LANGUAGE AND DIPLOMACY: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN DIPLOMACY.

BY

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DECLARATION

This dissertation is my original work and has not been submitted for a degree to any other University.

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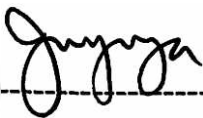   IRENE A. AGUM   DATE:

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DEDICATION

FOR

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'...and the bird flies, but, to a different direction.'

Abstract.

The interest into the 'mysteries and myths' of diplomacy are the roots on which this study has developed. The interests into this area of study were necessitated by the different interpretations of the concept that later developed as a search for theory. Though not a new area, the study of diplomacy has revealed a network of inter-relationships between the disciplines of international relations.

The study attempts to examine the meaning of the concept of diplomacy from an historical perspective. It traces the similarities defined by the related disciplines of international relations. The study attempts to make both a descriptive and theoretical analysis of what diplomacy is about. It is envisaged that at the end of this study a concise definition to diplomacy will be possible which will provide also a basis for the establishment of a theory to diplomacy, one that can be separated from diplomatic practice but within the context of other disciplines within international relations.

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CHAPTER ONE: THE DISCOURSE OF DIPLOMACY

1.1   INTRODUCTION

This study takes cognisance of the diverse nature of diplomacy in terms of the different schools of thought that seek to give meaning to it. Language is used to give meaning and interpret the different aspects of diplomacy in terms of the various paradigms that are associated with it. The concern for epistemology is with how the world is known to people and on how it can be known. It deals with the facts of man's knowledge and how that knowledge is acquired. The concern for epistemology in this study confines itself to the knowledge of diplomacy and inter-related discourses that attempt to interpret and give meaning to it.

The analysis of language and diplomacy is two-fold. Firstly, there is need to understand how diplomacy interacts with other disciplines in the analysis of international relations. The take-off point for this is the assumption that diplomacy is a branch of the other disciplines as opposed to what this study intends to put forth, that diplomacy is the root for the other disciplines in explaining international relations.

Secondly, the study adapts a pluralist approach of analysis. Diplomacy is presented here as an independent research programme. The argument is that the epistemological concern of diplomacy is multiple in nature due to its interconnectedness with other disciplines. This pluralistic approach argues that every theory is fundamental in understanding the conduct of diplomacy. Rather than examining diplomacy from one perspective, there is need for diverse perspectives that in turn advance the course of diplomacy by putting forth different meanings to it.

The nature of a research programme is that it encompasses all theories grouped together either as being degenerative or progressive, in an attempt to establish a solution to a problem. Diplomacy in this study is advanced as being a progressive research programme. Hence, the scope of this study is to be both multi-theoretical and multi-disciplinary. This means that diplomacy does not limit itself to the scope of one discipline but extends to several. It is necessary therefore to understand the multi-faceted nature of diplomacy that is apparently at the centre of competing paradigms and at the centre of and international relations.

Wittgenstein[1] states, "Whatever we see could be other than it is. Whatever we can describe at all could be other than it is. There is no a prior order of things." Russell[2] affirms this by arguing, "language was given us to enable us to conceal our thoughts." Indeed this was to contribute to the debate on the meaning of diplomacy. Within international relations, the term diplomacy is a noun, verb and adverb thereby presenting difficulties of definition. Many approaches have been advanced to explain the meaning of diplomacy both as a practice and a discipline. These approaches are contained within the different disciplines of international relations in terms of their perspectives of diplomacy.

This study argues that the establishment of a theory of diplomacy that is de-linked from all other theories of international relations is an important avenue to finding meaning to the concept of diplomacy. In this regard the recognition of the role of the theories of international relations explaining diplomatic practice have been instrumental

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[1] L. Wittgenstein. 'The Limits of My Language Mean The Limits of My World,' in Mary Douglas (ed.), *Rules and Meanings: Anthropology of Everyday Knowledge* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1973).
[2] Bertrand Russell, *An Inquiry Into Meaning and Truth* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 24.

in regarding diplomacy as an autonomous discipline rather than a sub-discipline.[3] While

recognising that the concept of diplomacy has been defined in terms of the different

theoretical premises within international relations, it examines the possibility of

developing a theoretical framework that defines diplomacy as the base discipline of

international relations.

1.2 THE PROBLEM

The different perspectives of diplomacy have been as a result of the multiple

meanings ascribed to it. This means that the concept of diplomacy is presented according

to the various perspectives of other disciplines illustrating the diversity associated with it

and hence contribute to it as rich and complex in nature.[4]

The concept of a discipline indicates that for any to qualify as one, it must have

theories that explain its operations and literature. The main problem however lies in the

fact that diplomacy has not been thought of as a fundamental discipline that can create

the link between the discourses. While much has been done on the analysis of diplomacy

and individual disciplines, there is little that argues for a singular approach to the study of

diplomacy. The analogue of conflict analysis illustrates that a similar approach can be

used to study diplomacy.[5] Conflict like diplomacy is multi-faceted and multi-disciplinary

while it has its theories de-linked from others.

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[3] M. Light and A. J. R. Groom (eds.). *International Relations: A Handbook of Current Theory* (London: Pinter, 1985), p. 35.

[4] The richness and diversity of diplomacy has been well outlined by different authors. See for example, R. P. Barston, *Modern Diplomacy* (London: Routledge, 1991); Berridge G. R., *Diplomacy, Theory and Practice* (London: Prentice-Hall 1995); Hamilton Keith and Richard Langhorne, *The Practice of Diplomacy* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995); Larsen Henrik, *Foreign Policy and Discourse Analysis* (London: Routledge, 1997).

[5] The conflict management process is concerned with the resolution of conflict and as such looks at all the different angles that could be used in the resolution process. Conflict management argues that all perspectives are equally important and none ought to be left out. The concern for resolution means that once all these perspectives are argued out, then the chances of the conflict recurring are minimal

The different definitions to diplomacy illustrates that diplomacy derives one of its meaning from the activities of states. Another category of meaning associates the term with the person fulfilling the responsibilities of the activities of states. This is essentially a tautological definition that links practice to the practitioner, as would be medicine to a doctor, art to an artist. The main problem that has been identified with tautological definitions is that they do not outline the precise nature or essence of the activity being carried out but are exact in associating an activity with a practitioner. Evidently, diplomacy has been elusive to a particular definition.

As the official medium of sovereign representation, diplomacy is regarded as subjective and based upon our view of the world through our experiences. It is these experiences that are regarded as 'reality.'

A major feature that has continued to characterise negotiations the world-over has been the meanings and interpretations of concepts used. These have led to disagreements, stalled negotiations, 'collapsed' talks and ultimately the outbreak of conflict. Bodmer[6] aptly puts it that linguistic differences are a "perceptual source of international misunderstanding and a well nigh inexhaustible supply of inflammable material that war mongers can use for their own evil ends." He reiterates that some knowledge about the languages of discourse is a prerequisite for keeping the world at peace.[7]

Linguistic differences are different interpretations or meanings of words, actions and events. These differences are the subjective realities of persons or disciplines. To

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[6] Frederick Bodmer, *The Loom of Language*, 8th ed. (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1968), pp. 16-17.
[7] Emmanuel Kisiangani makes a very good analysis of the 1991 Gulf War based on the rhetoric of the priniciple leaders, George W. Bush and Saddaam Hussein of the United States of America and Iraq respectively. He argues and rightly so that these two leaders went beyond the usual diplomatic practice associated with caution and prudence to exercise egoistic leadership thereby turning the conflict into a battleground and pitting the international community into two different camps.

give these realities meaning it becomes imperative to understand the individual's way of thinking that acts as a guide for adopting or viewing a particular reality. After such an analysis is done, the theorist then examines the different realities, perspectives or views held seeking out the similarities and differences of the disciplines. It is these similarities and differences that contribute to the effective translations, interpretations and shared understandings for discourse analysis.

The problem associated with labelling or naming gives room to another theory that argues that meaning is a reflection of thought. The concern for this is that an individual makes reference to a word in relation to certain things,[*] that is, the meaning of a word is associated with a type of relation. It makes reference to an identity or equivalent of something.

The name "dog" refers to a four-legged barking and vicious animal. It can be used as an insult in reference to the vicious nature of the animal. It could also refer to the protective nature of a person towards something especially in terms of loyalty. A "cat" is a furry animal whose reference is that of cuddly and also of spite. Junk refers to things that are of little or no value at all and it also refers to an old-fashioned Chinese flat shipping vessel that is regarded of importance to the Chinese.

Words are what we say they are does bring in another theory to meaning that relates words to their usage or context. It is this perspective that has in many instances contributed to talking past and also to each other. Accordingly, the context in which a word is used contributes significantly to its meaning. Different disciplines have different meanings as to what diplomacy is all about hence there remains a competition as to

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[*] For an examination of this theory of meaning, see C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), pp. 187-188.

which particular meaning is precise. In many ways this argument forms the basis for this study in seeking meaning to diplomacy.

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The broad objective of the study is to examine the extent to which the different interpretations of diplomacy have contributed to the neglect of the study of diplomacy resulting in the debate as to where to place it as a sub-discipline or a discipline.

The specific objectives of the study are:

1   To identify the different interpretations to diplomacy with a view of presenting the different concept to the term diplomacy.

2   To illustrate the importance of interpretations of language of discourse for the meaning of diplomacy and its effect on international relations.

3   To illustrate the significance of discourse analysis in understanding the study and conduct of diplomacy.

1.4 HYPOTHESES

To achieve the objectives of this study, the following hypotheses shall be tested:

i.   Theory guides discourse of diplomacy as a discipline.

ii.   Theoretical anarchy inhibits the promotion of international peace and justice.

1. 5 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

The practitioners of diplomacy have for long been unable to define precisely the concept of diplomacy. In most instances the definitions that have been offered relate to the job description of what they understand their jobs to entail. Indeed many of the diplomats especially the category of ambassadors have been trained in diverse areas

ranging from economics, business studies, history and other disciplines. The end result has been the interpretations of issues from a practical aspect or the studied theoretical perspectives. This has not facilitated the understanding of the concept of diplomacy since its concerns have been inter-related with those of other disciplines. The discourse of diplomacy has best been understood from a multi-paradigmatic perspective that has linked diplomatic practice to other theoretical perspectives. A concern for this study is the development of a diplomatic theory that explains diplomatic practice yet de-linked from other theories.

This study recognises the importance of establishing meaning to the concept of diplomacy and the recognition or affirmation of the existence of diplomacy as a base discipline for international relations. The formulation of a particular theory or the search for that existing theory to diplomacy attempts to give a precise meaning by de-linking all other theories that are ascribed to it as these others attempt to explain or justify diplomatic practice or state practice on international affairs. The need to de-link theory from practice is imperative to establish what and where is meaning in diplomacy.

Attempts have been made in the past to give meaning to diplomacy by tracing the development of diplomatic practice and institution from the time it was thought to have emerged.[9] It is from this genealogy[10] that a "pure theory" of diplomacy is thought possible to derive. Meaning to diplomacy has been interpreted in such a way as to categorise diplomacy as a sub-discipline rather than an autonomous discipline. However,

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[9] See James Der Derian, *On Diplomacy* (London: Blackwell, 1976): Costas Constantinou M., *On The Way to Diplomacy* (London: University of Minnesota Press, 1996). See also Garnett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (London: Penguin Books, 1955): Charles E. Thayer, *Diplomat* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1959). All these among other writers have traced the beginning of diplomatic practice to the relationships between states and divine beings.
[10] Borrowing the term from Der Derian.

the question that abounds is whether diplomacy will eventually have a particular meaning that is acceptable to the disciplines of international relations.

According to Wittgenstein[11] the connotation to private languages is 'to appear to understand.' It is an indication of the possibility of there being several meanings.[12] Language in general takes into account the fact that meanings are diverse, and as such, appropriate theories have to be sought. Within disciplines it is necessary to be familiar with the theories or 'languages' they speak, for it is these that make or feed the discipline. However, it is not only the theories that one must take cognisance of, but also know how one is able to relate and apply the knowledge acquired to other disciplines. For instance, it is possible for a physicist to find it difficult to understand what a theorist on international relations may be analysing. The same will happen to a theorist of international relations who finds himself in a forum of physicists. Note that the language may be similar, that of English, French, Latin, but the actual meaning in terms of discourse be clearly different and 'strange' for each other.

The languages of both theorists use similar terms but when translated to one of the other, there is bound to be complete misunderstanding. However, should both parties understand both discourses, then communication can be said to take place smoothly. A concept such as power has different meanings. It could be military capability or the rights of people. Mathematically, it is the result obtained from multiplying numbers or quantities by themselves such as 3 by 3 equals 9. It is also the unit for measuring the power of an engine, such as 1200 cubic centimetres. Indeed not unless both theorists define the parameters of their usage, then meanings differ and misunderstanding or

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[11] Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1968), paragraph 269.
[12] Ibid. paragraph 194.

conflict in meaning takes place. It is therefore right to argue that the context has a crucial role to play in determining the meaning and interpretation of a word, term or phrase.

By understanding concepts used within a particular discipline, one is able to understand the various interpretations of a concept in relation to other disciplines and also of its applicability. It is from this knowledge of the possibility that a concept has different meanings that it becomes imperative to define the exact parameters that the concept is used. This allows disciplines to be on a similar level of communication and for discourse to take place.

The major similarity existing between language *per se* and diplomacy relates to the interconnected relationship of the concepts of communication and unification. Ideally the interpretation of language or discourse is grounded on the premise that it is fundamental to the unity of a people. In this context, one who is not knowledgeable about a particular 'language' finds it difficult to associate with members of the community, regarding it as strange and may want to acquire some knowledge of it. However this may not always be the case. Larsen[13] observes that the opaqueness of language makes it impossible to penetrate and find out whether there is anything hidden, he also asserts that it is from this perspective that meaning is said to be dependent on language.

This study argues that the constituents of each discipline contribute to a certain version of the 'truth' about international relations and of diplomacy. Each discipline is subjective and this calls for translation of discourses to outline the similarities of truth to the meaning of diplomacy within international relations. The underlying assumption of language of discourse is the link to communication that mediates between anarchy and stability on the international system.

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[13] Henrik Larsen. *Foreign Policy and Discourse Analysis* (London: Routledge, 1997)), p. 180.

The lessons acknowledged by North of the three blind men describing an elephant indicate that the elephant of the international system and in particular diplomacy exists. Secondly, different perspectives attempt to explain diplomacy as their own realities while these realities are in relation to the conduct of diplomacy. The conduct of diplomacy is justified in relation to the school of thought that is used to analyse an event of the international system and is subsequently subjective in nature. It is with this realisation that they decide to translate diplomacy from within their individual perspectives to others thereby bringing to an end the clamour as to which meaning ought to be taken up by the rest. The analogue of the elephant of the international system is a confirmation that language is a barrier to understanding. It is the intention of this study to make a contribution to the study of diplomatic theory rather than to diplomatic practice.

1.6   LITERATURE REVIEW

The objective of literature review is mainly to bring out issues addressed relating to a particular area. Ideally in any research, literature review acts as guide to establishing the different gaps within an already researched topic. Literature review aims to assist in justifying the reason (s) as to why it is important to undertake a particular study. In this particular study, much of what has been examined relates principally to the conduct of diplomacy without addressing the nature of the particular concept.

The examination of diplomacy in international relations is one that has received much attention especially as relates to its conduct. The concern has been with the rules and practice of diplomacy by states. They outline the conduct of relations between the states. The practice of diplomacy is based upon the principles of reciprocity, equality of states as members of the international society, and *pacta sunt servanda*.

