

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

**"THE 21st CENTURY DIPLOMACY OF DEVELOPING
COUNTRIES: *A case study of the Kenyan Diplomat,
2000-2010.*"**

BY

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R50/75845/2009



**DISSERTATION PRESENTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS OF MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL
STUDIES, INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES.**

SEPTEMBER 2011

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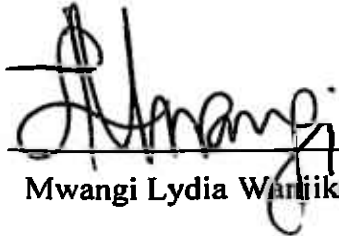
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DECLARATION


This dissertation is my original work and has not been presented for award of a degree in any other university.

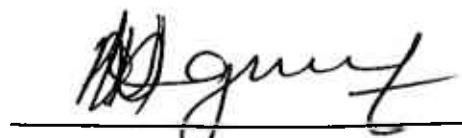

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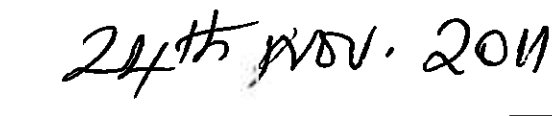

Date

The dissertation has been submitted for examination with our approval as University Supervisors.


Supervisor: Prof. Maria Nzomo


Date


Co-supervisor: Mr. Martin Nguru


Date

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Mr and Mrs. Mwangi Wari for their enormous sacrifices and great encouragement throughout my academic journey; you are the best parents one would ever hope for and to my lovely children, Alvin and Ava for their patience and unconditional love; you are my greatest inspiration.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I extend my gratitude and thanks to the following individuals and institutions for their assistance and contribution towards the completion of this study.

My most sincere thanks to my supervisors, Prof. Maria Nzomo and Mr. Martin Nguru without whose tireless efforts, guidance and professional advice this research could not have become a reality; you are a gem to the institute.

My appreciation to all the lecturers in the Institute of diplomacy and international studies for their in-depth knowledge which they imparted with zeal and commitment throughout the course.

I also wish to express my heartfelt gratitude to Mr. Opicho and Mr. Mariara of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for their enormous support as I undertook my research during the 16th Biennial Conference held in Mombasa in August, 2011. Special thanks too to the High Commissioners and Ambassadors who allowed me into their world and shared with me insights and experiences without which this study would not have come alive.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AGOA	Africa Growth Opportunity Act
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CIA	Criminal Investigation Agency
CNN	Cables News Network
CV	Curriculum Vitae
EAC	East Africa Community
EACSO	East Africa Common Services Organization
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
KANU	Kenya Africa National Union
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific Cultural Organisations
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
WHO	World Health Organisation
WTO	World Trade Organisation
OAU	Organisation of African Unity

ABSTRACT

The changing trends in diplomacy are an interesting area in international relations that have brought about new opportunities for countries across the globe to grow and thrive. Developing countries should get versed with these new trends so that they can actively participate and derive maximum gains that have been made available by these new trends. They should invest wisely not only in the infrastructure that will enhance delivery of results but only in the conduit to the process, the diplomat. It is time that these countries appreciated diplomacy as a business venture that should bring in gains depending on the investment made.

This study becomes relevant in clearly spelling out the role that diplomacy plays in promoting a country's relations with others and therefore the role that the diplomat plays in positioning his/her country at an advantageous point. This can only be possible by adequately equipping the diplomat through training and exposure so that he/she can rise to the occasion. Further, efforts should be made in professionalising diplomacy as this would result in success during negotiations with other countries; both bilateral and multilateral.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE PROPOSAL

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Developing countries have for a long time failed to achieve maximum gains during multilateral negotiations and have been taken advantage of by the developed countries. It is true that majority of the developing countries are poor and incapable of offering much of value to the developed countries because of their underdevelopment but they have a wealth of opportunities they can present to the developed countries for partnerships where both parties stand to gain, if only they expressed a keen interest. However, the fact of the matter is that the developing countries have not succeeded much because they have been least prepared for the discussions mainly because their representatives do not understand their role in the negotiations and therefore do not know what is expected of them. They are often ill-prepared and as such cannot adequately represent their countries' interests during the negotiations. It has been reported many a times how the developing countries' diplomats go on shopping sprees oblivious of on-going discussions and at the expense of taxpayers' money.

