufficient for risk management not risk avoidance, and more contextualized senior level assessment of situational differences in threats, additional force protection in some cases, and smaller more flexible diplomatic teams in others.[73] These pragmatic steps are a better fit for responsible risk management than partisan scapegoating and zero risk approaches to structures and standards.

FOREIGN MINISTRIES AND DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS

Standard critiques of foreign ministries and diplomatic missions include the following: They resist change. They are under-resourced. They are too sclerotic and hierarchical. They are over-shadowed by other government actors, civilian and military, and often by non-state actors in knowledge, skills, and institutional capacity needed for diplomacy in complex regional and global contexts.[74] Yet critics often overlook their unique qualifications. As Clingendael's integrative diplomacy team suggests, "Rather than fight forlorn battles over lost territory, they should focus on the key functions essential to successful foreign policy in the 21st century."[75]

Understand and leverage advantages. Compared with most government organizations, a much higher percentage of employees in foreign ministries and missions are good at foreign languages. They have better foreign area and cross-cultural communication skills. They usually have higher levels of global awareness. They possess skills useful in negotiations, managing teams, and engaging in multi-lateral forums. Many are excellent writers and public speakers.

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[70] Quoted in Robert F. Worth, "Can American Diplomacy Ever Come Out of Its Bunker?" *The New York Times,* November 14, 2012. These statements by Ambassadors Neumann and Crocker are typical of many. The fortress embassy "isolates and imprisons." "Diplomats add very little value if they mimic military invaders, cower behind walls, are inaccessible to local people, and venture forth only in armed conveys." Broadcast emails from retired US diplomats Tex Harris and Chas Freeman, September 27, 2012, author's copies.

[71] Hillary Rodham Clinton, Remarks at a conference on "Democratic Transitions in the Maghreb," Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, DC, October 12, 2012, http://www.state.gov/secretary/20092013clinton/rm/2012/10/199102.htm.

[72] "Ambassador Robert Ford's Interview with Christiane Amanpour of ABC's This Week," US Department of State, August 4, 2011, http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2011/08/170033.htm.

[73] See Alex Tiersky, *Securing U.S. Diplomatic Facilities and Personnel Abroad: Background and Policy Issues,* Congressional Research Service, May 7, 2013; *Accountability Review Board for Benghazi Attack of September 2012*, US Department of State, December 19, 2012; John Norris, "How to Balance Safety and Openness for America's Diplomats," *The Atlantic*, November 4, 2011; and Jane C. Loeffler, "Beyond the Fortress Embassy," *The Foreign Service Journal*, December 2012, p. 21.

[74] See Jozef Batora, *Foreign Ministries and the Information Revolution: Going Virtual,* (Martinus Nijhoff Publshers, 2008); Copeland, *Guerrilla Diplomacy,* pp. 143-160; Thomas Hanson, "Traditions and Travails of Career Diplomacy in the United States," in Paul Sharp and Geoffrey Wiseman, eds., *American Diplomacy,* (Martinus Nijhoff Publshers, 2012), pp. 199-216); and Iver B. Neumann, *At Home with Diplomats: Inside a European Foreign Ministry* (Cornell University Press, 2012).

[75] Hocking et al., "Whither Foreign Ministries;" p. 5.

They are practiced in policy analysis and advice. Consular functions are critically important in a world where more citizens travel. Ambassadors and accomplished diplomats have standing and symbolic value. Their profession puts a premium on distance between personal and professional differences. Importantly, they have institutional memory.

These are significant advantages when, for example, more than a dozen US departments and agencies, from Defense to the Environmental Protection Agency to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration collaborate to frame public argument at a UN climate change conference. These advantages matter when development agencies, US broadcasters, foreign government ministries, indigenous media, and NGOs meet to deal with health issues or scarce water in Africa. To know what happened in diplomacy on US-Japan energy issues when Japan's Shinzo Abe was Prime Minister in 2006, following his return to power in 2012, the Department of State may be a better bet than the Department of Energy. Trying to do what others do better should not be the goal. Rather foreign ministries and diplomatic missions should leverage their strengths in ways that help *other actors* succeed and that are mutually advantageous.