Groom and Light[14] have argued that diplomacy is an 'island' of international relations. Mattingly[15], Kennan[16] among others have regarded it is synonymous to Foreign policy. Holsti[17], Magalhaes[18], Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff[19] and Ikle[20] view diplomacy as an instrument of Foreign policy especially in the attainment of peace in a conflict or war situation. Yet still, there are those who regard the conduct of diplomacy as a public relation stint especially in view of the different approaches used in facilitating cordial relations between states.[21] This is in terms of promoting the socio-cultural aspects and attributes of any particular state. American diplomat George Kennan described the task of diplomacy as "consisting of hovering around the fringes of a process one is powerless to control; tidying up the messes other people have made; attempting to keep small disasters from turning into big ones; moderating the passions of governments, and of opinionated individuals, and attempting to transmit to one's own government the unwelcome image of the outside world."[22]

The discipline of international relations regards diplomacy as the peaceful conduct of relations between states. It is in many instances used synonymously with Foreign policy.[23] There is a tendency, especially by American writers, to use these two

[14] A. J. R. Groom and Margot Light (eds.), *International Relations: A Handbook of Current Theory* (London: Pinter, 1985), introduction.
[15] Garnett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, op cit.
[16] George Kennan, *American Diplomacy*, op cit.
[17] K. J. Holsti, *International Politics: A Framework for Analysis*, op cit.
[18] Jose Calvert de Magalhaes, *The Pure Concept of Diplomacy*, op cit.
[19] James Dougherty and Robert L. Pfaltzgraph Jnr., *Contending Theories of International Relations*, op cit.
[20] Charles Fred Ikle, *How Nations Negotiate* (New York and London: Harper and Row Publishers, 1987.
[21] Richard F. Staar (ed.), *Public Diplomacy: USA Versus USSR* (California: Hoover Institution Press, 1986).
[22] George Kennan, 'History and Diplomacy as Viewed by a Diplomatist,' in *Review of Politics*, Vol. 19, No. 2, April 1956, p. 176.
[23] See Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1964): George Kennan, *American Diplomacy* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1952).

terms inter-changeably.[24] This in turn compounds the difficulty of defining diplomacy. As the peaceful conduct of relations between states, diplomacy is a noun; while synonymous to foreign policy it becomes an adverb as it complements a particular activity of a state, as a peaceful instrument of foreign policy. The conduct of diplomacy viewed in the representation of governments constitutes the verb form. This is the practice of sending representatives to different states to articulate the foreign policies of the sending states.[25]

This study adopts the definition posited by Magalhaes[26] where foreign policy designates that part of the activity of a state whose objective is basically to achieve a desired result vis-à-vis another, or a group of states. Foreign policy is thus defined as the whole set of decisions and actions of states in the external environment. Magalhaes therefore regards diplomacy as a peaceful instrument of foreign policy[27] whose objective is to convince without resorting to force and as a strategy of winning with the least possible costs involved. He defines diplomacy as that basic instrument for the conduct or implementation of foreign policy.[28] He further elaborates by stating that it is an instrument that puts governments of two or more states in contact with each other.[29] In this instance, Magalhaes further continues the definition of diplomacy as a noun.

[24] See K. J. Holsti, *International Politics: A Framework for Analysis* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc., 1977); James Dougherty and Robert Pfaltzgraff Jnr., *Contending Theories of International Relations: A Comprehensive Survey*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1990), pp. 100-109.
[25] In this instance diplomacy is regarded as an instrument or constituent of Foreign Policy and not autonomous. This study intends to differ with this assertion.
[26] Jose Calvert de Magalhaes, *The Pure Concept of Diplomacy* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), pp. 6-7.
[27] Ibid. p. 13.
[28] Ibid. p. 9.
[29] Ibid. p. 53.

Satow[10] defines it as the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between governments of independent states. It implies therefore that diplomacy is the concern of states. As a concern of states, diplomacy deals with the activities of these states in relation with each other. It examines the language or behaviour states have towards each other in the articulation of their individual and mutual interests. Diplomacy therefore derives its meaning from the activities of states and is the mode of communication for states as principle actors of the international system as they pursue their foreign policy objectives.

Wight[11] regards diplomacy as the system and art of communication between powers. Watson[32] further argues that diplomacy is the dialogue between independent states and the need for states to communicate with each other gives rise to diplomatic dialogues. In the recognition of the state as the principle actor in the international system, it must be remembered that there are paradigms in competition. The pro-state actor paradigm is rooted in realism; it emphases that official diplomacy is the only possibility towards international peace. However, in recent times unofficial diplomacy is now recognised as a step towards achieving peace.

Diplomacy extends further to those institutions established by state consent.[33] Mwagiru defines diplomacy as the study of the relations between the actors of international relations, and the mechanisms, processes and rules by which those relations

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[10] Lord Gore-Booth (ed.), *Satow's Guide to Diplomatic Practice*, 5th ed. (England: Longman Group UK Ltd., 1979), p. 3.

[31] Quincy Wight as quoted by Kenneth Thompson, Moralism *and Morality in Politics and Diplomacy* (New York and London: University Press of America, 1985), pp. 124-139.

[32] Adam Watson, *Diplomacy: The Dialogue Between States* (London: Routledge, 1982), p. 3.

[33] This is in line with the definition offered for the international society. Hedley Bull defines the international society as existing "when a group of states, conscious of certain common interests and common values, form a society in the sense that they conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the workings of common institutions." See Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of World Order* (London: Macmillan, 1977), p. 101.

are rendered functional. This pluralist perspective reduces the salience of the state by acknowledging the presence of other actors, indicating that diplomacy can be both official and unofficial.[34]

Mwagiru's pluralist perspective in defining diplomacy brings forth the possibilities of multiple meanings and applications for diplomacy. It opens the field for interaction between actors, processes and relations of systems as it is by characterisation a verb describing the operation of a process or system, this being international relations. Whereas the salience of the state is absorbed this, like many other definitions gives meaning to diplomacy by virtue of the characteristics that it is associated with, the practice, mechanisms and the processes. These definitions make the assumption that diplomacy is a concept that is known by all. Language of discourse in diplomacy encompasses disciplines such as foreign policy analysis, international relations, international law and conflict studies in which discourse is possible.

Der Derian[35] observes that there exists an already made theory to diplomacy that has suffered neglect in the field on international relations. He examines diplomacy from an historical perspective noting that the conduct of diplomacy is best explained using a multi-paradigmatic approach in recognition of the diversity of discourses that are included in the study of diplomacy. He reiterates that there is need for a theoretical examination of diplomacy that would enrich diplomacy. In his conclusion Magalhaes[36] like Der Derian calls for a search for the theory of diplomacy. He is keen to note that the

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[34] See John. W. Burton and Frank Dukes. *Conflict: Processes in Management, Settlement and Resolution* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1990), pp. 135-140. They argue that track one and track two diplomatic approaches are of essence in the conflict management process. The only difference that exists between these are related to the formal exigencies and limitations of track one diplomacy that are absent in track two. See also Makumi Mwagiru. *The International Management of Internal Conflict in Africa: The Uganda Mediation- 1985.* Ph.D. Dissertation (University of Kent at Canterbury, 1994), pp. 40-42.
[35] James Der Derian. *On Diplomacy: A Genealogy of Western Estrangement,* op cit., p. 5.
[36] Jose Calvert de Magalhaes. *The Pure Concept of Diplomacy,* op cit., pp. 60-61.

theories of diplomacy and foreign policy are distinctly different but are confused at all times as a result of the links between the political and diplomatic activities of the diplomats. The theoretical underpinnings of diplomacy and foreign policy it must be noted do not allow for the interpenetration and confusion between the two.

In international law, the scope of diplomacy is examined from a procedural perspective. This is in the context of the rules governing state relations and more so the aspects of diplomatic and consular law. These are outlined in the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations and the 1963 Vienna Convention on Consular Relations.

Diplomatic law in essence encapsulates the ideas and values associated with a diplomatic culture, the bedrock of diplomatic practice. Bull regards diplomatic culture as the "common stock of ideas and values possessed by the official representatives of states." Practically, diplomatic law is the legal jurisdiction of diplomatic practice. Under the ambit of the 1962 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, diplomatic law extends closely to the privileges and immunities accorded or availed to the members of the diplomatic community.[37] The meaning of diplomacy is as such extracted from the practice accepted by states.

Foreign policy analysis is clear in its perspective of what diplomacy is. Diplomacy is credited as one of the most important instruments of peace making with negotiation and mediation as aspects of it. The theoretical premises of foreign policy regard diplomacy as vital in the decision-making process. These premises constitute

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[37] In this study the members of the diplomatic community will be used interchangeably with diplomatic agents. Article 1(c) of the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations states that a "diplomatic agent is the head of the mission or a member of the diplomatic staff of the mission."

factors necessary in agenda setting that is more than decision-making in the peace building process.

Conflict analysis views diplomacy as a process that reflects both the past and future events and issues in the management and resolution of conflict. Conflict analysts are keenly interested with an existing crisis situation and use both official and unofficial diplomatic approaches in their analysis and resolution of the conflict.[38] Diplomacy then is akin to conflict and strategic studies in its search for peace that can both be objective and subjective in meaning.

Thomas Kuhn[39] argues that it is the different disciplines and generalisations that give meaning in language or discourse. The scientists, in this case theorists on international relations, according to Kuhn must in their attempt to understand each other recognise that each is a member of a different language community or discipline. This study rejects the concept that diplomacy is a sub-discipline of international relations.

The issue of epistemology comes into play in understanding language and diplomacy. This is by examining how individuals know what they know, and also explaining what makes specialists of disciplines. Within this framework, the issue of truth and criteria of validity is established. Each discipline is subjective in its understanding of the concept of diplomacy. What then that ought to emerge is a situation where all disciplines will unite in a cosmopolitan manner to outline the similarities of truth of the concept of diplomacy between the different disciplines. This will eventually provide an objective view of what diplomacy is, rather than what it is about.

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[38] See John Burton and Frank Dukes, *Conflict: Practices in Management, Settlement and Resolution* (London: Macmillan, 1990); and Makumi Mwagiru, *Conflict: Theory, Process and Institutions of Management* (Nairobi: Watermark, 2000).
[39] Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolution*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1969), pp. 200- 204.

Russell[40] was emphatic when he argued that the circumstances surrounding a word indeed gave meaning to it. According to him, the meaning of a word was best defined in terms of the intentions of the speaker that were reflected in the response of the listener. Accordingly, response to something indicates (mis) understanding or (non) comprehension. This theory indicates that while meaning is associated with identity, it also implies that double meanings or equivalents are possible.

1.7   CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK:

The diverse nature of diplomacy as illustrated by diplomatic practice has seen developments that have affected its method, its content and style. Barston[41] has categorized these changes to reflect four broad themes; the widening content of diplomacy; the decentralization of the international system; the increasing fusion of the international system and the quest for new diplomatic methods. Watson[42] in acknowledging that national interests or power relationships guide diplomacy acknowledges that indeed style; method and content differ with the different systems. This illustrates that the concept of diplomacy remains undefined. Nonetheless, diplomacy as the dialogue between states does hold in relation to power relationships. However, this study examines two fundamental frameworks, the traditional national interest perspective that guides states interaction on the international scene, and the legalistic moralism which acts as the controller or measure for state relationships between and among them.

While international law regards power relationship as a positivist and probably out-dated concern, these power relations continue to hold sway of international relations. It is apparent that international relations seems divided between traditional national

[40] Bertrand Russell. *The Analysis of Mind* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 187-188.
[41] R. P. Barston. *Modern Diplomacy* (London and New York: 1991), pp. 250-254.
[42] Adam Watson, *Diplomacy, The Dialogue Between States* (London: Methuen, 1982), pp. 222-223.

interests also regarded as balance of power and modern legalistic moralism embedded within the structures of international law and institutions. The traditional national interests and legalistic moralism have formed the basis for the theoretical aspects of diplomacy. This is so because the challenges presented by the two perspectives contribute to the developments associated with diplomacy. These theoretical perspectives are at the same time regarded as the basis for the development of all international relations and contribute to the conceptual framework guiding this study.

Diplomacy is the conduct of international relations be negotiation rather than by force, propaganda or recourse to law, and by other peaceful means that are designed directly or indirectly to promote negotiation.[43] By practice, diplomacy is an activity that is regulated by custom (state practice) and by law (diplomatic and international law).

The various definitions presented so far for diplomacy in this study illustrate that diplomacy as international relations regulated by international law in the pursuit of state objectives with the aim of maintaining international peace and harmony in the international system is a concept whose meaning is not static but dependent on languages or different systems, in this case different disciplines. As a concept of different meanings, diplomacy indeed presents the ideal feature of a discourse.

According to Foucault[44], discourse is a representation of power that is all pervasive in nature.[45] The concern for discourse is the assumption that a particular theme or concept is all-present. Discourse illustrates different understandings of a concept that is always occurring in different systems. Indeed there is a strong emphasis on the role of

[43] G. Berridge, *Theory and Practice of Diplomacy* (London: Prentice-Hall, 1995), p. 1.
[44] Michael Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 162-164.
[45] See also Fairclough N., *Discourse and Social Change* (Cambridge M.A.: Polity Press, 1992), Chapter 2 and 3.

language in constructing the world. Accordingly, meaning cannot be totally fixed as a result of the volatile nature of language. The fact that the meaning of diplomacy has been contested by different disciplines as will be illustrated in this study means that diplomacy is a discourse as it gives room for debate.

Discourse takes into perspective certain aspects. Language in discourse is regarded as a social phenomenon in which a concept exists. The languages of international relations, foreign policy, and international law have different perceptions of diplomacy and are in this study viewed as environments for diplomacy. Discourse also suggests a solution to the problem of meaning. Language as an aspect of discourse acts as a guide to meaning. Within the same context, discourse illustrates the flexibility of languages in that it allows both for change and continuity. Finally discourse has the capacity to mobilize all meanings effectively make it self-referral. This does not mean that contests are over, on the contrary, contests or antagonisms are the focus of discourse. It is on this basis of discourse analysis that this study on diplomacy is undertaken.

1.8   RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The concern for language of discourse in diplomacy is essentially theoretical. It analyses the interpretations and meanings of diplomacy in international relations. It examines the different perspectives presented for diplomatic conduct, which in turn make reference to the different theories at play. This study shall be both descriptive and analytical in nature. It will outline the different perspectives held out for diplomatic practice and the concept of diplomacy. This study will trace the already known knowledge on diplomacy and attempt to establish the factors that have led to the neglect

of the study of diplomacy. Ideally, this study attempts to argue that the study of diplomacy has been subsumed by other disciplines in international relations.

1.9 STRUCTURE

The study shall be divided into two main sections; the first part discusses the different theoretical perspectives put forth for diplomacy in the search for theory. In the second part, the study analyses or traces the development of the perspectives discussed in the first part to diplomacy and examines how these have contributed to the neglect of the study. It is hoped that this study will make a positive contribution to the study of diplomatic theory as opposed to the study of diplomatic practice.

CHAPTER TWO: THE DISCOURSE OF DIPLOMACY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

'The ambassador should be a trained theologian, should be well versed in Aristotle and Plato, should be able at a moment's notice to solve the most abstruse problems in correct dialectical form; he should also be an expert in Mathematics, Architecture, Music, Physics, and Civil and Canon Law. He should speak and write Latin fluently and must be proficient in Greek, Spanish, French, German and Turkish. While being a trained classical scholar, an historian, a geographer, and an expert in military science, he must also have a cultured taste for poetry..."[46]

2.1   INTRODUCTION

One wonders what it is that Maggi really envisages. Is it just the qualifications of a diplomat? Is it the conduct of diplomacy, or is he alluding to the hidden realm of diplomacy, its study? On the other hand, can it be that Maggi is referring to a future international system?

This chapter offers a general description or account of what constitutes the concerns of diplomacy. It is basically or essentially providing an overview of how diplomacy has been described and categorized. In a somewhat strange way it aims to show that the concept of diplomacy is given a descriptive meaning. This chapter provides a basis for the different approaches to diplomacy from which the different paradigms of diplomacy will be provided as reflections of the different perspectives about diplomatic practice. Though it is an overview, this chapter will concern itself with what has been thought or regarded to be the concerns of diplomacy. It is though that a working definition to the concept of diplomacy will be established that will form the basis for the development of a diplomatic theory.