Developed countries on the other hand, have fully understood the role that diplomacy plays in promoting a country's interests and have therefore invested heavily in the diplomatic process; not only in the actual process but also in the person of the diplomat through quality selection based on qualification and merit right from the start, and thereafter in relevant training. This has been especially so since the twentieth century where for example in the United States of America, the need for professional diplomats was found necessary leading to

the creation of the modern Foreign Service.¹ Consequently, the expected result has been rapid success in all their international engagements especially when dealing with the developing countries. In 2003, Thailand for example announced a “CEO Ambassador policy” as part of the reform of the public sector, under which Thai ambassadors were to act as chief executive officers in their assigned countries, taking a strong lead to promote the country overseas. The representatives were expected to work alongside with others who would be held accountable for the implementation of their government strategies abroad.² This clearly shows how the developed countries appreciate the role that diplomacy, and hence the conduit to this process, the diplomat, plays in promoting a country’s interests in international circles.

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The 21st century has brought with it many changes in all spheres of life, with both positive and negative ramifications. The field of diplomacy has not been spared. This has been occasioned by a number of reasons which include; the advent of technological advancement which has enabled availability and accessibility to vast information by all across the globe. This in turn has led to query the role of a diplomat as a source of information to the state he/she represents because statesmen today can learn certain aspects of the news faster from the ticker tape and the monitoring reports of foreign broadcast than from their own agents abroad and can bypass their ambassadors by talking to each other by telephone or by flying to meet each in few hours.³ Other reasons include greater participation by states and non-state actors in international politics, increased bilateral and multilateral summits by heads of state and governments,⁴ the expectations of good governance by their citizens, now a factor in the international political scene, and finally the democratization of services where citizens expect

¹ Herz M. F, *The Modern Ambassador*, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy,1983 pg 24

² Rana K. S, *The 21st century ambassador*; DiploFoundation, Malta and Geneva,1983 pg 1

³ Watson A, *Diplomacy; The Dialogue between states*, Eyre Methuen Ltd, London, 1982 pg 133

⁴ Scott G, *Diplomatic Dance*, Fulcrum Publishing, Colorado, Golden,1999 pg 16

fair representation based on gender, political, and socio-cultural background.⁵ Further, issues on the international agenda have multiplied, intertwined and become more complex and technical than ever before as a result of globalisation and the increased interdependence among states.

Modern day diplomacy has changed drastically due to the new trends of the 21st century in the global arena. It is no longer the high diplomacy where envoys enjoyed direct personal access to heads of states as was the case a century ago, where their role was plenipotential. It is now functional diplomacy where the ambassador is expected to engage in broad and technical issues including those of investment mobilization, technology access, culture, media and science among many other areas.⁶

The developing country's diplomat has not only to grapple with these new changes which in themselves present new challenges but to also better understand his /her role as he/she gears up to engage and compete with the already seasoned diplomats from the developed countries. The challenges do not only stem from the disadvantaged position of his/her country as a developing one and therefore one where he/she is expected to be impressing on the developing countries to give funds or grants but also those of a rapidly changing world.

Further, the developing countries have hardly reviewed their diplomatic processes having inherited the systems as they were before independence; systems that can barely accommodate the ever changing trends in international relations. For example, until recently Kenya did not require the diplomatic mission to be represented by a majority of professionals rather, the positions were largely filled based on political patronage, nepotism and favouritism. This has ensured the undesirable results in the international negotiations over the years. The new Constitution makes it a requirement for the vetting of appointees to public

⁵ Rana K. S, *The 21st century ambassador*; DiploFoundation, Malta and Geneva,1983 pg 14

⁶ *Ibid* pg 21

office, diplomatic missions included, ensuring representation by qualified people. The distinctive picture depicted over the years has been that of lack of understanding of the business of the day as well as lack of commitment to deliver due to the fact that the diplomat is not expected to account for the time and resources expended during the negotiations; at least not based on achievement.

The modern day diplomat has to deal with different subjects ranging from climate change to health diplomacy, financial derivative trading, capital flow issues and many others, due to the expansion of the diplomatic field. This means that he/she has to be more sophisticated and exposed than his/her predecessor was a century ago. He/she must possess diverse knowledge in all the spheres of life; both academic and general in order to fully understand his/her relevance in all these new changes. The diplomat must not only possess a flawless reputation, up-to-date skills, and versatile talent but also present an aura of shrewdness while conducting international business. He/she must be technologically savvy with all new information around the globe at the finger tips. Such levels of exposure for a diplomat would enable him/her position their country at an advantage in international dealings and would require extensive training and exposure.