Privilege research and a culture of shared knowledge. To make diplomacy smarter and better, research and collaboration within national diplomatic systems and with civil society must be taken to a new level. The defense community has long understood that science boards and advanced projects research agencies can provide cutting edge knowledge about technologies that are useful to practitioners. The intelligence community's Open Source Center values "master narratives" – historically grounded stories that portray a group's experiences, identities, concerns, and aspirations. These can provide situational awareness and enable diplomats to identify key influencers, anticipate and respond to events, check assumptions, surface tacit knowledge, mobilize allies, and communicate more effectively. Corporations and politicians, well aware that research is essential in knowing what consumers will buy and voters will decide, invest their time and resources accordingly.

Diplomats understand in principle the importance of research and analysis of foreign cultures, public opinion, mediated environments, and complex global issues. Increasingly they know that what's on offer in universities, laboratories, corporations, and global NGOs can strengthen diplomatic practice. But this does not translate easily into higher resource priorities within embassies and foreign ministries. Some, especially those in leadership positions, may feel threatened by advice from "outside" or fear losing operational resources. There also is insufficient understanding that this knowledge is essential if they are to play effective steering and sharing roles in national diplomatic systems.

Thoughtful voices have recommended ways to increase and share research and knowledge.[76] Their proposals differ in detail, but they reflect a consensus that bridging significant gaps between capacity and relevant knowledge is essential. Some would create a government-funded independent non-profit and non-partisan entity. It would provide services and contract with academic, commercial, and non-government organizations as a central clearinghouse for expertise and professional resources. Others would strengthen existing research and analysis activities within government. Some, for example, would create a State Department analog to the Defense Department's Advance Research Projects Agency (DARPA), an autonomous "skunk works" unhampered by bureaucracy to work on advanced technology projects relevant to diplomacy. One promising initiative is the US Advisory Commission Public Diplomacy's 2014 plan to produce white papers and convene forums "in partnership with practitioners and researchers throughout the country" that will address issues related to three themes: (1) public diplomacy research methods, (2) public diplomacy in high threat environments, and (3) the future public diplomat.[77]

Supplement training with mandatory professional education. Conventional wisdom once held that an Ivy League education, passing Foreign Service entrance exams, language training, and occasional area studies were pretty much all one needed to succeed in a diplomatic career.

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[76] Kristin M. Lord, *Voices of America: U.S. Public Diplomacy for the 21st Century,* The Brookings Institution, November 2008, pp. 17-30, http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/research/files/reports/2008/11/public%20diplomacy%20lord/11_public_diplomacy_lord.pdf; Defense Science Board Task Force Report on Strategic Communication (2008), pp. 88-95, http://www.acq.osd.mil/dsb/reports/ADA476331.pdf; and *Finding America's Voice: A Strategy for Reinvigorating America's Public Diplomacy,* Council on Foreign Relations Independent Task Force on Public Diplomacy, 2003, http://www.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/public_diplomacy.pdf.

[77] See Katherine Brown, "US Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy 2014 Plan," Minutes and Transcript for December 2013 Meeting, Washington, DC, December 2, 2013, http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/ 219024.pdf.

[78] The occasional exception stands in stark contrast. In the late 1920s, the State Department paid for two years of "tuition, textbooks, and living expenses" in Germany for George Kennan and others as junior Foreign Service Officers to study Russian language, literature, and history. They were to achieve an "education similar to that which an educated Russian of the prerevolutionary era would have received." See John Lewis Gaddis, *George F. Kennan: An American Life,* (The Penguin Press, 2011), p. 55.