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[46] This was Ottavianco Maggi's prescription for the preferred qualification of an ambassador, contained in his *De Legato* (1596). Quoted in Theodore Couloumbis A and James H. Wolfe, *Introduction to International Relations: Power and Justice* (New Jersey; Prentice-Hall Inc, 1978), p. 127.

The discipline of International Relations by virtue of the adjective international concerns itself with diverse issues besides the relations between states and among states. Among the other actors, the term international embraces international organisations agreed formed by states; multinational corporations whose operations transverse the boundaries of their headquarters or home governments, and revolutionary groups. The metaphor of international illustrates the absence of any central authority and the consequent possibility that states will choose to settle their disputes by recourse to arms rather than by law. All these actors today form part of what is regarded as world politics.

In view of these actors, the discipline of international relations today ranges from balance of power politics and economic structures at the international level, to the ideological and perceptual predisposition of individual leaders. It is these diverse parameters of international relations that guide the scope of this chapter in analysing the discourse of diplomacy.

The basic assumption linking diplomacy and international relations has been that these two concepts are regarded as synonymous. Little[47] defined international relations as the study of relations between states. Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff[48] have argued that international relations deals with relations between political units, each claiming the right to take justice into its own hands and to be the sole arbiter of the decision to fight or not to fight. They[49] have argued further that the study of international relations consisted entirely of both diplomatic history and international law as a way of investigating the

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[47] Richard Little. 'International Relations and Large-scale Historical Change,' in M. Light and A.J.R. Groom (eds.), *Contemporary International Relations: A Guide to Theory* (London: Pinter Publishers, 1994). p. 12.

[48] Dougherty. James E. and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff Jnr., *Contending Theories of International Relations: A Comprehensive Survey*, 3rd. Ed. (New York: Harper-Collins Publishers, 1990), p. 115.

[49] Ibid. p. 3.

international system. This meant that international relations was not possible without diplomacy that later gave way to international law to govern the interactions of states in the anarchic international society.

The apparent origin of diplomacy in international relations was associated with the organisation of peoples into separate social groups where the necessity of regularizing contacts with representatives of other groups became apparent. It is argued that diplomacy has helped fashion a pattern of international law and behavior that has formed the basis of a new system of sovereign states.[50]

2.2   THEORETICAL CONCERNS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The realist is one who is concerned with what is actually happening as opposed to the idealist who wishes to see a perspective of the ideal or supposedly-to-be situation. Carr[51] stated that realism placed emphasis on the acceptance of facts and on the analysis of their causes and consequences. The argument was that realism tended to depreciate the role of purpose and to maintain, explicitly or implicitly, that the function of thinking is to study a sequence of events that it is powerless to influence or to alter. This thought was concerned with idealism that was based on wishing and generalisations as opposed to thinking and observation.

Realism argues for the supreme position of the state on the international system and is based on three basic assumptions. Firstly is the assumption that there is no theory that explained state behaviour, but instead practice is responsible for the creation of theory. It is only through state behaviour that a theory can be developed. Secondly, realism argues that ethics has no function in politics and as such morality is a product of

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[50] Keith Hamilton and Richard Langhorne, *The Practice of Diplomacy: Its Evolution, Theory and Administration*, op cit. P. 233.

[51] E. H. Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919-1939*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1946), pp. 8-10.

power. It is from this argument that idealism is then regarded as being the morality of the powers maintaining the *status quo*. Thirdly is the aspect that history is a series of cause and effect, whose course can not be understood or comprehended without intellectual effort.[52]

It was Morgenthau[53] who reiterated that historical events ought to be looked at as they occurred and not as they should have occurred. The realist perspective is that the state's action ought to be judged using the criteria of national survival, and from it states formulate their policies in a moral language that suits them, best cloaks and serves their interests. It is argued that what is rational for states to do, and what states interests are, depend largely on the underlying power realities, and state positions.[54]

There are four basic realities or truths according to the realists that reflect their interaction in international relations. Firstly, states are the main actors on the international system. The state as a unitary actor assumes that the political differences within the state are 'resolved' authoritatively so that the government of the state speaks with one voice. It follows then that the state is a rational actor. The decision-making processes of a state include outlining objectives, considering the most feasible alternatives that maximise benefits to the state, the various methods possible to attain these benefits, and also the costs or benefits of the alternatives under consideration. Lastly is the assumption that issues of national security take precedence of all other international issues. Power is of prime concern.

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[52] Ibid. p. 64.
[53] Hans Morgenthau. *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, 5th ed. (New York: Alfred Knopff. 1973). p. 4.
[54] Robert O. Keohane. 'Theory of World Politics: Structural Realism and Beyond,' in Robert O. Keohane (ed.). *New Realism and Its Critics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp. 158-203: 195.

In the analysis of diplomacy as the relation between states, the realist is right to argue that diplomacy is about power struggles and the contests of truths that develop into the dominant discourse of relations.[55] Brownlie[56] argues that diplomacy relates to communication whether with a friendly or hostile state. The realist in the establishment of diplomatic relations with and among other states justifies the according of immunities for the protection of national interests as part of the conduct of diplomacy.

The theoretical concerns of diplomacy are embedded in two principle issues that directly translate as the concerns of both international relations and international law. The traditional concern of diplomacy has been concerned with the promotion of national interests vis-à-vis the balance of power. The modern concerns of diplomacy on the other hand relate to the legalistic moralism that forms the basis of international law and institutions that are regarded by states as the instruments to curb conflicts or the development of the same.

Nicholson[57] outlined certain characteristics that motivated the diplomacies of different states. Accordingly British diplomacy was primarily dominated by the balance of power and the control of the seas. German diplomacy Nicholson observed was dominated by a warrior-like attitude or conception of statecraft or defense or alertness borne of the insecurity over its geographical position. France on the other hand was preoccupied by the fear of the Germans. Italian diplomacy was based on opportunism and the desire for maneuvering room in the waters. Many of these diplomatic concerns have remained the same while others have been shifting between national interests and legal

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[55] James Der Derian, *On Diplomacy: A Genealogy of Western Estrangement*, op cit. p. 200.
[56] Ian Brownlie, *Principles of Public International Law*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 454-456.
[57] H. Nicholson, *Diplomacy* (Washington D. C: Institute for The Study of Diplomacy, Georgetown University, 1988), pp. 72, 78, 81 and 82.

moralism. American diplomacy in particular has largely been considered within a realist perspective especially during the formulation and implementation of the American policy of containment against the Soviet Union and during the entire Cold War era.[58] At the same time American diplomacy has been characterized by the concerns of security with the balance of power since independence to the First World War. With the entry of America into the war under president Woodrow Wilson, the concern for diplomacy changed to be guided by the concern for peace. Theodore Roosevelt who preceeded Wilson advocated for a larger role of America in the international system, a role that ensured that America's national interests were taken care of. Wilson a liberalist argued that the United States of America had an obligation in the international system not to the balance of power, but to spread its principles throughout the world.[59] These different illustrations for the concerns of diplomacy illustrate that diplomacy mitigates between the conflicts of interests between states struggling for power in international politics. This realist position is confirmed as the promotion of national interests by peaceful means.[60]

Diplomatic language for the realist is regarded as being expressive with the intentions reflected in documents of communication indicating the precise position held by a state. This expressiveness is indicated in statements such as "it is in the interests of our country to promote cordial relations with other countries." Interpreted to mean we have to make an arrangement where our interests are taken care of and we can accommodate the interests of others.

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[58] Richard Russell. 'American Diplomatic Realism: A Tradition Practised and Preached by George F. Kennan.' in *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, Vol. 2, No. 3, Nov. 2000), pp. 159-179: 160.
[59] Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994), pp. 29-32.
[60] Hans. J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power*, op. cit., p. 563.

Diplomacy for the realist is tolerance as a device away from war or the use of force in the articulation of state's interests. The realist interpretation of diplomacy sees to it that state's behaviour on the international system is a reflection of the state articulating its interests. It also acts as a reflection of a state's power and position on the system in what Keohane[61] regards as state rationality. It is argued that the realist approach to diplomacy is essentially official or track-one diplomacy. This concern in diplomacy views diplomatic approaches as means of dominating or maintaining the *status quo*. Diplomacy is also seen as an alternative to war and this premises the conduct of relations on power. Eventually when the power configuration structures alter, a reverse system is adopted where the previously weaker party assumes superiority and the process continues with no resolution.

The pluralist school of thought emerged as a challenge to the realist perspective of state centrism. Following the end of the First World War four issues became clear about the position of the state and of the leaders. Firstly, war was seen as a useless act that could never be a rational tool of state policy. Secondly, the war had been because of leaders becoming caught up in a set of processes they could no longer control. It was the culmination of the leaders' perceptions that they had diverse interests on expansion. These perceptions were responsible for the development of autocratic dictatorships, which meant that the fears and suspicions of the individual leaders had become part of the foreign policy measures. Lastly, was the realization that the underlying tensions that had provided the rationale for the conflict could be removed by the spread of statehood and democracy.

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[61] Robert O. Keohane. 'Theory of World Politics: Structuralism and Beyond,' in Robert O. Keohane (ed.) *Neo-realism and Its Critics*, op cit., p. 185.

The concern for the pluralist is strongly emphasised in the term international. It reflects the diverse nature of the environment in which states exist. Pluralism argues that the world is highly complex and is multi-centric, in contrast to what the realist regard as being state centric.[62] Smith[63] observes that there are certain questions that need answers in the analysis of International Relations. These questions include, who constitutes the main actors? What are the principle issues in international politics? What are the main processes at work in the International society? And what are the outcomes of the processes?

While diplomacy is the concern of the states, these questions illustrate the significance of examining the scope of international relations and the different languages that explain it. Mwagiru[64] attempts to answer these questions indirectly by outlining the concerns of diplomacy in international relations through the definition offered. Diplomacy is thus defined as the study of the relations between the actors of international relations, and the mechanisms, processes and rules by which thoses realations are rendered functional. The concern as to the actors, issues, processes at work and outcomes indeed illustrate the conciliatory aspect of diplomacy in regulating relations in the international system.

Pluralism acknowledges that while the state retains a certain amount of control on the international sphere, other actors such as transnational organizations, multinational corporations whose networth exceeds that of some states combined, belligerent groups

[62] Michael Banks. 'The Inter-Paradigm Debate,' in Margot Light and A.J.R. Groom (eds.), *International Relations: A Handbook of Current Theory* (London: Pinter Publishers, 1985), pp. 7-26: 16.
[63] Steve Smith. 'The self-images of a Discipline: A Genealogy of International Relations Theory?' pp. 1-37)
[64] Makumi Mwagiru, '*Diplomacy: From Theory to Practice.*' a paper presented at the IDIS Seminar on Diplomacy. Culture and The Media. Nakuru. 1-3 August 1991. p. 3.

recognized by other states on the system and even individuals, have a significant role to play especially in terms of policy implementation. Banks[65] among others have illustrated the idea of pluralism vis-à-vis that of interdependence. Banks in particular likens pluralism to a 'cobweb.' He regards it as a network of criss-crossing relationships, and in essence illustrates the significance of diplomacy in bringing all the relationships together in terms of communications whereby all interests of parties concerned are considered.

The diverse range of issues affecting international relations has contributed to the appearance of economic counsellors, financial analysts as constituting members of the diplomatic staff. This interdependence has also seen the appointment of 'diplomats' with little training in diplomacy, but with a vast knowledge of other areas that the state may have interests in. These include economics, business, agriculture, technology among others, thereby interpreting and expanding the scope of diplomacy as an 'open exchange.'[66]

Nicholson[67] argues that these languages talk about different things and as such miscommunication is the consequence. He seems to adopt a rather uncertain attitude to explaining the discourse of international relations begging humility that it is difficult to

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[65] Michael Banks, 'The Inter-Paradigm Debate,' in Margot Light and A.J.R. Groom (eds.), *International Relations: A Handbook of Current Theory* op cit., pp. 7-26 pp. 7-26. See also Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Reading, MA: Addison- Wesley, 1979).

[66] This is an appreciation of the diversity of issues allowing all different schools of thought to get immersed into each other's way of thinking, feeling, perceiving, to such an extent that their ideas, perceptions and world views are changed. This particular concern is important for the different languages of discourse being translated into other discourses. The particular idea of ascertaining reality is important. Accordingly each discourse is a reality by itself and is subjective in nature. It is argued that objectivity can be attained by translating discourses, the objective of this study. See Paul Feyerabend, *Against Method* (New York: VERSO, 1993). Chapters 19 and 21 on the issue of reality and relativism, and objectivism respectively.

[67] Michael Nicholson, 'Imaginary Paradigms: A sceptical view of the Inter-Paradigm Debate in International Relations.' *London Center for International Relations*, p. 5-9.

examine the scope of international relations.[68] However, the different schools of thought to discourse are not incommensurable for they give varied interpretations of the discourse. Their interpretations contribute to the growth of knowledge in terms of the diversities that are brought in from all other different disciplines. These interpretations are the different ways in which the knowledge of the world can be expressed.

Quincy Wright quoted by Garnett[69] sought to explain the international system using a general theory. He argued that a general theory ought to "involve a comprehensive, coherent and self-correcting body of knowledge contributing to the understanding, the prediction, the evaluation, and the control of relations among states and of the conditions of the world." This was a plausible attempt, the shortcoming of it being that when interpreted for diplomacy each theory that sought to explain the role of diplomacy had no intention of taking the second position in explanation thus the interdisciplinary gap continued to widen. The concern for Wright was the establishment of a system of knowledge whereby precision was the key word in describing practice. Nonetheless, this would have meant that diplomacy remain in its present position as an 'island.'

The complexities of international relations are brought out through interpretation of diplomatic practice in relation to the different theories explaining it. An in-depth understanding of inter-related disciplines indeed reduces this gap of defining diplomacy by linking the similarities and contradictions in terms of explaining the role of diplomacy vis-à-vis its practice especially in contemporary society. The success of which would

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[68] See also Michael Nicholson and Peter Bennett, 'The Epistemology of International Relations,' in A. J. R. Groom and Margot Light, *Contemporary International Relations: A Guide to Theory* (London: Pinter Publishers, 1994), pp. 197 -205.

[69] John C. Garnett. *Commonsense and The Theory of International Politics* (London: Macmillan, 1984), p. 27.

contribute significantly to international peace and justice, and in turn contribute to the study of diplomatic theory.

While Burton and Varynrynen[70] question whether International Relations is about to end from a realist perspective, the pluralist perspective on the other hand is that diversity continues to wreck havoc on the international society. This allows diplomacy to play the role it has always played that of mediating between the different cultures. In doing so, the different diplomatic approaches are adapted to ensure that anarchy is reduced.

The basis for diplomacy was seen as the interest of the state based on the need for the settlement of issues. Only immediate concerns were examined while the underlying, deeper issues were left for later times. The principle of official diplomacy examined issues of states' interests, the maintenance of international law as long as it did not limit the promotion of individual state interests. The pluralists on the other hand opted for the analysis of practically all-underlying issues from the past to the present. To uncover some of these issues, unofficial diplomacy was and is advocated for.

2.3   THE PRACTICE OF DIPLOMACY

Magalhaes[71] has defined diplomacy as that basic instrument for the conduct or implementation of foreign policy between two or more states in contact with each other. Satow[72] defined it as the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations, between the governments of independent states. Mwagiru[73] defines it as the

[70] John Burton and Tarja Varynrynen, 'The End on International Relations?' in A.J. R Groom and Margot Light (eds.) *Contemporary International Relations: A Guide to Theory*, op cit., pp. 69-80.
[71] Jose Calvert de Magalhaes, *The Pure Concept of Diplomacy*, op cit.
[72] Lord Gore-Booth (ed.). *Satow's Guide to Diplomatic Practice*, 5th ed. (England: Longman Group UK Ltd.. 1979), p. 3.
[73] Makumi Mwagiru, *Diplomacy: From Theory to Practice*,' a paper presented at the IDIS seminar on Diplomacy. Culture and The Media. Nakuru, 1-3 August 1991, p. 3.

study of the relations between actors of international relations and the mechanisms, process and rules by which those relations are rendered functional. The diversity of the definitions put forth acknowledges principally that the international system has many actors, however the state remains fundamentally important to international relations.