However, all is not lost for the developing country diplomat in the 21st century since the new international arena presents certain favourable situations that his/ her predecessor did not enjoy. These include globalisation, which has increased areas of cooperation among states, technological advancement which has improved communication thereby enhancing one of the major roles of a diplomat and a new world order that has promised peace as never experienced before, a pre-requisite for successful diplomacy. Therefore, it requires today's diplomat to quickly identify the strengths that will work in his/her favour in order to mitigate against the many challenges surrounding diplomacy as it is today so as to propel his/her country to great heights during his/her career.

Other qualities of a diplomat include precision, truthfulness, calmness, good temper, modesty and loyalty. Further, he/she must also be a person endowed with high intellect, imagination, prudence, hospitality, charm, industry, courage and tact in order to deliver the roles effectively.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE STUDY PROBLEM

Developing countries have only gained marginally from international forums mainly because they have not yet recognised the opportunities that have been brought about by the increased co-operation among states. This has been brought about by the broadening of the field of diplomacy in the new millennium and therefore expansion of the scope in the role of a diplomat. The failure to take advantage of these new opportunities has deprived them of gains made in the international realms. These countries have not yet recognised the need to improve their diplomatic capacity as a strategy to utilize the opportunities in the co-operation with other states. Albert Einstein once said that “we cannot continue to solve today’s problems with the same thinking we had when we created them”.⁷ It is my view that there is a knowledge gap and therefore the need for critical study of the Kenyan diplomat in a globalising 21st century. There is need to carry out research to distinctly spell out the role of a modern day diplomat and reinforce the importance of the benefits that can be realised from adequately preparing the 21st century diplomat.

This study will therefore analyse the global changes and their impact on modern day diplomacy. It will investigate the challenges faced by a diplomat from a developing country, namely Kenya. This will be done by examining whether the new trends in diplomacy affect

⁷ www.brainvaote.com accessed on 15th July 2010

the conduct of international relations in terms of professionalising diplomacy and in view of the role of the developing countries' diplomat. This study will be guided by the following specific question; what is the impact of the new trends in diplomacy on the 21st century diplomat from developing countries?

The study will be focusing on the following research questions;

- What are the new trends in the practice of diplomacy in the 21st century?
- What are the challenges facing a Kenyan diplomat and how have they impacted on his/her practice of diplomacy?
- How has the failure to professionalise diplomacy affected the practice of diplomacy today?

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Broad objective:

- To examine the changing trends in the diplomatic scene in the 21st century.

The specific objectives are;

- To examine the challenges of the 21st century diplomat from a developing country; namely Kenya.
- To propose appropriate measures to improve the practice of diplomacy.

1.4 LITERATURE REVIEW

The Oxford Dictionary defines diplomacy as the management of international relations between countries especially by each countries representative's abroad.⁸ Adam Watson defines diplomacy as the process of dialogue and negotiation by which states in a system

⁸ Oxford Dictionary, *Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, Oxford University Press, 2002, pg 325

conduct their relations and pursue their purposes by means short of war.⁹ The two definitions are largely acceptable and best describe traditional diplomacy where state officials or heads of states from two or more countries negotiated between themselves with the purpose of managing conflicts or forging relations for economic cooperation. The definitions however fail to acknowledge that states are no longer the only actors in international affairs. Modern diplomacy includes many non-state actors like international organisations; both humanitarian and profit making.

Sir Harold Nicolson defines diplomacy as the management of international relations; the method by which these relations are adjusted and managed by ambassadors and envoys.¹⁰

This definition aptly describes modern day diplomacy as it allows the inclusion of other participants in international realms; the non-state actors. The envoys or ambassadors represent both emissaries from the state or other non-state representatives. However, Quainton¹¹ definition of diplomacy as “the art of persuading others through a patient process of give- and- take to adapt measures congruent or consistent with one’s own national objectives,” captures the relevance as pertains to the discussion in this thesis. The description encompasses many aspects of modern day diplomacy, for instance, “others” allows for the inclusion of many actors in international relations. It has also furthered the spirit of democracy which involves fair play; gaining some and losing others as was anticipated by the post Cold War era. Diplomacy today is about seeking solutions not necessarily in bloody wars but in building relations over time. The focus in this era is that of attaining sustainable peace through positive and long term attributes like improving the livelihood of people through provision of basic human rights for survival. This can only be done through partnerships between the developed and the developing countries in order for all to reach

⁹ Watson A, *Diplomacy; The Dialogue Between States*, Eyre Methuen Ltd, London,1982 pg 11

¹⁰ Nicolson, H. *Diplomacy*, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Georgetown University, Washington,1988 pg 2

¹¹ Quainton A, “Diplomacy; still our first line of defence”, *America*, vol. 188 (2) 2003 pg 9

sustainable development. The idea of patience too allows for genuine negotiation encouraging the disputants to clarify their positions and therefore encourage positive outcomes. Solid relationships are built over time which is a good foundation for sustainable peace.