Thus equipped, smart officers – "male, pale, and Yale" as the quip had it – could manage whatever change came their way.[78] The State Department gave low priority to training, and scant attention to professional education. The US Information Agency (USIA) cared more about training and invested in education opportunities at civilian and military universities. USIA also understood the importance of mentoring young officers through multiple short apprenticeship assignments, known as junior officer training (JOT) programs, during a first year in an embassy or consulate. In recent years, the Department has given higher priority to formal practical training. But training and education are different. Unlike the military, which has long valued education in both its service colleges and civilian universities as a requirement for officer level advancement, State has yet to make a significant commitment to education.[79]

The case for professional education rests on rapid change, new issues, and greater complexity in diplomacy's environment. It broadens strategic thinking and analytic capacity through exposure to new knowledge domains and other categories of professional practice. Education helps diplomats understand and apply what's "around" diplomacy. It is no substitute for mastering skills through formal training. Training, mentoring, and experience are essential to how to "do" diplomacy. Advocates of professional military education understand the difference. "We train for certainty, we educate for uncertainty."[80]

Education linked to professional development can occur through assignments to civilian and military universities[81] and long-term details to civil society and corporate organizations. Although experience can be a great teacher, formal education and training require distance from operational pressures. The chance to recharge psychological batteries is an added benefit. Despite growing support for professional education, resistance flows from insufficient resources (a sure sign of low priority) and an organizational culture that rewards operations. Mandating long-term education linked to the professional development of all mid-career officers cannot be done overnight. But thoughtful proposals for "a cascade or stair-step approach" to this goal should be tried.[82] Education and training are not just nice to have. Without them diplomats will not succeed in an uncertain world changing at dizzying speed.

Create a diplomacy reserve. Predictions of future scenarios and projections of current trends are risky. Building diplomatic capacity for what is known and expected can prove inadequate for what is unknown and unexpected. Strategies that seemed appropriate before the invention of the World Wide Web in 1992 and on September 10, 2001 made far less sense in 1993 and on September 11, 2001. One solution is to build redundant capacities for multiple possibilities (much as the military tries to do). But surprise and rapid change make this strategy unrealistic, and diplomacy's resource constraints make it too expensive. A better approach is to seriously reconsider the concept of a diplomatic reserve.

In theory there are two kinds of diplomatic reserve. The first, analogous to military reserves, is a diplomatic reserve corps that could be activated when needed. It would consist of former diplomats, qualified government civilian and military professionals, and civil society experts. It could be deployed in response to natural disasters and other emergencies. Its surge capacity would enable timely diplomatic responses to a broad range of events and opportunities not anticipated in normal planning and appropriation cycles. Consider, for example, such so-called "Black Swans" as the Arab revolutions of 2011, the attacks of 9/11, and the end of the Cold War. The State Department's Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations has examined Swiss and Canadian models and is developing a civilian response corps to surge "the right people to the right place at the right time."[83] It is still early going, and the initiative focuses on crisis and conflict situations. A diplomacy reserve for a broader range of contingencies is needed.

The second kind of diplomatic reserve consists of active duty diplomats and other government professionals dispersed throughout existing networks who can be gathered when needed. The British Foreign and Commonwealth Office has a skills database for Foreign Service Officers in the

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[79] *Forging a 21st Century Diplomatic Service for the United States*, pp. 30-31. This report provides a thoughtful discussion of factors that "reward operational work over education and training," reasons for change in the State Department's culture, and the need for mandatory training and more long-term education including a "mandated year of study for all mid-level FSOs preparing for senior ranks."

[80] Volney J. Warner and James H. Wilbanks, "Preparing Field Grade Officers for Today and Tomorrow," *Military Review,* January/February, 2006, pp. 104-111. Quoted in *Forging a 21st Century Diplomatic Service for the United States,* p. 41.

[81] The intent of mid-career education is not to turn diplomats into academics. It is to make them better diplomats. Scholarship and diplomatic practice are fundamentally different. Scholars can choose what they study and take time for research. They have the advantages of hindsight, greater freedom to imagine, and few if any political consequences if they get something wrong. Practitioners deal with problems that usually are imposed. They make often risky choices about the future under demanding time pressures with incomplete information. Their decisions often cannot be undone. At the same time, there are mutual benefits for both. Diplomats learn what can make them better practitioners, and there are countless examples in which universities and civil society organizations benefit from the experiences of diplomats. Bruce Gregory, "Public Diplomacy Scholars and Practitioners: Thoughts For An Ongoing Conversation," *Exchange*, Fall 2010, 6-10, http://www.exchangediplomacy.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/10/greggory.pdf.