The concerns of Diplomacy have received attention from early Biblical times to present. Much of this concern has been regarding the practice of diplomacy in what many regard as the 'islands of international relations.'[74] Though neglected, the discourse of diplomacy resulted in the codification of diplomatic law whereby the practice of diplomacy led to the development of theory based on the similarities of the practices observed within different systems.

While searching for answers as to what constitutes the study of diplomacy there is need to be impressed by aspects of what seem permanent in diplomacy, these being the practices within the different systems of European, African, and Asiatic diplomacies. These practices have been codified in the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961. The states believe that an international convention on diplomatic intercourse would contribute to the development of friendly relations irrespective of their diverse constitutional and social systems.[75]

2.4 TRADITIONAL CONCERNS OF DIPLOMACY

The concern for traditional diplomacy argues that the practice of diplomacy was the fundamental responsibility of sovereigns. It later changed to be the responsibility of the states whereby diplomatic officials did not in any way represent the personage of the head of state but rather of their government. This is enshrined in The Vienna Convention

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[74] Margot Light and A.J.R. Groom (eds.), *International Relations: A Handbook of Current Theory*, op cit. Introduction.
[75] Dembinski Ludwig (ed.). *Diplomatic and Consular Law* (Bern; Peter Lang Inc., 1995), p. 3

on Diplomatic Relations (1961) Article 3 (1) (a), where the function of the diplomat is to represent the sending state in the receiving state.

Diplomacy as the concern for states is based on the consent of states for the establishment of diplomatic relations and on the notion or knowledge that states are equal in the international society. The concept of equality was emphasized by de Vattel[76] as based upon their principle functions following their formation as 'protector' of the interests of the citizens. Traditional diplomatic practice was principally for two reasons, representational and the protection of interests.

The concern for representation has led the history of diplomacy being divided into two phases. The first, a period of non permanent ad hoc embassies covering antiquity and the middle ages, culminated with the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. The principle concern then was in states' interests, power and expansion. The second phase, that of permanent missions originated in Italy in the fifteenth century. The diplomat was accorded immunities by religion not law, essentially being regarded as sacrosanct. This aspect of being sacrosanct reflected the representative nature of divinity. Rulers were sanctioned by God and regarded as God's representatives on earth.[77] The practice of diplomacy traced back to Biblical times was the business of the angels to mediate between God and the people on earth. After the Westphalia Treaty of 1648 establishing the states' system, diplomacy then was seen as the peaceful conduct of relations between states and also as an alternative to war.

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[76] Emeric de Vattel, *The Laws of Nations*, Vol. 3 (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1916).
[77] Earle E. Cairns, *Christianity Through the Centuries* (Michigan: The Zondervan Corporation, 1981), Part Two on Medieval Church History, pp. 165-259. Mytho-diplomacy advanced by Der Derian illustrated this aspect of divine authority.

The particular reference made to the codification of diplomatic law had been the acknowledgement of the fact that there had emerged powerful, centralised and territorially delimited states. In the pursuit of their interests, these states were distrustful of each other's ambitions and designs. They however recognised that it was beneficial for all to establish procedures for constant communication, discussion of disputed issues and for making agreements.

Traditional diplomacy was realist in nature as it was interpreted in terms of power. The articulation of power was carried out in various ways such as through military capabilities, large populations, the acquisition of territories and the control of the seas. While diplomacy was interpreted as being the peaceful conduct of relations between states in international relations and as an alternative to war, the characteristics of international relations then was marked by the inequalities of force and the conflicts of interests.

Following the out-break of the two world wars, it was no longer possible to limit domestic issues to the confines of one's state boundaries. Issues became internationalized and indeed widened the sphere of diplomacy thereby linking traditional diplomacy to modern diplomacy.

2.5 THE CONCERNS OF MODERN DIPLOMACY

Barston[78] has illustrated the shift from traditional to modern diplomacy as the changing nature of diplomacy. This changing nature takes cognisance of the fact that diplomacy is no longer the concern of states, but instead many actors and issues have emerged on the international scene. Indeed Bull's 'international society' widens in scope.

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[78] R. P. Barston. *Modern Diplomacy* (London and New York: Longman, 1998), pp. 1-11.

Diplomacy is no longer about states but also of other actors and issues that are a source of conflict in the international system.

While the interpretation of the conduct of diplomacy is in terms of the different disciplines, the role of diplomacy on the international system becomes complicated. One principle concern characterizing diplomacy has been the use of emotive language whose objective has been to give a subtle assumption that all is well, when the facts on the ground contradict. It is such language or 'diplomatic view points' that have rendered diplomacy the close relative of deception, or cunningness, whereby the phrase 'saying what you do not mean' aptly applies.

The changing nature of diplomacy is interpreted to link the conduct of diplomacy to the discourse through the diverse interpretation and application of theories. It is also the ability of the diplomat to be objective on the international scene, in terms of interpreting events and issues from different schools of thought.

As a concern for this study, the diversity of state relations is illustrated by the different classifications of diplomacies that have emerged. With the developments taking place in the international system especially regarding interests, and transport and communication, many channels of communication have developed. These developments have seen the emergence of different types of diplomacies, such as shuttle diplomacy, conference, parliamentary, summit and personal diplomacies.

New trends have included personal diplomacy where the ministers and personal representatives conduct business on behalf of the leaders. Shuttle diplomacy made famous by Henry Kissinger in his mediator attempts in the Middle East Peace Process is closely been linked with personal diplomacy. Summit diplomacy has seen the appearance

of the Heads of States and governments at summits. Conference diplomacy is characterized by multi-lateral negotiations, and parliamentary diplomacy of public debates at international fora has been prevalent. It is argued that direct communication between authorities has contributed to reduce costly 'diplomatic representatives abroad' and is seen as the elimination of the power approach to international relations.[79]

A principle concern for these diplomacies led to the division of diplomatic approach to constitute track one and track two diplomacies. The concern for track one is seen in relation to the stratification of power leading to the settlement of disputes in international relations. Track-Two diplomacy reflects the diverse nature of diplomacy. It takes into consideration the need to interpret and translate diverse theories relating to histories, actors and issues of concern, which culminate in the resolution of conflicts.

A general theory is the culmination for the search for the study of diplomacy as it values the importance of discourse translation. It involves a comprehensive, coherent and self-correcting body of knowledge that contributes to the understanding, the prediction, evaluation and the control of relations among states and of the conditions of the world.[80] Diplomacy as a discourse is a useful means of analyzing the collective beliefs of the inter-relatedness of disciplines to outline what guides and constrains these disciplines. The interpretation of diplomatic practice in the search for theory ought to be understood in the context of diplomatic communication.

Diplomacy in international relations has in this chapter been translated according to the different themes of international relations, realism and pluralism.

[79] John W. Burton and Tarja Varyrynen, 'The End on International Relations?' In Margot Light and A. J. R. Groom (eds.), *Contemporary International Relations: A Guide to Theory*, op cit. p. 69-80: p. 71.
[80] John C. Garnett. *Commonsense and The Theory of International Politics* (London: Macmillan, 1984), p. 27.

Watson[81] argues that diplomacy, as an instituted way of ordering the affairs of a state's system tends to grow into something more than its machinery. This means therefore that the actual conduct of diplomacy becomes an accumulation of experience and wisdom that gives rise to theories explaining diplomatic conduct.

Indeed a mixture of theory and practice enriches the discipline. As Webb[82] would argue, each theoretical interpretation of the world of diplomacy has drawn attention to the different aspects of reality, counter-posing them one against the other. The essence therefore of discourse analysis has been shown to describe the growth and development of the common images of diplomacy. It therefore becomes necessary to link these disciplines together to understand their interconnectedness since the ultimate objective of all is the attainment of international peace and justice.

Watson it has been illustrated reiterates the concern for translation of discourses as being responsible for widening the perceptions of diplomacy. The different themes developed by Der Derian culminated in the production of a theory of alienation in understanding the conduct of diplomacy. It was observed that this theory of alienation has not defined the concept of diplomacy reverting back to definition by practice. This means that the complexities of diplomacy must be understood within the intricacies of all those that are within the same environment of international relations.

Boulding as quoted by Larsen[83] argues that the social world, in which the international society is a part, exists as as product of the universe of meanings of

[81] Adam Watson, *Diplomacy: The Dialogue Between States* (London: Routledge, 1982), pp. 60-63.
[82] Keith Webb, 'Academics and Professionals in International Relations: A British Perspective,' *Kent Papers in Politics and International Relations*, Series 1, No. 12, 1992, p. 10-11.
[83] Henrik Larsen, *Foreign Policy and Discourse Analysis* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 10.

individuals. This means that no discipline is an island on its own; rather interdependence is the key word.

The future of diplomacy is arguably seen in terms of the linkages between theory and practice. This means that though diplomatic conduct will remain the same, the practitioners will be more inclined to be well versed not only in one discipline but also in several so as to be able to give different interpretations which will be of use in decision-making. Maggi's diplomat perhaps illustrates this concept of language quite well. The nature of his job means that he cannot take any statement for granted. He then has to use his knowledge of language to interpret issues and statements in various manners to be certain of his position. Diplomacy hence will not been seen only in terms of its conduct but also in terms of its study in a bid to merge the explanations of the international system.

CHAPTER THREE:

THE DISCOURSE OF DIPLOMACY IN INTERNATIONAL LAW

"Diplomacy mediates not between right and wrong, but between conflicting interests. It seeks to compromise not between legal equities but between national aspirations."[1]

INTRODUCTION:

The discourse of diplomacy in international relations has so far examined the meaning of diplomacy from both the realist and the pluralist schools of thought. These different schools of thought have contributed to the significant interpretations of diplomacy and especially how communication in diplomatic relations is ascribed to, guided by the interpretations within the tenets of the schools of thought or languages of discourse in International Relations.

This chapter will examine two principle schools of thought in international law and illustrate their different perception as to the role of diplomacy. This will be following the precedence set in the previous chapter where realism and pluralism, the principle discourses within the discipline of International Relations were examined.

The different theoretical underpinnings of the Positivist and Pluralist will define the role of diplomacy and as such guide to define the concept of diplomacy as is practiced and allowed by states. The objective of this chapter will be to define diplomacy from a legalistic perspective vis-à-vis national interest or power relations in the international system. The chapter will continue the discussion of interpretations of the discourse of diplomacy in international law.

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[1] Charles W. Thayer, *Diplomat* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1959), p. 252.

The Positivists perceive the concept of a systemic international association as being endowed with a structure of rules determining the behavior of individual states, and the Pluralist argue that international law as a process is reflected through the decisions of international participants themselves.

Kuhn's[2] argues that paradigms indeed carry out various functions. These include determining the significant aspects within a discipline, matching facts with theories, and articulating theories. It will be argued that diplomacy does have a role in international law and especially in the prevention of conflicts of interests by regularising the relationships in the international system that is devoid of a government. It will be argued that the absence of a government facilitates the operations of diplomacy by providing the basic tenets as to how states ought to behave towards each other. Emphasizes remains that the scope of this study deals primarily with states as the main actors in the international system.

3.2 THEORETICAL CONCERNS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

The rules regulating the various aspects of diplomatic relations constitute one of the earliest expressions of international law. Mattingly[3] has aptly put it that whenever there is a group of independent states co-existing, special customs have developed as to how ambassadors and other special representatives of other states were to be treated. At the time of codification of diplomatic law, states were the sole actors on the system. It was only later that the agencies that these states had agreed formed became subjects of international law. An exception to this rule was the Vatican, which was allowed to

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[2] Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (New York: Harvard University Press, 1969).
[3] Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (London: Penguin Books, 1955).

conduct diplomatic relations. It was argued that the Vatican got this status on the basis

that the state authority of different states was regarded as being placed on the papacy.

Positivism like realism argues that the state is the principle actor of international

law. It emphasizes that state practice is the basis of international law thereby regarding it

as a product of the consent of states. According to the positivists, it follows therefore that

states will not be bound by international law that they have not consented to.[4] In fact,

positivism reinforces the doctrine of states doing what it is that suits them, especially in

regards to the pursuit of national interests.

Positivism considers international law as a regulator of the conduct of states in the

international system. However, it does not address the issue of power politics, a principle

concern of the realist in international relations and the positivists in international law.

Accordingly, international law is about maintaining the *status quo* in a similar way as

illustrated by the realist in terms of the view on diplomatic approaches. The positivists

regard international law as being borne of the concern for mutual interest and practice

among nation-states. International law as such cannot be imposed on states if it conflicts

with their national interests. It is however notes that where issues stay clear of national

interests and military security, then indeed international law is regarded as a vital

necessity for the international system. Accordingly, international law ought not ignore the

concerns of power realities. This means then that diplomacy is not a system of moral

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[4] See J. L. Brierly, *The Law of Nations*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949); Ian Brownlie, *Principles of Public International Law*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979); and R. St. J. Macdonald and Douglas M. Johnson (eds.), *The Structure and Process of International Law* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1986); Martin Dixon and Robert McCorquodale, *Cases and Materials in International Law* (London: Blackstone Press Ltd., 1991); and Hersch Lauterpacht, *International Law*, Vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977). These emphatically argue that the state is the ultimate authority in international relations and as such do not agree to abide to any law that they have not consented to. However, in some cases the argument of the positivist has been challenged especially after the two world wars that saw the individual gain certain rights above the authority of the state.

philosophy that operates in a framework of universally acknowledged ethical and political authority. Diplomacy is instead to be determined by the power realities at play in the international system.

There are however instances where the issue of state consent is challenged. This is in instances where a particular rule of law is classified as a peremptory norm of general international law or *jus cogens*. Article 53 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties (1969), stipulates that a rule of law that is *jus cogens*, is one that is accepted and recognized by the international community of states as a whole as a rule. As such no derogation is permitted, and this rule can only be modified by a subsequent norm of general international law having the same character. Example of rules having this character of *jus cogens* include, Article 2(4) of the United Nations Charter outlawing the use of force.

Positivism has been challenged many a times. Hugo Grotius regarded by many, as the father of international law argued that international law was about what states had done in the past and about what they should do. Two schools of thought had emerged by the time.

The first was based on Roman law (*jus gentium*) and placed emphasis on the actual conduct of states. The second, natural law (*jus naturale*) embodied what was right and just behavior for men and states everywhere. It was pre-occupied with what states ought to do.[5] Essentially *jus gentium* was positivism while *jus naturale* was pluralism.

The primary concern for the development of international law was the search for methods by which the worst excesses of war could be mitigated or abolished. Merrills[6] to

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[5] Frederick H. Hartmann, *The Relations of Nations*, op cit. p.113.

[6] J. G. Merrills, *The Anatomy of International Law* (London: Sweet and Maxwell, 1981), p. 44.

this effect observed that the function of international law was to provide states with both a pattern of acceptable behaviour for themselves and an indication of the probable actions of others. The rules of international law that are basically the principal concern for the conduct of diplomacy thus emerged on the basis of the interests of states. In this regard international law is not imposed on states but instead springs from their collective decisions that it should exist.

In relation to the conduct of diplomacy, state practice the basis of custom in international law, is the behaviour of states in relation to their declared policies, their laws and their understandings of the international system.[7]

Positivism like realism emphasises that concerns such as totalitarianism, revolutionaries, underdeveloped and unstable states, small powers, international organisations, multi-national organisations are all unwelcome anomalies on the international scene.[8] However, as the intricacies of the international system change, so too have the concerns and position of the state. Instead, the international system is interpreted as being multi-centric rather than state-centric.