Diplomacy is the art of conducting relationships for gain without conflict. This conduct in international relations is geared towards negotiating alliances, treaties and arrangements. It seeks to maximize national advantage without using force and preferably without causing resentment.¹² It is an instrument of foreign policy whereby the actors shape, implement and protect their own national interests ordinarily slated as foreign policy objectives and range from political, economic, national, trade, aid, human rights, arms control, cultural and academic enrichment.¹³

Diplomacy has been categorised in different ways; based on the number of states interacting; as bilateral or multilateral, based on purpose or intent as in coercive or preventative and negotiation.¹⁴ Coercive diplomacy refers to the threat or actual use of force, however limited, to persuade an opponent to retreat from an action considered threatening.¹⁵ Preventative diplomacy can be defined as the action to prevent disputes from arising between parties, prevent existing disparities from escalating into conflict and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur.¹⁶ Diplomacy has also been viewed depending on the time in history and the changes that have impacted on its practice as well as its delivery over the years. This is seen in traditional diplomacy and modern diplomacy; the former encompassed dialogue between states, who were the only actors and primarily dealt with political, economic and military

¹² Nicolson, H. *Diplomacy*, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Georgetown University, Washington, 1988 pg 4

¹³ Barston P, *Modern Diplomacy*, Longman, Harlow 1997 pg 1

¹⁴ Cornago P, "International Relations, overviews, in Kurtz" , L, (ed), *Encyclopaedia of Violence, Peace and Conflict*, Academic Press, London, 1999 pg 563

¹⁵ Kegley C and Wittkopf E, *World Politics: Trends and Transformation*, St. Martin's, Boston, 1999 pg 386

¹⁶ Ibid pg 387

power as the only concerns in international relations. Modern diplomacy mainly practiced after Cold War now includes many actors whose scope is broader, diverse subjects as well as new methods of delivery.

One of the requirements of effective diplomacy is elasticity about means and procedures. Modern diplomacy now practiced in the 21st century transformed from economic and military powers as the primary indicators of international relations as was the case during the Cold War period to the power of communication and the marketing of ideas across the globe. The changing environment where development in technology brought about rapid communication in the information age, development of worldwide media network like Cable News Network, (CNN) established in 1985, globalisation of the world economy and the spread of democracy all brought diplomacy at the forefront. This is because the increased number of different interactions brought about by the new actors in international relations need to communicate and agree or disagree in their endeavours, be it in business or issues on humanitarian crisis.¹⁷ Diplomacy is about persuasion and compromise and therefore those in the process must bear in mind that there will be different outcomes from the expected since the rules of diplomacy often impose obligations on either side.

Diplomacy among nations is carried out physically by official representatives who are legally protected and employ their diplomatic skill at various levels. It is the concept that describes a state's official communication channels with other states.¹⁸ The main purpose of diplomacy is to mediate differences and resolve disputes but can also be used to persuade and compel through communicating promises, threats, codes and symbols.¹⁹ It is for this reason

¹⁷ Farnsworth D N, International Relations, overviews, in Kurtz , L, (ed), *Encyclopaedia of Violence, Peace and Conflict*, Academic Press, London, 1999 pg 238

¹⁸ Berridge, Keens-Soper and Otte, *Diplomatic Theory from Machiavelli to Kissinger*, Palgrave, New York, 2001 pg 1

¹⁹ Landsberg C, *The Quiet Diplomacy of Liberation: International Politics and South African's Transition*, Jacana Media, Johannesburg, 2004 pg 10

that diplomacy has been described as the “peaceful art of negotiation”. Negotiation can be defined as an attempt to explore and reconcile conflicting positions in order to reach an acceptable outcome.²⁰ Negotiation allows certain areas of common interests and conflict to be identified. It is actually one of the most reliable, successful and long standing tactic of diplomacy. Diplomacy therefore involves the negotiations that occur between states themselves and between states and other actors in the execution of international relations.²¹

Diplomacy through its character of negotiation is the most widespread method of settling international disputes. However, the desired results of facilitating direct discussion among disputing parties are not always viable or achievable giving birth to other means of peaceful settlement of disputes. These include good offices, inquiry, diplomatic mediation, conciliation, arbitration, and judicial settlement.²²