[82] *Forging a 21st Century Diplomatic Service for the United States*, pp. 49-50.

[83] "Video: An Introduction to the Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations," Interview with Assistant Secretary of State Rick Barton, US Department of State, February 8, 2013, http://www.state.gov/j/cso/releases/other/2013/204020.htm.

State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs. This approach has the advantage of refining meta-narratives into more manageable categories of analysis and activity. But it does little to help practitioners set priorities and make choices. The adage "to govern is to choose" applies also to diplomacy. Third, given disincentives for systemic tradeoffs in the American political system, lawmakers, executive branch leaders, and ambassadors rarely make "more of this, less of that" budget decisions within diplomacy and between diplomacy and other instruments of power. For example, increases or decreases usually occur within rather than between the State and Defense Departments and within rather than between exchange programs, international broadcasting, and field operations. Decisions are based on existing and anticipated resource levels rather than crosscutting assessments of which instruments are best suited to achieve desired results in a particular country or region.

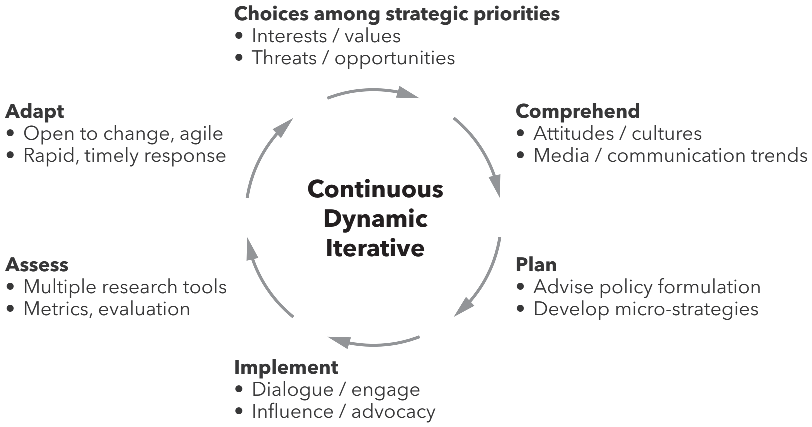
The limits of strategy as reasoned human endeavor creates other difficulties. Lawrence Freedman in his magisterial *Strategy: A History* makes two relevant points. (1) Because strategies are not devised and implemented in controlled environments, they are limited by chance, unexpected contingencies, and what others do. The longer the time horizon, the greater the number of actors, and the more complex the environment, the more likely something will go wrong. If a strategy is only a fixed plan that seeks to set a reliable path to a predictable goal, it likely will be counterproductive given uncertainty and changing circumstances. In contested environments, diplomacy's natural domain, plans concede advantage to others with greater flexibility. (2) Nevertheless, Freedman argues, strategies that include flexibility and imagination have value: "Without some prior deliberation, it might be even harder to cope with the unexpected, pick up the cues of a changing situation, challenge set assumptions, or consider the implications of uncharacteristic behavior." Strategies that merely reflect long-term thinking or a broad orientation to the environment are not very helpful. Strategies should involve real choices about moving realistically to the "next stage" rather than some end state. "Plans are worthless," he quotes President Dwight Eisenhower as saying, "planning is everything."[86] Or, as the Defense Science Board observed, communication strategies should be "continuous, dynamic, and iterative."

What are the implications of this logic for 21st century diplomacy? Here briefly are six considerations for strategic planning in diplomacy's public dimension. They apply both to diplomats on the move and to their ministries and national diplomatic systems.