The challenges to state-centrism illustrate that the many concerns of international law today do not belong to the state but also to other actors. These concerns include the definitions and descriptions of concepts such as self-determination, terrorism, trans-nationalism, the use of force as interpreted within various articles of the United Nations Charter.[9] Other concerns of international law focus on aspects of world order and the threats facing mankind.

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[7] Ibid. pp. 46-48.
[8] Robert L. Rothstein, 'On the costs of realism,' in Richard Little and Michael Smith (eds.), *Perspectives on World Politics*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 409-418: 412.
[9] See Article 2 (4), 2 (7), and 51 of the United Nations Charter.

World order, an adjunct of pluralism calls for the peaceful transition from anarchy to a world based on participatory and legitimate global institutions. At the same time, the concern for interdependence focuses on the development of a global system of complex relationships. It follows then that the tenets of diplomacy guide the relationships in the international system to focus on these concern. This is so because the concerns of the international system are no longer limited to those of balance of power and national interests, but instead the emergence of new actors has brought in diverse issues which are central to all states.

Many positivists have argued that state practice ought to be considered as a sign that states have consented to be bound by international law. Following the natural law advocacy on the rights of the individual being irrevocable, the positivists have put forth that state interests dominate state behaviour. States are likened to persons capable of having interests and that their behaviour is in accordance to interests, not altruistic but instead, egoistic. However, the argument of the positivist is that the state does retain significant control over all other concerns of the international system. Thus, the states in instances more than one determine what international law ought to be and agree to be bound by it. However, where concerns of national interests and military security are present, international law is relegated to second position.

Positivism takes cognisance of the fact that international relations is regulated by the behavior of states and acknowledges the need to set up guidelines for these behaviour. The states in this respect regard international law as a series of rules restricting their actions and forming exemptions to state sovereignty only when the consent or will is

present.[10] International law therefore guarantees the freedom of states to pursue their individual interests and intervenes only to prevent and resolve conflicts.[11]

While international relations remains concerned with decision-makers' perspectives about the world, the diplomatic concerns remain embedded in the interpretation and operationalisation of international legal norms. These norms are the rules, standards and principles that guide state relations on the international scene.

The fundamental concern for the positivist in the conduct of diplomacy is guided by the principle of *pacta sunt servanda*, the rule that treaties are binding on the parties and must be performed in good faith. This is enshrined in the second paragraph of Article 2 of the United Nations Charter, that members are "to fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter." Anzilotti has argued the principle of *pacta sunt servanda* is the fundamental aspect that binds international law to states as it is based on the understanding that the agreements between states are to be respected. The principle of *pacta sunt servanda* contained in Article 26 of the Vienna Convention on The Laws of Treaties stipulates "every treaty in force is binding on the parties to it and must be performed by them in good faith." It is the basis for compliance with treaty obligations, derived from the consent of states and is a principle of customary international law.

Diplomatic relations are couched in the pursuit of interests of states. The rules, standards and principles guiding these relations are interpreted as the sources of international law. Since the state is the principle actor in the international system, it

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[10] Joacquin Tascan, *The Dynamics of International Law in Conflict Resolution* (Dordrecht, London and Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1992), pp. 3-11.
[11] Ibid. p. 13.

remains therefore its' mandate to determine what international law ought to be. It in effect calls upon the concept of consent that is the prerogative of the state.

The concerns for diplomatic relations are premised on the idea of consent for the conduct of diplomacy and stipulated in Article 2 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (1961). For states to consent to diplomatic relations, various forms of communications are regarded as having taken place. These could both be informal and formal, ranging from public statements by the leaders on their intentions to establish relations, and the exchange of notes, agreed minutes, or memorandum of understandings. Many of these have the potential of creating legal relationship between the parties concerned. However, under the statutes of the United Nations Charter, Article 102 stipulates the requirement to create legal relations through the registration of agreements with the Secretariat.

Dixon and McCorquodale[12] have argued that treaties constitute evidence of the express consent of states to regulate their interests according to international law, and as such remain an important source of international law. The argument of positivism maintains that the practice of states, in terms of customs and treaties, constitute the primary source of international law.[13] Fitzmaurice has argued that documents embodying diplomatic representation constitute sources of international law since they demonstrate certain attitudes on the part of the state, and as such, state practice is evidenced as a source of law.

The positivist's concerns in diplomacy is linked to the interpretation and operationlisation of the international legal norms by way of the rules and techniques that

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[12] Martin Dixon and Robert McCorquodale, *Cases and Materials in International Law* (London: Blackstone Press Ltd., 1991), p. 48.
[13] J. G. Starke, *Introduction to International Law*, 10th ed. (London; Butterworths, 1989), pp. 23-24.

guide the conclusion and interpretation of treaties. It is the terms of a treaty when interpreted that determine the extent of rights and obligations of the signatories. Article 31 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties stipulates the general rules of treaty interpretation. These range from examination of the actual words in the text of the treaty: analysing the intentions of the signatories adapting the agreement: and the emphasis on the object and purpose of the treaty.

It is within the interpretation of treaties that diplomatic communication frequently takes place. This is especially in terms of the clarifications sought and interpretations of perceptions. Brierly[14] argues that the actual intention of signatories to a treaty can best be established through the method of historical interpretation that looks at the history of the negotiations, the *travaux preparatoires.*

The *travaux preparatoires* is of great significance to diplomacy. This is in view of the procedures adopted and considered in the preparation of treaty text. Article 2 of the Vienna Convention on the Laws of Treaties defines a treaty as "an international agreement concluded between states in written form and governed by international law, whether embodied in a single instrument, or in two or more related instruments and whatever its particular designation."

The history of negotiations takes into consideration the issues of interests between the parties, and the significance of the treaty to international relations. It also covers the trends of negotiations, conflicting aspects with the hope of arriving at amicable solutions. The concern for diplomacy is that the entire process must be examined from different perspectives such as from within the parameters of International Relations, or, and conflict analysis.

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[14] J. L. Brierly, *The Law of Nation*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), p. 235.

The rules, standards and principles of diplomatic relations are principally concerned with the parameters within which these relations can be interpreted and translated. Arguably for the positivists, the codification of diplomatic law makes it possible for states to pursue their interests, individually and collectively. The conduct of diplomacy is therefore guided by states' interests in the international system and ought to be within the parameters of international law that the states have agreed to be bound.

The basis for pluralism is that international law should not be seen purely as a body of rules and neither derived from power in the international system, but rather, international law ought to be a reflection of the interactive responses within the international system. The principle concern is that international law is a collection of actions and claims that decision-makers assert on behalf of their states. Indeed the central focus is the idea of reciprocity and the diversity within the international system. Many a writers recognize this particular fact on diplomacy define it in terms of the relationships of interactions.

The idea of interaction, a primary concern of international relations argues that the international system is comprised of diverse actors who must interact positively in order to reduce the anarchy that is characteristic of the international system. For interaction to be said to be taking place, the channels of communication must be open and the actors must recognise the significant role each has on the system. All the actors within the system must therefore articulate their interests through their interaction, in the conduct of diplomacy. The pluralist's concern for interaction is regarded as the process of collective decision-making and self-control on the part of the actors with the objective of building the standards of conduct to transcend the different territorial boundaries.

Shaw[15]regards diplomacy as a method of communication between various parties. The fundamental aspect that has sought to link pluralism to diplomacy is the concern for the perceptions and misperceptions of the decision-makers, since these are influenced by the values of the communities the decision-makers come from. The idea of perceptions and misperceptions in international relations contribute greatly to the role or view of diplomacy as a 'corrector' of the different perspectives of the system.

The concern for (mis) perceptions in international relations has been determined by that school of thought or language that one adapts. While the positivists view the state as fundamentally important, the realist in International Relations taking a similar position advocate for the protection of national interests and states' behaviour is interpreted to indicate a certain position on an issue. States interpret this behaviour in relation to their individual interests. In the process of undertaking diplomatic relations, the idea is to reduce the anarchy existing due to the lack of a legitimate international government. Arguably, all actors in international relations develop images of others and, of their intentions. The pluralist concern for decision-makers' in diplomacy is guided by the fact that they (decision-makers) have a tendency to fit information into their existing theories and images, and as such, perceive what they expect.[16]

The pluralist's understands diplomacy in terms of the international legal rules that articulate the principles shaped by the values of human dignity. Burton[17] examines these principles as being fundamentally important in conflict resolution. The vocabulary of the

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[15] Malcolm .N. Shaw, *International Law*, 5th ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 462.
[16] Robert Jervis, 'Hypotheses on Misperceptions,' in Knorr Klaus (ed.), *Power, Strategy and Security* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 152-177.
[17] John W. Burton, 'World Society and Human Needs,' in Margot Light and A. J. R. Groom (eds.), *International Relations: A Handbook of Current Theory* (London: Pinter Publishers, 1985), pp. 46-59: 46.

pluralist is made up of concepts such as morality and emphasizes the importance of legal rules.

The background for pluralism was because of the challenge to positivism following the outbreak of the Second World War, and especially the violations against humanity. Following this, the concept of human rights took precedence with the firm recognition of the fact that other actors had a role to play in the international system. Diplomacy as such was regarded as the only remaining device that had proven to be effective in the anarchical setting of the international system. Diplomacy according to Couloumbis and Wolfe[18] offered the hope for building an orderly international community that was devoid of war and the atrocities against humankind..

The pluralists view international law as an accumulation of past trends in decision-making conforming to the shared and preferred expectations of the international community as to how policy-makers' behavior can achieve a 'minimum world order.'[19] The perception of the decision-makers in diplomacy is guided by the principle calling for the establishment of friendly relations between states.[20] Decision-makers argue that all actors behave in a similar rational manner indicating that action; statements made are justified on the international scene. This argument asserts further that the anarchy that characterizes the international system can be minimized through the concerted efforts of many actors. Thus international law as defined in pluralism is a process of authoritative decision and control that builds up the standards of conduct from human interaction transcending the different territorial communities.

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[18] Theodore A. Couloumbis and James H. Wolfe, *Introduction to International Relations: Power and Justice*, 4th ed. Op cit., p. 139.

[19] Joacquin Tascan, *The Dynamics of International Law in Conflict Resolution*, op cit., p. 7.

[20] Article 3 (1) (e) of *The Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (1961).*

The idea of pluralism in diplomacy indeed takes note of the fact that other actors besides states are capable of conducting diplomatic relations. This is articulated aptly through the Vienna Convention on The Representation of States in their Relations with International Organisations. McDougal and Lasswell[21] identify pluralism in terms of the basic features of the social process in a community. This covers the identity and preferred distribution patterns of basic goal values, and implementing institutions, that are accorded protection by the legal system.

Certainly, pluralism in international law makes reference to certain jurisdictions especially in the articulation of the interests of actors on the international system. Not surprising then for the pluralists that international law does not fail as argued by the positivists in terms of freedoms and constraints, but that the legal subjects behave in such a way as to impede or promote its effective operation. The pluralist thus defines international law in terms of communicating shared values, providing guidelines for authoritative decision-making, and creating expectations about future international behavior. In this regard it also acknowledges that there are different approaches to attaining this international society. Pluralism indeed views track-one diplomacy skeptically as the notions of state interests surround it. Track-two diplomacy is however regarded positively as it does not have the restrictions that are eminent in track-one diplomacy. It goes without saying that systems allowing for complete (or almost complete) participation by all interested parties are a welcome phenomenon in the realm of pluralism.

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[21] M. McDougal and H. Lasswell, 'The Identification and Appraisal of Diverse Systems of Public Order,' in AJIL 53, 1959, PP. 6-11.

Ideally, the concept of jurisdiction revolves around the principles of state sovereignty, equality and non-interference.[22] It is an exercise that may alter, create, or terminate legal relationships and obligations.[23] The principles of equality and sovereignty mean that a state cannot exercise jurisdiction over persons, territory or events in another state without that state's consent, express or implied.[24]

The exemptions of jurisdiction are regarded as immunities in the languages of the positivists and pluralists. Domestic jurisdiction denotes a specific area in which the actions of the organs of government are supreme or free from international legal principles and interferences. On the international scene, the same principle is applied such that there is respect for territorial integrity and the political independence of other states.

In respect to the concerns of pluralism, international law is open to different channels applicable in the resolution of conflict. These channels have included mediation, conciliation, arbitration, facilitation workshops, and the use of good offices. These channels affirm that different diplomatic approaches are applicable. Official diplomacy or track-one diplomacy, the concern of states is more formal and has a tendency of settling conflicts rather than resolving, as opposed to unofficial or track two diplomacy which takes into consideration the non-negotiable aspects such as attitudes and perceptions.[25] The concerns for these two diplomacies address diverse interests and issues of the diverse subjects of international law.

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[22] Malcolm .N. Shaw, *International Law*, op cit., p. 430.
[23] Ibid. p. 393.
[24] Martin Dixon and Robert McCorquodale, *Cases and Materials in International Law*, op cit., p. 267.
[25] Makumi Mwagiru, The International Management of Internal Conflicts in Africa: The Uganda Mediation- 1985, Ph.d. Dissertation, University of Kent at Canterbury, 1994), pp. 441.

The operations in the international system are apparent under the control of the state irrespective of the possibility of there being an international government. Positivism and realism have illustrated that state behaviour in the international system is the arbiter of any regulation. At the same time it is evident that anarchy in the international system is primarily determined by national interests guide and controlled by power. Hence the role of diplomacy for both the realist and positivist is evident only when issues of national interest and military security are taken care of. Arguably official diplomacy is called in to assert a state's position in the international system, and more if the particular state does not intend to concede defeat (for lack of a better word).

Pluralism in international relations and international law accept the role of dual diplomacy in the resolution of conflict. Pluralism is guided by the concern of equal participation aspects that realism and positivism view as taking a second position in international relations. However diplomacy is at play for all the different schools of thought irrespective of the differing roles that these schools hold as to its nature.

CHAPTER FOUR

DIPLOMACY AND CONFLICT: TWO SIDES OF A COIN

> To be means to be for the other, and through him, for oneself. Man has no internal sovereign territory; he is all and always on the boundary; looking within himself, he looks in the eyes of the other or through the eyes of the other... I cannot do without the other; I cannot become myself without the other; I must find myself in the other, finding the other in me.[26]

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapters two and three have so far sought to explain the discourse of diplomacy in International Relations interpreted in the Realists and the Pluralist languages and, in the positivist and pluralist languages in international law. The argument of these languages was that the concern for the conduct of diplomacy is understood from the perspectives of interests and actors, these primarily being those of the various states on the international system. The conduct of diplomacy according to the pluralist is thus justified in terms of issues and interests affecting the entire international system.

This chapter seeks to examine the discourse of diplomacy in conflict. Principally the concern will be on examining the factors that could reduce anarchy on the international system. It is argued that conflict and diplomacy are two sides of the coin of international relations for they are characteristic of the entire system, in terms of contributing to peace and war.

The development of conflict studies as a discipline takes the same path as diplomacy that has been considered as a sub-discipline. Conflict studies examine the parameters that are responsible for the appearance of tension or conflict in a relationship.

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[26] M. Bakhtin, The Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics, quoted by Der Derian, Antidiplomacy: *Spies, Terror, Speed and War* (London: Blackwell, 1992), p. 165.

The approaches used in the studies are reminiscent to those of diplomacy. This is so because diplomacy takes a closer look at the origins of the conflict depending however on what approach is used, either official or unofficial. The positivist concern for diplomacy was illustrated in the previous chapter as linked to the fulfillment or attainment of national interests vis-à-vis power. This position illustrates that once the power balances shift, so too does the international system creating a situation where peace is non-existent but war is absent.

Pluralism on the other hand looks at the possibility of addressing all sources of tension by assuming that there are other interests and actors besides power and states that are capable of reducing anarchy in the international system. Pluralism advocates for dual diplomacies in the resolution of conflicts.