The core of diplomacy is the peaceful settlement of disputes and therefore states can utilise any number of channels towards this end. This gives the states an opportunity to clarify its position concerning the dispute and consequently work towards resolving the issue or reaching a compromise. States that are engaged in diplomatic dialogue are less likely to go to war even when a quick solution may not be forthcoming as long as there is genuine commitment to resolve the underlying problem.²³

Diplomacy has increasingly taken centre stage in modern times, due to greater interconnectedness of states even when states would rather be guarding and protecting their sovereignty. The increased interaction among states as a result of globalisation has given rise

²⁰ Cornago P, International Relations, overviews, in Kurtz , L, (ed), *Encyclopaedia of Violence, Peace and Conflict*, Academic Press, London, 1995 pg 559

²¹ Berridge, G R, *Diplomacy: Theory and Practice*, Palgrave, Hampshire, 2002 pg 4

²² Cornago P, International Relations, overviews, in Kurtz , L, (ed), *Encyclopaedia of Violence, Peace and Conflict*, Academic Press, London, 1999 pg 564

²³ Farnsworth D N, “International Relations, overviews,” in Kurtz , L, (ed), *Encyclopaedia of Violence, Peace and Conflict*, London, Academic Press, 1999 pg 238

to a situation of a world without borders, which encourages more interdependence.²⁴ Consequently, every state in conducting its own affairs is giving considerable attention to its neighbours so as not to infringe on the independence of others. Sovereignty of states in the contemporary society means that states do not enjoy these freedom in isolation or absolutely but in a setting of interdependence with one another. So today, every state in the global system depends not merely on itself but on its whole worldwide environment.²⁵

A country's policies, whether domestic or foreign, are framed with the consideration and awareness of its interaction with other states and non-state actors. In order to achieve good relations with other countries, dialogue becomes necessary. The machinery by which the governments of independent states conduct dialogue, the process promises and contracts, institutions and codes of conduct which advertently develop out of it, is the substance of diplomacy.²⁶ This process is promoted by institutions and officials who work in the foreign office, the diplomat. Diplomacy is therefore essentially a response to the recognition by the several decision-making agents that the performance of each one is a matter of consequence to some or all the others.²⁷

The strategic objective of any state irrespective of its size, in its relations with other states, is to direct and influence those relations for its maximum advantage and thus gain political and economic advantages while at the same time promoting international cooperation and harmony.²⁸ However, states have now become redundant since they are no longer the only actors in international relations and so is their exclusive use of diplomacy. Modern diplomacy

²⁴ Watson A, *Diplomacy; The Dialogue Between States*, Eyre Methuen Ltd, 1982 pg 14.

²⁵ Ibid pg14

²⁶ Ibid pd14

²⁷ Ibid Pg 15

²⁸ Nailatikau, speech delivered at the Forum Island Countries Foreign Service Diplomatic Training Workshop. Nadi: The Tanoa Hotel, October 2003

dictates that non-state actors now influence the course of international affairs and therefore the use of diplomacy.

Diplomacy thrives on the basis of mistrust yet there is a need to cooperate with other states, the protection of own interests become the driving force. Kydd had defines trust as “the belief that the other side prefers mutual cooperation to exploiting one’s own cooperation, while mistrust is a belief that the other side prefers exploiting one’s own cooperation to returning it.”²⁹ States cannot trust one another’s motives initially, but with constant interactions and efforts at cooperation, they get to update their beliefs on one another’s trustworthiness. States are strategic actors whose incentive is to achieve their goals at the least cost. This means that there is a strong motivation to misrepresent information about the actual cost of their goal as well as make threats that are a bluff all in a bid to win. However, the only deterrence to this cheating is a state’s fear of acquiring a reputation as dishonest. This is how diplomacy becomes effective in interactions among states.³⁰

Moreover, countries are willing to surrender their sovereignty to an organisation that can make them conform to certain rules and regulations so that there is no cheating among themselves. They find this as the only protection they can find in the situation they find themselves in; the need to interact with others to pursue own interests yet they cannot trust their would be partners.

1.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Diplomacy is informed by a number of theories especially those that explain cooperation among states like the neoliberals who find relations between states more optimistic even in

²⁹ Kydd A, *Trust and Mistrust in International Relations*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 2005 pg 3

³⁰ Sartori A, *Deterrence by Diplomacy*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 2005 pg 4

the midst of international anarchy.³¹ Neoliberalism is premised on the belief that states are atomistic actors who seek to maximize their individual absolute gains and are indifferent to the gains achieved by others and therefore can partner with other states without being concerned about the relative gains made by their counterparts. The only impediment to cooperation among rationally egoistic states, the theory explains, is cheating.³² However, the existence of international institutions can help overcome this barrier, for example the World Trade Organisation (WTO). The theory does not however explain states' selective co-operation, since states only cooperate with those they expect to derive maximum gains from.