Create micro-strategies. Strategies should be a habitual way of thinking and acting by all diplomatic actors on a broad range of issues. They should not be confined to short lists of goals and tools in a strategic framework generated by small staffs attached to the office of a Secretary, an Under Secretary, or an ambassador. Both at home and abroad, strategies should be about a continuous process centered in priority choices on a wide variety of issues, deep comprehension of the environment, advice to principals, implementation through selected tools of advocacy and engagement, evaluation of results, and imaginative adjustment to outcomes and situational change (Figure 2). Micro-strategies go beyond a handful of important agendas such as combating violent extremism, empowering women and girls, and promoting economic opportunity. They are ways of thinking and processes that further diplomatic activity on issues ranging from Syrian refugees in Jordan, the next climate change conference, faster US visa process in China, food security in Nigeria, agricultural issues in Europe to a typhoon in the Philippines.

[86] Lawrence Freedman, *Strategy: A History,* (Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 607-615.

FIGURE 2 Strategic Planning in Diplomacy's Public Dimension



Choices among strategic priorities
• Interests / values
• Threats / opportunities
Comprehend
• Attitudes / cultures
• Media / communication trends
Plan
• Advise policy formulation
• Develop micro-strategies
Implement
• Dialogue / engage
• Influence / advocacy
Assess
• Multiple research tools
• Metrics, evaluation
Adapt
• Open to change, agile
• Rapid, timely response
Continuous
Dynamic
Iterative

Figure 2. Adapted from *Defense Science Board Task Force Report on Strategic Communication* (2008), p. 12.

Say no. Strategic planning means prioritizing ruthlessly and saying no. USIA Foreign Service Officer Alan Carter once argued "the process of communication differs substantially from communication activities." Because diplomats can do just so many things well, "less is more." When diplomats string together many "different programs on different subjects for different audiences, on a sporadic and hyperactive basis," he argued, "you have nothing more than a helluva' lot of activity. But where an issue of consequence is discussed with an audience of consequence on a continuing basis (continuing does not mean daily; but it does mean occasionally) you have described process. Activity requires a lot of energy but not too much thought. Process requires a lot of thought."[87] Or as scholar/diplomat Susan Shirk put it recently, diplomats can spend their time "doing a little bit of this, a little bit of that, and not end up with much."[88] Saying no also means avoiding "drop in the bucket activities" that may be easier or fit more comfortably with a diplomat's self-identity.

Seek and reward practical wisdom. The great British political theorist Isaiah Berlin, who also served as a cultural diplomat in Washington during World War II, wrote about practical wisdom as a form of political intellitical wisdI6plo responsibilities, influence key personnel decisions, and transfer funds in response to unexpected contingencies.

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[87] Alan Carter, "Viewpoint: Reflections and Episodes" *USICA World,* March 1979; explanatory note to the author, April 11, 1979, author's copies.

[88] Quoted in William Wan, "Gary Locke's By-the Numbers Tour as Ambassador to China is Nearing an End," *The Washington Post*, January 20, 2014.

[89] Isaiah Berlin, "On Political Judgment," *The New York Review of Books*, October 3, 1996, pp. 1-8.

[90] Quoted in Freedman, *Strategy: A History, p*. 613.

[91] See R.S. Zaharna, Ali Fisher, and Ameila Arsenault, eds., *Relational, Networked, and Collaborative Approaches to Public Diplomacy: The Connective Mindshift,* (Taylor & Francis, 2013) and Steven R. Corman, Angela Tretheway, and H. L. Goodall, Jr., *A New Communication Model for the 21st Century: From Simplistic Influence to Pragmatic Complexity,* Report #0701, Consortium for Strategic Communication, Arizona State University, April 3, 2007, http://csc.asu.edu/wp-content/uploads/pdf/114.pdf.

[92] For a discussion of "strategic direction" see *Defense Science Board Task Force Report on Strategic Communication* (2008), pp. 94-95 and "Presidential and NSC Direction," *Report of the Defense Science Board Task Force on Strategic Communication*, (2004), pp. 62-65, http://www.fas.org/irp/agency/dod/dsb/commun.pdf.

For a host of structural reasons, foreign ministries are unable to provide sustained strategic direction in whole of government diplomacy. And centralized strategic direction is handicapped in the US by narrow focus on presidential agendas and rhetoric, partisan politics, inattention by

ITS RISE
AND
"DEMISE"

THE PARADOX OF US PUBLIC DIPLOMACY: ITS RISE AND "DEMISE"

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