The international system is not devoid of conflict situations at any time, this means that a cobweb-form of inter-relationships of reasoning in terms of disciplines are always seeking for solutions. On the one hand there exists conflict while on the other harmony. Bringing these two together remains the role of conflict and diplomacy. It will be argued that while conflict reflects an aspect of tension, diplomacy reflects tranquility, then the two must operate in tandem to ensure that anarchy does not prevail.

Diplomatic discourse in conflict is examined from the perspectives of strategic research and peace research. This study examines the unilateral and multiple actors' frameworks of the constituents of the international system in terms of the concerns of diplomacy.

The concern for diplomacy in relation to the reduction of anarchy on the international system is articulated vis-à-vis the contribution of conflict analysis. It is

argued that the conduct of diplomacy is concerned with the process of resolving conflicts. It acknowledges the fact that conflict exists as a result of incompatible goals.[27]

4.2 CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND DIPLOMACY

The concern for conflict resolution in diplomacy relates to the different approaches that are applicable. While diplomacy remains a principle concern for states, the different approaches to it indicate otherwise. Dual diplomacy notes the significant role of the personalities concerned. The theoretical premises of conflict argue that theory ought to answer the questions as to how conflicts are generated and manifested in society.

The concern for conflict resolution is the basis for all international relations. Diplomacy argues that conflict resolution paves the way for the interaction of systems. Conflict analysis analyses the world as it is, and is not directly concerned with making recommendations.[28] The study of diplomacy is therefore concerned with the different approaches to the resolution of conflict. These are the different languages of discourses within the different disciplines of international relations. The interdisciplinary nature of conflict is examined from different perspectives.

Peace research concerns itself with the diverse interests, actors, and issues in a conflict. While akin to structural realism, it is closely followed by conflict research that attempts to bring in all interested parties of a conflict to the negotiating table. The concern for conflict research is the creation of legitimate relationships based on consensus. Like peace research, conflict research has specific interest in the environment as the source of conflict.

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[27] M. Mwagiru, M. Munene and N. Karuru, *Understanding Conflict and its' Management* (Nairobi: Center for Conflict Research and Women and Law in East Africa (Kenya), 1998), p. 5.
[28] Michael Nicholson, *Rationality and The Analysis of International Conflict*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 23.

Conflict research is the analysis of human needs and interests of those concerned in a particular conflict situation, and the means of satisfying them.[29] It considers the different perceptions about conflict. Larsen[30] observes that peace can not be lasting neither can it be achieved without taking into consideration the underlying dynamics of the conflicting parties thereby preferring the conflict management process that addresses all the diverse aspects to the conflict. The entire issue of conflict research can aptly be seen as a study, comparison and contrast of the different conflicts within one.[31]

The process of decision-making in conflict management seeks to bring in diverse issues, interests and parties to an agreement in resolving a conflict. Essentially the link of diplomacy to conflict management and the Wittgensterian philosophy of language are the different meanings or interpretations.

The concern for diplomacy is ascribed different meanings by the disciplines of international relations. The knowledge in terms of theory and experience of diplomacy becomes of importance if the diplomat[32] is to contribute to the reduction of conflict on the international system.

4.3 THE CONCERN FOR DISCOURSE

The discourse of diplomacy has so far shown that no particular theory adapts firmly to it, and as such the competing theories of international relations seek to explain one principle aspect that is characteristic of the international system, anarchy. In the

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[29] John W. Burton, 'World Society and Human Needs,' in Margot Light and A. J. R. Groom (eds.), *International Relations: A Handbook of Current Theory* (London: Pinter Publishers, 1985), pp. 46-59: 46.
[30] Knud Larsen (ed.), *Conflict and Social Psychology* (Oslo: International Peace Research Institute, 1993), preface.
[31] C. R. Mitchell, 'Conflict, War and Conflict Management,' in Margot Light and A. J. R. Groom (eds.), *International Relations: A Handbook of Current Theory*, op cit., pp. 121-140. He in particular draws the issue for the need of history in the analysis of any one conflict, he argues that the faces of any conflict keep changing and as such there is need to be aware of the changes as they take place.
[32] This is the professional diplomat prescribed to by Maggi in Chapter Two of this dissertation, as opposed to the political appointee.

analysis of international relations, various languages of discourses continue to do the same thing, settling the dispute of definition and analysis of anarchy and how diplomacy fits in as a 'corrector.'

Chapter two sought to explain the discourse of diplomacy in International Relations by presenting the perceptions of the realist and the pluralist. The argument of these languages was that the concern for the conduct of diplomacy is understood from the perspectives of interests and actors. The conduct of diplomacy has thus far been seen to reflect the behaviour of states and their justification in the pursuit of their diverse interests.

While the pluralism reduces the salience of the state as the principle actor on the international system, it argues that the diversity of interests across the board still dictate the principle actors on the scene. The conduct of diplomacy according to the pluralist is thus justified in terms of issues and interests affecting the entire international system. In the preceding chapter, it was argued by the positivist and the pluralist that the conduct of diplomacy as a reflection of state behaviour is mostly determined by the rules set forth by the actors themselves in reducing the potentialities of anarchy. As such for the positivist, states behave in a manner that suits them best, and since they consent to the rules of international law, agree to maintain international peace through their actions.

The positivist will at times argue that some rules are arbitrary, but the pluralist asserts that it is the legal subjects of international law that behave in a manner as to impede or promote the effectiveness of international law. The conduct of diplomacy for the pluralist is defined in terms of communicating shared values, providing guidelines for authoritative decision-making, and creating expectations about future behaviour.

4.4 THE ANALYSIS OF CONFLICT AND DIPLOMACY

The concept of conflict is one that is associated with vague terminologies and phrases. It is defined in terms of wants, needs, or obligations of the parties involved.[33] According to Simmel,[34] conflict is designed to resolve divergent dualisms; it is seen as a way of achieving some kind of unity, even if it is through the annihilation of one of the conflicting parties.

The Chinese symbol for conflict is a product of two Chinese words, danger and opportunity. Conflict is neither positive nor negative and as such resolution moves in either direction. This could be war or peace. Hendricks[35] outlines several myths of conflict. Firstly, the presence of conflict is a sign of a poor manager. Secondly, conflict is a sign of low concern for the organization. Thirdly, anger is negative and destructive. Fourthly, conflict if left alone, will take care of itself, and lastly, conflict must be resolved. In all these only but the last view conflict as an evil, and yet it is a necessary part of both interpersonal and inter-state relations. It is through conflict that these parties[36] can assess where they are and where they are going.

The connotative reference made to conflict is that it reflects a fight, struggle, or difference of opinions. Denotatively, the main reference is to war. The concern for diplomacy in relation to the reduction of anarchy on the international system is articulated vis-à-vis the contribution of conflict analysis. It is argued that the process of

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[33] Michael Nicholson, *Rationality and The Analysis of International Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 11.

[34] George Simmel, *Conflict and The Web of Group Affiliations* (Ontario: Collier-Macmillan Canada Ltd., 1955), p. 8.

[35] William Hendricks, *How To Manage Conflict* (USA: National Services Publication, 1992), pp. 14-25.

[36] Persons and states.

conflict resolution is akin to diplomacy in that the approaches used within or for one could equally be used for the other. These being track one and track two approaches.

It is argued that the conduct of diplomacy is mainly concerned with the process of resolving conflicts and maintaining these relations even during peace time.. On the other hand, the conflict management process examines a particular conflict making reference to its history with the intention of not returning to the issue in the future. As such conflict management looks at the present crisis situation, the crisis on the ground.

The concern for resolution deals with a crisis that is being observed by the analyst and its impact on the future. It acknowledges the fact that conflict exists as a result of incompatible goals[37] and from this justifies the conduct of diplomacy in international relations. The concern for conflict resolution in diplomacy relates to the different approaches applicable in the management of the conflict. It essentially seeks to bring all the interested parties together. The basic approaches to conflict management have been classified as official and unofficial diplomacies.[38]

While diplomacy remains a principle concern for states, the different approaches to it indicate otherwise. Mwagiru[39] in particular asserts that the nature of conflict is not only domestic but extends to the international scene. He advocates for dual diplomacy that addresses both the inter-state and internal levels of the same conflict. The wholesome advantage of dual diplomacy is that it brings in diverse actors and constituents into play

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[37] M. Mwagiru, M. Munene and N. Karuru, *Understanding Conflict and its' Management* (Nairobi: Center for Conflict Research and Women and Law in East Africa (Kenya), 1998), p. 5.

[38] See John Burton and Frank Dukes, *Conflict: Practices in Management, Settlement and Resolution* (London: The Macmillan Press limited, 1990), pp. 135-140. See also Makumi Mwagiru, *The International Management of Internal Conflict in Africa: The Uganda Mediation-1985*, pH. D Dissertation, University of Kent at Canterbury, 1994), pp. 40-42.

[39] Ibid. p. 41.

by virtue of the diverse perceptions that they hold of the conflict, and of the interests being pursued.

Dual diplomacy notes the significant role of the personalities concerned. In this, it is able to examine the different structures of the conflict in terms to its transformations.[40] The diverse nature of conflict resembles a unicellular organism that is always changing its feature(s).

The theoretical premises of conflict analysis argue that theory ought to answer the questions as to how conflicts are generated and manifested in society. Theory ought to help understand the implications of conflict on society, how to deal with it, while at the same time help understand how it affects the structure of relationships from the interpersonal level to the international level. The objective of pluralism in conflict is to analyze, understand and find means to resolve a conflict. Pluralism is essentially interested in the management of conflict and not in its elimination.[41]

The concern for conflict resolution is the basis for international relations. It acknowledges the fact that the search for peace is the background on which diplomacy is based. Diplomacy argues that conflict resolution paves the way for the interaction of systems. It seeks to bring out contending issues that are rarely addressed in conflict settlement that in many cases is a consequence of the strict observation of the rules of track-one diplomacy. Conflict analysis studies the world as it is, and it is not directly concerned with making recommendations.[42] The study of diplomacy is therefore concerned with the different approaches to the resolution of conflict.

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[40] Ibid. pp. 413-414.
[41] John W. Burton, *World Society* (Cambridge,M. A. and London, U.K: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 137.
[42] Michael Nicholson, *Rationality and The Analysis of International Conflict*, op cit., p. 23.

The interdisciplinary nature of conflict is examined from different perspectives. The first of this is referred to as the strategic research paradigm that borrows from the Realist perspective of International Relations and Positivism in international law. Peace research concerns itself with the diverse interests, actors, and issues in a conflict. It seeks a multi-centric perspective in the conflict management process as it deals with the structures that make up a system. These structures are the basis of inequality in the system. This structural concern for the peace researcher implies the diversity of a conflict and signifies the importance of complementing the diplomatic approaches. Arguably, it is within the confines of dual diplomacy that there exists the possibility of addressing the diverse levels of conflict. This duality is advocated for and recommended by Burton and Dukes[43] as vital for conflict resolution as it allows community participation or involvement.

While peace research is akin to structural realism, it is closely followed by conflict research that attempts to bring in all interested parties of a conflict to the negotiating table. The concern for conflict research is the creation of legitimate relationships based on consensus. Like peace research, conflict research has specific interest in the environment as the source of conflict.

Conflict research is the analysis of human needs and interests of those concerned in a particular conflict situation, and the means of satisfying them.[44] The very nature of addressing all interests of the parties concerned makes it pluralistic. It considers the different perceptions about conflict. There are several frameworks that are associated to

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[43] John Burton and Frank Dukes, *Conflict: Practices in Management, Settlement and Resolution*, op cit., p. 23

[44] John W. Burton, 'World Society and Human Needs,' in Margot Light and A. J. R. Groom (eds.), *International Relations: A Handbook of Current Theory* (London: Pinter Publishers, 1985), pp. 46-59: 46.

conflicts especially emanating from an internal or localized conflict. These include many constituents, parties who do not act rationally because of individual interests. Conflicts are seen as subjective relationships dependent on sets of values and the subjective perceptions of the motivations of other sides to the conflict.[45]

Mitchell[46] argues that the concerns of conflict research include the analysis of the psychological aspects of a conflict, and in particular he is concerned with the insights or contributions of Cognitive Psychology that deals with the images and perceptions.[47] Larsen[48] observes that peace can not be lasting neither can it be achieved without taking into consideration the underlying dynamics of the conflicting parties thereby preferring the conflict management process that addresses all the diverse aspects to the conflict.

While conflict research takes note of the importance of human needs, it in particular asserts that power does not reside in the state but in groups of people. This means therefore that human needs are associated precisely with development, identity, recognition and security that fervently call for the participation in the decision-making processes of any conflict.

The Burundi Peace Agreement signed between the 28 August 2000 and 6 October 2000 is a significant case. Prior to his, Mwalimu Nyerere, former president of Tanzania and chief mediator to the conflict, had requested that all persons or groups interested in the conflict be party to the talks. At the time of signing the agreement between these

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[45] John W. Burton, *World Society*, op cit., pp. 139-142.
[46] C.R Mitchell, 'Conflict Research,' in Margot Light and A. J. R. Groom (eds.), *Contemporary International Relations: A Guide to Theory* (London: Pinter Publishers, 1985), pp. 128-136.
[47] See Robert Jervis, 'Hypotheses on Misperceptions,' in Knorr Klaus (ed.), *Power, Strategy and Security* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 152-177: Margaret Hermann, G, 'Explaining Foreign Policy Behavior Using The Personal Characteristics of Political Leaders', *International Studies Quarterly*, 1980. Vol. 24, No. 1, pp. 7-47.
[48] Knud Larsen (ed.), *Conflict and Social Psychology* , op cit., preface.

dates, nineteen (19) different parties had decided to take part in the talks. Some of these parties with less than one hundred members had their interests considered. The questions that abound regard the implementation of a cease-fire deal, and the formation of a transitional government. President Pierre Buyoya currently heads this. The entire issue of conflict research can aptly be seen as a study, comparison and contrast of the different conflicts within one.[49]

Conflict research concentrates more on the interactions within relationships thus perceptions are important. Peace is elusive to the conflict researcher since the values of all parties must be considered. Though utopia, it brings about the fundamental issue of participation in decision-making. The issue of decision-making is of importance to diplomacy since it determines in many cases the approaches to be used in settling conflicts. Decision-making also details the procedure of arriving at conclusions, by consensus, majority vote, and bloc voting and through unanimity. The procedure opted for has very many interpretations in languages and contributes to the study of diplomacy.[50]

The process of decision-making in conflict management seeks to bring in diverse issues, interests and parties to an agreement in resolving a conflict. It is within this

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[49] C. R. Mitchell, 'Conflict, War and Conflict Management,' in Margot Light and A. J. R. Groom (eds.), *International Relations: A Handbook of Current Theory*, op cit., pp. 121-140. He in particular draws the issue for the need of history in the analysis of any one conflict, he argues that the faces of any conflict keep changing and as such there is need to be aware of the changes as they take place.

[50] See Karl Zemanek, 'Majority-Rule and Consensus Technique in Law Making Diplomacy,' in R. St. J. Macdonald and Douglas M. Johnson (eds.), *The Structure and Process of International Law* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1986), pp. 857-868: 868. See also Simna Bruno, Consent: Strains in The Treaty System,' in R. St. J. Macdonald and Douglas M. Johnson (eds.), *The Structure and Process of International Law*, op cit., pp. 485-512: 488 and 491. Johan Kaufmann, *Conference Diplomacy: An Introductory Analysis* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1995), Chapter Five.

process of decision-making that Mitchell[51] and Jervis[52] bring in a new dimension of analysis, the need to review the importance of the psychological aspect of conflict. This particular perspective can best be examined from the unofficial diplomatic approach. The objectives of track two diplomacy is that it addresses the internal character of a conflict mainly the non-negotiable aspects such as attitudes and perceptions that can not be quantified,[53] but are important in attempting to explain why states behave in certain ways especially in the foreign policy arena.[54]

Of prime importance to conflict research are two levels of decision-making, the organizational and bureaucratic models that project the functions of diplomacy. Holsti[55] notes that the organizational model is made of norms and memories, prior policy commitments, routines and standard operating procedures which shape and distort the structure of problems, the channeling of information, the use of expertise and, eventually affect the implementation of executive decisions. In support of this thinking, organizations are composed of individuals and units with conflicting perceptions, values and interests.