This study is therefore informed by the Game theory propagated by Jean-Jacques Rousseau³³ since it not only observes that states want to maximize on absolute gains but also that states only co-operate with those would be worthy opponents. According to Rousseau, the greatest horror of modern society was the fact that it was highly unequal. He regarded consent as the basis for society. The theory is about the seven-player strategy game played on a map of Europe before the First World War. Diplomacy does not have elements of chances or luck because the outcome of every move is determined by a combination of each player's actions or their "orders".³⁴ The objective of the game was to expand the control of more than half the centres of power on the map. In a practical sense, winning is only possible through cooperation with other players, each of whom seeks the same goal. However, even though winning is the main goal, draws are possible, and actually unavoidable in stalemate positions. Cooperation then becomes essential to victory due to the tensions that would inadvertently arise. However, victory is only possible at the expense of those whose cooperation the would-be winner seeks. The objective of the game is to create a win-win situation as opposed to one

³¹ Grieco J, *International Organisations* 4, 3, Summer, World Peace Foundation and Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1988 pg 486

³² Ibid pg 487

³³ Rousseau J. J, *The First and the Second Discourses*, trans, Rodger D & M. Judith, St. Martins, New York, 1964 pp 165-67

³⁴ Waltz, *Man, the State and War*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1959

winner and all other losers which automatically call for cooperation and this therefore justifies diplomacy.

Game theory has also been elaborated in other examples like those of the Stag Hunt, Prisoner's Dilemma as well as the Chicken theory.³⁵ All these perspectives prove the need for cooperation where it becomes better to gain some as opposed to losing all by accepting to work together with equally strong and competitive opponents. The idea is to ensure that the status quo should be maintained and none of the members should become stronger than the rest of them so as to threaten their security which is basically ensuring a balance of power.³⁶

The Prisoner's Dilemma derives its name from its story whereby two prisoners are suspected of a major crime. The authorities possess evidence to secure conviction on only a minor charge. If neither the prisoners speak, both will draw a light sentence on the minor charge. If one of them defends themselves and the other one keeps quiet, the one who defends himself will go free but the other one will draw a very heavy sentence. If both defend themselves they will draw a moderate sentence. The best option would be to be silent as each of them would draw a light. However, rationally speaking a prisoner is likely to defend himself yet by so doing, one would jeopardise his chance of being safe. It becomes therefore necessary for them to cooperate in order for them to draw each an equally light sentence.³⁷

The Stag Hunt too draws its name from its story where a group of hunters surround a stag. If all cooperate to trap the stag, all will eat well. If one person defects to chase a passing rabbit, the stag will escape. The defector will eat light but none of the others will eat at all. If all chase rabbits, all will have some chance of catching a rabbit and eating lightly. However, because a rabbit in hand is worth more than a stag in the bush, cooperation will be assured

³⁵ Wagner, *The Theory of Games and the Problem of International Cooperation*, American Political Science Review 70 (June 1983) Pp 330-346

³⁶ Oye K, *World Politics; Explaining Cooperation Under Anarchy* Pg 6

³⁷ Ibid Pg 7

only if each hunter believes that all others will cooperate. The temptation to defect to protect against the defection of others is balanced by the strong universal preference for stag over rabbit.³⁸

The Chicken draws its name once again from its story that is based on two drivers racing down the centre of the road from opposite directions. If one swerves and the other does not, then the first will suffer the stigma of being known as the chicken while the second enjoys being known as the hero. If neither swerves, both will suffer grievously in the ensuing collision. If both swerve, damage to the reputation of each is limited. If each believes the other will swerve, then each will be tempted to defect by continuing down the centre of the road; better to be a live hero than a live chicken. If both succumb to this temptation, defection will result to collision. The fear that the other driver may not stop decreases the appeal of continuing down the centre of the road therefore allowing for mutual gain.³⁹

In all the above illustrations, the common denominator is cooperation to mitigate losses due to interdependence. States cooperate with one another when they perceive that there is greater gain in working together as opposed to defection. The associations are however free and obligated to last only until the passing of the need that formed them. Diplomacy is about this kind of cooperation to achieve a certain goal after which ties could be broken to allow for the birth of others that would further another agenda.

Diplomacy has thrived on the strength that nations find cooperation a better option in a situation where states dwell in perpetual anarchy in their pursuit of sovereign interests, with no central authority to regulate them. This gives diverse results of the day to day engagements among states in experiences of war and concert, arms races and arms control, trade wars and tariff truces, financial panics and rescues, competitive devaluation and

³⁸ Oye K, *World Politics; Explaining Cooperation Under Anarchy* Pg 8

³⁹ Ibid pg 9

monetary stabilization as relations among states.⁴⁰ Due to a lack of a controlling international body, states cannot guarantee that they will adhere to their promises and the possibility of the breach of promise can impede cooperation even where it would leave them at a greater advantage. States therefore bind themselves to mutually advantageous courses of action so as to enforce terms of agreement through formal bilateral and multilateral negotiation, creation of international regimes and tacit cooperation even when these options could compromise their sovereignty. This is what Game Theory is all about.

1.6 JUSTIFICATION OF STUDY

Unfortunately, diplomacy as a subject has not been studied widely especially that of developing countries and probably that explains why the developing countries have achieved marginally in the field. Few academic material can be found on the same especially dealing with the diplomatic processes; the expectations and the actual role to be played by the person of the diplomat in influencing foreign policy. This study will therefore offer relevant information on what exactly is the role of a diplomat and why professionalising diplomacy is necessary for the purposes of promoting a country's interests.

For the purposes of policy formulation, this study seeks to generate information on the gains that can be made by utilising diplomacy as a bargaining chip in international relations. It comes as a manual on the basic training that a diplomat should be exposed to before reporting to his/her posting. Recommendations can be made as a proposal to the Kenyan government in their recruitment of the diplomatic mission in ensuring that the diplomatic service is well trained and adequately exposed. Governments, especially those of developing countries should be encouraged to professionalise diplomacy as a career and look in to the long term gains this would bring.

⁴⁰ Oye K, *World Politics; Explaining Cooperation Under Anarchy* pg 10

Diplomacy as a profession should grow with long term gains in mind, therefore a country needs to develop professional diplomats as opposed to career diplomats, who become better with time. The diplomatic process especially in developing countries should allow for specialisation in the new fields that modern day diplomacy now includes like those of media, health, international law, public diplomacy among others which should be adequately represented by well trained diplomats. And like with all other professions, the end result should be very refined consultants, who become authoritative in their respective fields having acquired massive knowledge and experience over the years. The country should benefit from their services especially when they retire, while the diplomat's career still thrives as opposed to the dead end that it comes to currently. This will ensure that there is continuity in the profession and a diplomat is able to remain productive all his/her life offering professional service from which he/she can make a living. It will also encourage the governments to invest wisely in their diplomatic service so that they maximize on the gains in their interactions with other countries.

1.7 HYPOTHESES

- The new trends in the 21st century pose challenge (s) to the practice of diplomacy in developing countries.
- Training is a crucial element in professionalisation of diplomacy in the 21st century
- The diplomat has a crucial role in the implementation of foreign policy in the 21st century.

1.8 METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

This study will analyse both primary and secondary data. The research will utilise mainly qualitative approach in order to come up with substantive information on the experiences by

diplomats to be interviewed in the study. Primary data will include semi-structured interviews and questionnaires of the diplomats, both current and retired, and other key informants working in the foreign affairs sector. It will seek to get their insights and personal experiences in their practice of diplomacy. The respondents were identified using convenient sampling of diplomats during the 16th biennial conference, held in Mombasa in August 2011, which brought together all the Kenyan Ambassadors and High Commissioners. Other key informants were engaged by directly requesting for meetings, with preference given to those who were most likely to give valid and credible information. The sample size sought to draw from four categories of diplomats represented as most developed countries, fast developing countries, developing countries and the less developed countries in order to have an objective representation. Data collection will be done through distribution and collection of the questionnaires. This will be followed by follow up interviews conducted through one on one interaction with a selected set based on answers in the questionnaires, countries of interest and willingness to be interviewed.

The participants will be informed that the interviews conducted will be for academic purposes only. Further, the answers and information provided will be treated with utmost confidentiality and where necessary anonymity will be upheld in case specific quotations are used in the report.

Validity and reliability will be checked through triangulation across data and use of different respondents to counter check the facts presented.

Secondary data collection will be from relevant studies done and documented especially in the 21st century which is basically the focus of the study. This will be obtained from the literature both from books, journals both electronic and library texts, as well as authoritative sites from the internet.