The bureaucratic perspective on the other hand argues that politics or bureaucracy in many instances constrains the manner in which issues are defined, the range of options to be considered, and the manner in which decisions are implemented.

[51] C.R Mitchell, 'Conflict Research,' in Margot Light and A. J. R. Groom (eds.), *Contemporary International Relations: A Guide to Theory*, op cit., pp. 128-136.
[52] Robert Jervis, 'Hypotheses on Misperceptions,' in Knorr Klaus (ed.), *Power, Strategy and Security*, op cit., pp. 152-177.
[53] See Makumi Mwagiru, *The International Management of Internal Conflict in Africa: The Uganda Mediation-1985*, op cit., p. 42.
[54] Margaret G. Hermann, 'Explaining Foreign Policy Behaviour Using the Personal Characteristics of Political Leaders,' *International Studies Quarterly*, 1980, Vol. 24, No. 1, pp. 7-47: 45.
[55] Ole R. Holsti, 'Theories of International Relations: Realism and Its Challengers,' in Kegley Charles W, *Controversies in International Relations Theory: Realism and The Neo-Liberal Challenge*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), p. 45.

The discourse of analysis primarily is seen as the interpretations of the tenets of individual languages. These are regarded to as the 'private languages' that Wittgenstein[56] attests to as being linked or connected to the idea of how things get defined, explained, learned, and thought so as to get meaning.

Essentially the link of diplomacy to conflict management and the Wittgensterian philosophy of language are the different meanings or interpretations. This is especially in view of the perceptions held by the diverse actors in the conflict management process. It is therefore necessary to adapt a pluralist aspect of analysis, which allow for different perspectives, interests and issues to be examined to be able to resolve any particular conflict.

The concern for 'private languages' as illustrated from a Wittgensterian perspective is that these languages ascribe different meanings to similar issues. The concern for diplomacy is ascribed different meanings by the disciplines of international relations. The diplomat is thus charged under the functions of Article 3 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (1969) with the responsibility of interpreting international relations in such a way that will assist in formulating policies both locally and internationally that will assist in the reduction of anarchy.

Kaufmann[57] has in particular argued that there is a need for the diplomat to be able to interpret issues from different schools of thought, be they historical, economic,

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[56] John W. Look, 'Solipsism and Language; in Alice Ambrose and Morris Lazerowitz (ed.), *Ludwig Wittgenstein: Philosophy and Language*, (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1972), pp. 37-72. : Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Grammar* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1974), p. 170, where languages are systems: Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1968), paragraph 269, p. 94. and John T.E Richardson, *The Grammar of Justification: An Interpretation of Wittgenstein's Philosophy of language* (London: Sussex University Press, 1976), p. 131.

[57] Johan Kaufmann, *Conference Diplomacy: An Introductory Analysis* (Dordrecht, London and Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1995), Chapters 7, 8 and 9.

geographical, and philosophical. Like Groom[58] and Webb[59], Kaufmann argues that the diplomats must be well versed in international relations in terms of theory and experience. The diplomat is therefore charged with the responsibility of engaging in processes that facilitate improved communication, problem-solving mechanisms, and improved interactions within relationships that generally have shared goals. The knowledge in terms of theory and experience of diplomacy becomes of importance if the diplomat[60] is to contribute to the reduction of conflict on the international system.

4.5   DIPLOMACY IN STRATEGY AND PEACE RESEARCH

The strategy paradigm borrows heavily from Realism in International Relations and Positivism in International Law. The principle concern is on leadership, control and hegemony on the international system. It examines and defines the role of power in the society, arguing that the principle of the equality of states and their hierarchy in the international system is essentially power-based.

The structure of the international system makes it possible for a powerful state to assume authority over all others due to the absence of an international government. While the United Nations poses as a 'government in the wings,' majority of the states are not willing to surrender their sovereignty. The current financial structure makes it possible for the largest contributor to have more say on what goes on within the United Nations, as such the meaning of power shifts from plain military capability to diverse issues. The realists argue that the prime concern for international law is the maintenance of the *status*

[58] A.J. R. Groom, 'Practitioners and Academics: Towards a Happier Relationship?' In Michael Banks (ed.), *Conflict in World Society: A New Perspective on International Relations* (Brighton: Wheatsheaf Books, 1984), pp. 192-208.

[59] Keith Webb, 'Academics and Professional in International Relations: A British Perspective,' *Kent Papers in Politics and International Relations*, Series 1, No. 12, 1991.

[60] This is the professional diplomat prescribed to by Maggi in Chapter Two of this dissertation, as opposed to the political appointee.

quo by the powerful in the promotion of national interests. They also argue that the structures of the international system are not legitimate as they are dependent on power structures thereby remaining a source of conflict.

Hegemony illustrates the articulation of power. It defines and guides world order with its concern for rules and structures for maintaining order in the international society. When examined within other languages of discourse, international relations in general, are about the struggle for power, domination, and manipulation. The discourse of diplomacy in conflict for the strategist is clothed or dominated by force, coercion, and the subsequent coercive relationships between states. It is articulated in international conferences through the voting and deliberation procedures that are an indication of the position of states.

The concerns of international conferences are three-fold for the diplomat, to make general discussions and exchange points of view on certain points, to make recommendations, and to exchange information of specific questions.[61] The articulation of power may be done either through pressure or influence in what Hartmann[62] regards as being dependent upon the intentions of a particular state or states.

If the realist were to realise their dream of the state remaining the sole actor on the international scene, conflict would achieve either of two objectives. To completely destroy the other party or see to it that it surrenders completely; or to have the second option of 'joint survival'[63] where neither side would expect to get permanently rid of its

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[61] Johan Kaufmann, *Conference Diplomacy: An Introductory Analysis*, op cit., p. 7.

[62] Frederick H. Hartmann, *The Relations of Nations*, op cit., p. 8.

[63] This phrase is borrowed from Karl Deutsch, *The Analysis of International Relations* (New Jersey: Englewood Cliffs, 1988) when he argues that the issue of state equality and sovereignty rests on the needs or the recognition of survival for all hence there must be 'joint survival.'

adversary. The latter in effect leads to moderation in conflict and is headed toward a compromise for a settlement.

Power, status and domination remain important to the strategist, but manipulation remains of prime importance. The question is how does the strategist manipulate diplomacy to suit his objectives. The basis for manipulation is that it enables the actor to be seen in a positive light, which is, behaving in accordance to the expectations of the international community. Manipulation of power is carried out variously. Its articulation is mainly regarded in terms of game theory. Arguably, states know what they want, and they must know what they can and cannot do. These manipulations are classed as tactics, short-term moves, and strategies, long term moves. The concern for the strategists depend largely on the conflict itself and in turn determines the diplomatic approach to be used. The conduct of diplomacy for any state is thus regarded as being rational with the objective of winning and reducing the chances of losing.

Rationality for the states is regarded in terms of equality of states considering sovereignty and territorial integrity. Vattel categorically notes that states are equal because of the functions they perform, be they giants of dwarfs. The second presumption of rationality is that there is no time limit for actors in determining particular courses of action. Lastly, the actors are able to think through the actions of their opponents at all times. Interpreted otherwise, game theory is zero-sum game for the strategist.[64] There must be a winner and a loser.

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[64] An in-depth analysis of games theory is carried out by Thomas C. Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), Michael Nicholson, *Rationality and the Analysis of International Conflict*, op cit.; see also, Robert H. Lieshot, *Between Anarchy and Hierarchy: A Theory of International Politics and Foreign Policy* (Aldershot, UK, and Brookfield, USA: Edward Elgar, 1995).

Game theory remains a concern for diplomacy. Two particular games are prominent, zero-sum game where the assumption is that states' interests do not change and as such states remain hostile to each other. The concept for strategic rationality in diplomacy is the ability for the states to choose the courses of action that are based on the expectations of how others are likely to behave. Zero-sum game is mainly defensive. The limitation of zero-sum is that it aims at settlement of conflict. When the *status quo* changes, the probability of reverting to conflict is high. This game is characteristic of the approaches adopted for official diplomacy where power is of importance.

The mixed-motive games are games of competition[65] where the parties to a conflict jointly gain or lose depending on their ability to co-ordinate their actions in relations to their common interests. The choices for mixed-motive games are either co-operation or defection. The diplomacy of conflict management is about co-operation. While the strategies opted for by different parties may be different; they look for those most beneficial to themselves and eventually to the situation. The idea of co-operation means that all issues, concerns, interests, actors are brought together to remedy a situation.

The concern for co-operation in diplomacy and conflict management makes it possible for the development of early warning systems. As a concern for preventive diplomacy, early warning is the ability to sniff out trouble in the early stages and taking measures to prevent the conflict escalating into a war. Schelling[66] adopts a rather pluralistic approach to conflict management. His concern in conflict takes into

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[65] Deutsch Karl Wolfgang, *The Analysis of International Relations*, op cit. p.147.
[66] Thomas C. Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict*, op cit.

consideration the use of game theory preferably stag-hunt,[67] organisation and communication theory, evidence, choice and collective decision, whose objective is the avoidance of reciprocal annihilation between the parties.

The argument for dual diplomacy in the conflict management process can be seen as a mixture of competitive games that bring in new discoveries and enhances knowledge toward a mutual appreciation and the adjustment of perceptions and preferences of all concerned parties. Generally there are five basic styles to conflict management. They indirectly determine the approach applicable in the process of resolving the conflict, either track one or track two.

These styles include the concern for integration that seeks the exchange of information between the parties concerned. This particular style leads to adopting a dualistic approach for resolution. The idea of obliging essentially means placing high values on others and reflects an aspect of passivity or docility on the part of one party. This style could be precipitated by other factors such as force or power or intimidation. The opposite of obliging concerns domination whereby one party places value on oneself only and the reverse of the factors to obliging are in place. By obliging or domineering, a conflict is hardly resolved but settled for some times.

The concern for avoidance means that neither settlement nor resolution is possible. The final style of compromising is regarded as the middle road. The parties concerned must agree to sit at the table and iron out their differences. This is the only

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[67] The stag hunt theory was advanced by Jean-Jacques Rousseau as an attempt to illustrate the possibility of co-operation in a conflictual situation. Five hungry hunters surround a stag with the knowledge that each of them will get a fifth of the meat. From somewhere, a rabbit emerges and one hunter is tempted to go after it himself. The gain of the rabbit is only to one person, at the time the hunter goes after the rabbit; the stag has already escaped since there existed a loophole. What follows is a fight because of the single hunter actions. It is argued that self-interest ought to be defeated by the collective good.

option left for the parties to resolve the conflict. In many instances, the dual diplomatic approach is highly recommended. The strategies of diplomacy illustrate the significance of diplomacy. These are seen in terms of signals and indices.[68]

Signals are statements or actions whose meanings become clear because of the explicit actions of states, while indices are statements or actions that bear evidence that the image being projected is clear. It is through the manipulation of perceptions that the strategist is able to maintain the *status quo* (the assumption at this point being that a particular state has superior control over other states). Of essence for the diplomat is the ability to interpret the strategies of diplomacy correctly. These interpretations have a lot of significance in influencing diplomatic relations. While the strategist is concerned with power, he interprets all types of communication in terms of threats to interests and the possibilities of manipulation. The concern for dual diplomacy is imperative for the analysis of diplomatic relations.

Lieshot[69] observes that the greater the degree of instability in the international system, the more that a state views the others as posing a threat to its own security, and the consequence is that the state increases it expenditure militarily to remove this threat. Between 1998 and 1999, the Indian and Pakistani governments decided to test their nuclear capabilities despite an international ban on nuclear testing. Within the same period, North and South Korea also tested their capabilities. For many smaller states, the

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[68] These are examined in detail by Charles F. Ikle, *How Nations Negotiate* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1987): Thomas C. Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict*, op cit.: Robert Jervis, 'Hypotheses on Misperceptions,' in Knorr Klaus (ed.), *Power, Strategy and Security*, op cit., pp. 152-177, and Duncan Snidal, 'The Game Theory on International Politics,' in Kenneth A. Oye (ed.), *Co-operation Under Anarchy* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 25-57.
[69] Robert H. Lieshot, *Between Anarchy and Hierarchy: A Theory of International Politics and Foreign Policy*, op cit., p. 115.

military expenditure budget goes up following the amassing of troops along national boundaries.

There is today, a thin line between defense and deterrence. Each state argues its acquisition of weaponry is for upgrading its defense machinery and yet still is used to deter other states or poses a threat to the other states. According to Booth[70], the absence of an international government contributes much to anarchy, and as such security becomes the basis for strategy. Holsti[71] notes that in order to reconstruct how states deal with each other, it is important to view situations through the eyes of those who act on their behalf. They must be able to translate diplomacy into other disciplines to get an objective perspective of what is going on and as such determine the approach to conflict resolution.

Strategic studies and peace research indicate that diplomatic relations ought to be conducted in such a way that the interests of the states (the principle concern for this study) are protected. The reality of diplomacy in strategic studies concerns the maintenance of order in the international system. Arguably order is determined by the power held by a party and is at times interpreted to mean maintaining the status quo.

The concern for manipulation is premised on a realist assertion that assumes the ability to control. It is also based on the assumption that in order for a state to achieve the 'best' from the system, it must act in such a way that it does not feel threatened. The state as the main actor in the international system must be seen to protect its interest and equally assert its position in the system.

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[70] Ken Booth, 'Strategy,' in A. J. R. Groom and Margot Light (eds.), *Contemporary International Relations: A Guide to Theory* (London and New York; Pinter Publishers, 1994), pp. 109-119.
[71] Ole R. Holsti, 'Theories of International Relations: Realism and Its Challengers,' in Kegley Charles W, *Controversies in International Relations Theory: Realism and The Neo-Liberal Challenge*, op cit., pp. 35-59.

The maintenance of the status quo, the protection of interests and the concerns for manipulation are all illustrations of the features that characterize the diplomacy of states. While recognizing the existence of other actors in the international system, the concerns of national interest and balance of power have been illustrated as the determinants of diplomacy.

The discourse of diplomacy for the conflict researcher is holistic in nature; it takes into perspective the interests of all interested parties to a conflict. The conflict researcher in ways more than one must seek means by which to facilitate the resolution of conflict. The diplomat is thus responsible for facilitating good diplomatic relations between states, and in view of the scope of diplomacy must seek to understand the diverse theoretical underpinnings or languages to be able to analyse issues and events in international relations objectively. This objectiveness is what the diplomat must communicate.

All languages of discourse indeed confirm that diplomacy must be translated into the individual disciplines to be comprehensible for many in international relations. The translation so far established links diplomacy with the environment of the international system. It means different things to different schools of thought. Broadly diplomacy has been evidenced as either the medium of anarchy or harmony. Anarchy is the condition that exists in the event that there is no international government that puts the reigns of individual states while diplomacy is the acceptable behaviour of states in relation to others. As the medium of harmony, diplomacy revolves between conflicts to moderate the extremes.

The failure of translation means that different interpretations of issues in international relations makes it possible for disharmony to develop or continue. In many

ways diplomacy and conflict analysis are two important perspectives of examining international relations. They adopt a pluralistic assumption to international relations making it possible to accommodate the anarchy of the international system by constraining its expansion to outright war.

CHAPTER FIVE   TOWARDS LINKING THE DISCOURSES

"Languages are systems."[72]

This study has examined the significance of language in diplomacy. At the start, emphasis has been on clarifying the meanings of languages and discourse as used in the study. Specifically the concern for languages has been in the analysis of the theories of knowledge within international relations. It has been argued that the different schools of thought in the disciplines of international relations have provided different meanings to diplomacy.

Language in its literary interpretation is the ability to communicate with another person. The concern for this study has defined language as a theory of knowledge in which each discipline is examined. Language defines the various tenets to a discipline and illustrates how the tenets are of significance to the discipline. It at the same time illustrated that the different tenets of disciplines are normally closely related in terms of the issues that they uphold. This is indeed true regarding the principle concerns of realism and positivism and pluralism in the different disciplines of international relations and international law and conflict studies respectively. It is observed that while the concept of diplomacy is present in all the three disciplines, practice remains the same, that of regulating conflicts and setting standards of acceptable international behaviour.

The scope for communication has been argued for as being the interpretation of diplomacy within different languages. Interpretation has been argued for as being fundamental for any communication to take place as it reduces the chances of misunderstandings or misinterpretations.

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[72] Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Grammar* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1974), paragraph 170.

In this study, the listener and speaker have constituted the discourse of diplomacy within other discourses. While diplomacy has been the speaker the other discourses of international relations acted as listeners. Diplomacy sought in the conversation to define itself as opposed to where it had been defined by the listeners or other disciplines. The analogue of the age-old fable of the elephant illustrated this communication link.

Several descriptions have been put forth as to what diplomacy is but evidently diplomacy has always been lurking in the midst of all disciplines. Its diverse nature of interpenetrating in the other discourses has contributed to the definitions that it has received. Ranging from an instrument of foreign policy, international relations, arbiter of conflicts, way of life, diplomacy has indeed displayed an amoebic nature to its practice. However the concept of diplomacy has all along presented itself as the inter-relationship of actors within and without the international system.

Diplomacy has no disciplinary boundaries but instead the discipline of diplomacy emerges as the basis of international relations. This is in relation to its ability to penetrate other disciplines while at the same time resisting attachment to any. The analogue of a spring of water best illustrates diplomacy. Embedded in the depths of the earth, the spring produces water that flows in all directions except back to itself. The spring feeds itself from deep within itself under the surface where no one source can be identified. So too is Diplomacy, all pervasive.

The arguments so far put forth in this study have established that the different schools of thought in disciplines are the different languages of discourse and as such have their different interpretations as to how they see things and especially the conduct of diplomacy. The different interpretations have been the main concern for the contribution

of discourse in international relations. Essentially the principle objective of the theories of knowledge has been to give a critical account of the order of justification of the conduct of diplomacy. This has taken the form of a search for those theories upon which diplomatic practice can be justified.

It has been the concern of this study to judge between the different systems of knowledge to determine what is true and what is not about diplomacy. Is the knowledge of diplomacy relative to society and the period in which the society exists? In achieving the objectives of the study, certain issues have been prevalent. Firstly, diplomacy as a social science is a discipline that is basically multi-theoretical in nature, and this has led to the discipline receiving different definitions. These definitions have been as a result of the different realities of diplomacy in relation to state practice. It was fundamentally important at the beginning of each chapter to examine the tenets before linking to diplomacy.

It has been argued that the problems of international relations can be addressed through the acknowledgment of a multi-lingual system of knowledge. A system that allows different interpretations to be examined eventually displaying the features of an open exchange.

Two broad schools of thought, realism and pluralism, were argued for as the basis for explaining international relations. Within the different disciplines, these languages have defined and described diplomacy in their own terms. In many cases the realities according to the languages used have been responsible for the type of diplomatic approach adopted. In this context, meaning does not depend entirely on the laid-down stipulations but instead depends on the idea or school of thought being pursued by one

party, as such meaning has been seen to depend on the parties concerned in interpreting any particular situation.

The theoretical concerns for diplomacy mean therefore that the paradigms of the study of diplomacy depend on the individual's perspective hence the existence of many paradigms that enrich the discipline. The problem under investigation determines for itself the paradigms to be used and the diplomatic approaches, either official or unofficial or dual diplomatic approach.

The definition posited for discourse argues for various interpretations to issues. Acknowledging that the levels of communication must be the same makes the concern for interpretation. Different levels of communication, in terms of understanding the relationship between speaker and listener occur when two people speak different languages at each other. A theorist of international relations and a physicist it has been evidenced relate to the concept of power differently hence communication is said to be at different levels. Instead of speaking to each other, they end up speaking at each other since none comprehends what the other is saying.

This study argued that to understand each particular discourse, it is imperative to learn the tenets of the languages making up the discourse. It is argued that it is only after learning that interpretation between languages begins and the translation of discourses can be said to take place. The different languages express the changing nature of concepts; hence the opaqueness of language makes it difficult to ascertain the different meanings that are possible. This means that meaning is mediated by language.

While many argue that diplomacy is about secrecy and ambiguity especially in relation to its conduct, this perception is countered by the knowledge of the different

languages. The analysis of diplomacy in international relations sought to illustrate that the principal concern of diplomacy is the idea of communication pervading the entire system.

Realism views diplomacy in form of conduct as dealing with state practice and protecting state interests. It argues that the absence of a legitimate government on the international system makes it possible for states to determine for themselves how to interact with each other on the basis of their individual interests. National interests determine state behavior. While there are many challenges to state-centrism, the state nevertheless retains substantial authority on the international sphere.

The pluralist on the other hand constitutes the changing nature of diplomacy. It has been argued that the concerns of diplomacy have shifted from plain state relations to incorporate the seas, space regimes and the control of natural resources. Modern diplomacy deals with concerns such as human rights, common heritage in the form of the environment, bio-diversity, peace and conflict resolution and management.

The themes of international relations are wide and call for discourse to ensure that peace and justice prevail in the international system. With the shift from actors to issues in international relations, diplomacy then deals with the procedural concerns as accreditations and the production of documents in the process of establishing diplomatic relations.

Language as a theory of knowledge in international relations notes that if theory is to speak of diplomacy, it must be diplomatic and apply the strategies of diplomacy. It must be the object of diplomacy. This means that it is not enough for theory to describe and analyze the practice of diplomacy, but it must be seen to be an event in the system

that it describes. It must look into itself from the practice and then develop theory. It is argued that it is through the realities of the languages that the discipline of diplomacy develops.

The analysis of diplomacy in international law sought to distinguish between right and wrong. The languages of international law do not seek to express what is right or wrong but look at the conflicting interests of the states and other subjects on the international system. Positivism has argued that international law developing from the consent of states, attempts to limit the activities of states, while guaranteeing the freedom to pursue their individual interests and intervening to prevent and resolve conflicts.

Positivism has affirmed that diplomacy concerns itself with normative issues on legislating norms of governing relations. It is particularly concerned with the rules of diplomacy, especially diplomatic and consular law. Pluralism on the other hand has argued that international law is a reflection of the interactive responses within the international system. International law is about past trends in decision-making that conform to the shared and preferred expectation of the international community. It has appreciated the different systems applicable in the resolution of conflict, such as mediation, conciliation, arbitration, facilitation workshops and the use of good offices, reflecting the actual role that diplomacy in the international system plays.

The concern for diplomacy in international law has been reflected by the fact that diplomacy deals with the process by which norms are made through the deliberations and negotiations before arriving at decisions. Diplomacy deals with formulating or rule making of agreements and treaties. The process of formulating laws illustrates the significant role of other actors besides the states on the international system while

recognizing that each state has its own policies of enforcement of international law within their municipal courts.

The concern for the pluralist is the acknowledgement that international law does not fail as argued by the positivist in terms of freedoms and constraints but that the legal subjects behave in such a way as to impede or promote its effective operation. The principles for international peace and justice have been argued for as being the basis of international law. Diplomacy is the medium through which all communication takes place to ensure that peace and justice is maintained on the international system.

Diplomacy it has been argued, as a social science is enriched by the different languages making it the center of competing paradigms. Diplomacy then is best defined from within the scope of the different disciplines that attempt to explain the complexities of the international relations and in turn explain those of diplomacy. It is the argument of the study that to understand the discourse of diplomacy, it is imperative to define the parameters of language within the different disciplines.

Meanings ascribed to the conduct of diplomacy by the different languages define and describe diplomacy. The impact of words, phrases and actions in diplomacy thus derive not from the differences between the different disciplines defining it, but from the values given and the rules determining the ways in which these are used.

The subjective aspect of language has been argued for as being 'reality' within the different disciplines. It is a way of looking at things. To understand the principles of private language, it becomes imperative to have the knowledge of the attitudes, tenets or theories of the particular discourse of international relations. To do otherwise then we

stand the chance of referring to it as 'strange' yet it is our own lack of knowledge that renders it 'strange.'

The link to language per se and diplomacy is the concern for communication that has been argued as being responsible for peace or war. The discourse of diplomacy becomes of importance when linking the scope of discipline in terms of the theoretical explanations to diplomatic practice. This linkage confirms that the violations of international peace and justice are bound to reduce with the adoption or recognition of a unitary discourse. By defining the framework within which to define diplomacy in international relations, it becomes possible to understand the complexities of diplomacy. The concern for defining these frameworks illustrates three aspects, the facts related to the practice of diplomacy, these being the concerns of states. They also have expressed the fact that the states are responsible for international law and for their behavior on the international system. The concern of diplomacy has illustrated that diplomatic approaches adopted are a reflection of the diversity of the international system.

This study attempted to examine the role of language in diplomacy. It has been argued that diplomacy and conflict are two sides of the same coin of the theory of knowledge to international relations. On the one hand international relations is characterised by peace and war, reflected by diplomacy and conflict, respectively. On the other hand, the discourses of diplomacy and conflict attempt to articulate the facts or realities of international relations. The discourses of diplomacy and conflict illustrate the complexities of the international system. It has been argued that both disciplines are multi-theoretical taking into consideration all the different perspectives that are essential for the analysis of international relations.

Of principle concern for this study has been the issue of diplomatic practice and its meanings and justification, as interpreted and translated within the various discourses. Diplomatic relations are argued for as being the bedrock or principal concern of states. They are responsible in determining why diplomatic relations ought to be established and with whom. The states are responsible for determining the law that governs these relationships.[73]

The different discourses have illustrated that there are various issues of concern, which illustrate the practice of diplomacy by states. Diplomatic practice has been interpreted in terms of interests and issues that the various discourses translate differently. In International Relations, these are translated in terms of power. In international law, in terms of the procedures for attaining international peace and justice, while in conflict analysis, in terms of resolving differences resulting from different interpretations of issues.

The epistemological concerns for this study have regarded diplomacy as a research programme. The idea of diplomacy being a research programme is argued for in the context of the diverse theories that seek to explain it. This competition for explanations enriches the discourse of diplomacy in such a way that it essentially is regarded as a progressive programme. It has attempted to deal with the philosophical claims about the way that the world of diplomacy is known or knowable.

The analysis offered in this study ardently takes a Feyerabendian view to diplomacy. It in particular notes that the discipline of diplomacy is fed by all other disciplines thus making it very diverse. The premise for adopting the Feyerabendian view is that it relates to the different definitions offered for diplomacy. It at the same time

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[73] See Chapter Three of this Dissertation on The discourse of Diplomacy in international law.

gives room for different theories to compete against each other. Each theory that attempts to explain diplomacy contributes directly to the accumulation of knowledge and attempts to criticise a different theory; it in turn emerges to explain diplomacy from a much stronger perspective. The different languages within different discourses have illustrated this 'competition'.

The lack of competition or criticism results in either stagnation or *ad hoc* theorizing, or the acceptance of progressive theories borne out of conformity or tiredness. Diplomacy has strongly resisted this stagnation by its rejection of any one theory. The competition for theory that is characteristic of diplomacy translates to diplomacy being the base root for international relations with the different languages developing as the branches of international relations.

The development of the different schools of thought in explaining diplomatic practice illustrates the need for linking practice to theory. This thus illustrates the need for the diplomat not only to have wide experience but also to be able to interpret event, issues in diverse ways and as such would be objective in the analysis that he makes. It is this objectivity that diplomacy as a practice and discipline depicts. The different discourses reflect the cognitive realities of diplomacy in international relations. Paraphrasing Winch[74], the description, definitions of diplomacy in relation to the conduct of it are a reality defined by the languages used.

The link or association especially between International Relations, international law and conflict analysis presents the discourse analysis of international relations in translating diplomatic practice. This eventually translates to the fact that diplomacy is

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[74] Peter Winch, *The Idea of a Social Science and Its Relation to Philosophy* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1958), p. 15.

indeed very diverse and hence inter-disciplinary in nature. There is no final arbiter of truth but instead meaning is derived from an inter-relationship of discourses.

This means that the practice of diplomacy the bedrock of diplomacy will remain elusive to theory but will be justified according to a particular language. Sun Tzu's dictum 'to find security without fighting is the acme of skill' illustrates to the diplomat what his duty ought to be in the effort to achieving international peace and justice on the international system.

CHAPTER SIX:

CONCLUSION

At the onset of this dissertation Wittgenstein is quoted as asserting there is no a prior order of things[75] inferring on the possibility of there being different meanings to things. It was stated that the purpose of this study was not to put forth any particular 'solution' for the problems of explaining diplomacy in international relations, neither was there a proposition to present a definition to diplomacy. What has instead emerged is a suggestion for the prospects of reducing the violations of international peace and justice through the understanding on the meanings of diplomacy and its application in international relations.

This study is a defense of the role of diplomacy in international relations. It has been argued that any language as a theory of knowledge is responsible for giving meaning to diplomacy in international relations. Chapter one outlined the different meanings to diplomacy through the analysis of different concepts that have been interpreted differently.

It was argued that there was need to evaluate issues, concepts and events from different points of view so as to have an objective understanding of what is going on, or was being examined. Evidently, diplomacy as a study and practice has different meanings. However it became clear that diplomacy is the inter-relations of actors in the international system. It was advanced that analyzing the justifications of its practice

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[75] Chapter 1: introduction

within different disciplines could derive the meaning of diplomacy. The realities of these disciplines to the conduct of diplomacy have been argued as responsible for explaining the complexities of the international system.

Chapter one detailed the concern of language in explaining diplomacy. Language was defined from a Wittgensterian perspective as a theory of knowledge within international relations. The different schools of thought were advanced as languages of discourse detailing the different realities to diplomacy.

The second part of the study outlined the realities to diplomacy from the disciplines of international relations. Principally two broad theoretical perspectives were examined, realism and pluralism in international relations, international law and conflict analysis. The argument was put forth that by defining the parameters of the discipline, it was possible for meaning to be given to diplomacy. The parameters of a discipline in terms of the schools of thought defined diplomacy and justified its conduct on the international system.

There is however no clear evidence that the state system is about to end; instead it remains fundamentally important in the analysis of diplomacy. Diplomacy, it has been argued, is the basis of all international relations. The process of defining the parameters for diplomacy have illustrated that diplomacy remains at the center of international relations.

It was argued that the knowledge and application of the different schools of thought is essential in understanding diplomacy. This means therefore that while the concerns of diplomacy continue to expand, the state will continue to play a fundamental role in determining how relations on the international system are to be conducted.

Diplomacy as a discipline will continue to be the hope on which the international system relies for the containment of anarchy and interdependence in the international system following the absence of an international government.

This study has been able to fulfil the objectives it set out to achieve examining the extent to which diplomacy as a study has been neglected. The different interpretations to the concept of diplomacy, it has been realised view diplomacy as the root of all international relations. In actual fact this study has established that there is need to understand the different perspectives attributed to diplomacy as they form the basis for the development of diplomatic theory.

The study of diplomacy ought not be treated as a sub-discipline as has been in the past. There is need to examine diplomacy as an independent study to realise that if forms the basis of international relations. While it remains a problematic issue the search for a diplomatic theory indeed proves an important area of study for international relations. Further research in this field will restore diplomacy to its rightful position as the basis and root of all international relations.

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