1.9 SCOPE AND LIMITATION OF STUDY

This study will cover the practice of diplomacy in the 21st century as influenced by the new trends, challenges brought about by these new changes especially of a diplomat from a developing country and the relevance of today's diplomat, his/her influence in determining international relations.

The major challenge to this study is the availability of information as very little is documented as regarding the practice of diplomacy especially in developing countries. Another challenge is that of availability of interviewees who are likely to be unavailable due to the nature of their jobs that requires them to be stationed out of the country. This would be constraining in terms of time and funds. Travelling abroad to meet some diplomats will be unlikely due to financial costs that are out of reach for the researcher. The 16th biennial conference however, will offer the researcher a rare opportunity to interview most of the diplomats convening at the Kenyan Coast and hopefully gather the necessary information.

However, the researcher does not expect to compromise on the quality of due to aforementioned challenges as she will maximise on the use of available resources to ensure quality results.

CHAPTER TWO

FROM OLD DIPLOMACY TO NEW DIPLOMACY

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will trace the development of diplomacy which is said to predate history, its practice and the actors during that period. It will also look at diplomacy practiced in the 15th and 16th century commonly known as renaissance diplomacy. This was an important time in European history with many changes taking place, diplomacy included. Traditional diplomacy as practiced before and after World War I, during the League of Nations and World War II, Modern diplomacy which set in after the Cold War but with greater impact in the 21st century which will be discussed in this chapter too. It will also examine the new trends in diplomacy with an emphasis on the new subjects in diplomacy such as health, media, commercial and economic, cultural, environmental and public diplomacy. The conduct of diplomacy has changed and that will also be addressed in this chapter.

2.1 EVOLUTION OF DIPLOMACY

Diplomacy, as recorded, dates as far back as 4000 years ago in Egypt, and just as it was then, it is the skilful and tactful art or practice of promoting interstate relations.⁴¹ The “diplomats” then were sent on missions to maintain good relations with other countries especially Syria which was Egypt’s major trading partner. They also engaged in other rudimentary tasks such as running errands like purchasing goods for the Pharaoh, and enjoyed certain levels of immunities and privileges accorded to them as the existing tradition. They could not be harmed even if they committed a crime. This was based on the understanding that pleasing

⁴¹ Aron R, *War and Peace Among Nations*, Calman-Levy, Paris, 1964

the envoy was as good as pleasing the King. Pope Gelasius I was the first ever recorded to enjoy diplomatic immunity as noted in his letter *Duo Sunt* to “Emperor Anastasius”.⁴²

Diplomacy was traditionally characterised by a sense of professionalism, emphasis on protocol and the rules of the game, private and continuing negotiation, honest reporting and official representation among legitimate governments.⁴³ The core of diplomacy was and still is the official relations between states, with the sole purpose of utilising a state’s foreign policy in negotiation. Hans Morgenthau believed that the primary objective of diplomacy was promotion of the national interest by peaceful means and therefore a diplomacy that ended in war had failed.⁴⁴ This however does not mean that war is totally ruled out in a successful diplomacy but that war can sometimes be a substitute in the absence of peaceful negotiations. Quincy Wright noted that diplomacy may actually function to create favourable conditions of war in terms of maximizing the advantage of winning the war as the parties endeavour to minimize the chances of loss.⁴⁵

Renaissance diplomacy was that practiced during the period between fifteenth and the sixteenth century the years between 1420 and 1530 commonly known as Renaissance. It was an important time in Europe because of the changes that were taking place and diplomacy followed that path. In medieval Europe, Italian diplomacy, though riddled with a lot of deception pulled out many firsts that are still relevant in diplomacy today. The Italians were the first to establish permanent embassies.⁴⁶ Common practice previously was to dispatch the diplomatic mission on special occasions, mainly to conclude peace deals, negotiate alliances or to sponsor conspiracies. They were the veterans too, in recognising the importance of files and established the first archives for the preservation of treaties and diplomatic reports many

⁴² Bagan P. V, *The Syntax of the Letters of Pope Gelasius I*, Catholic University Press, 1945, pg xxiii

⁴³ Nicolson H, *The Evolution Of Diplomacy*, Collier Books, New York,1962 pg 99

⁴⁴ Morgenthau H, *Politics Among Nations*, Alfred A Knopf, New York, pg 505

⁴⁵ Wright, *The Study of International Relations*, Appleton Century- Crofts, New York,1965 pg 158

⁴⁶ Mattingly G, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, Peregrine Books, Baltimore,1965 pg 7

of which are still in existence today.⁴⁷ They also pioneered the requirement of diplomats to write periodic reports of events in the capital where they were stationed.⁴⁸ A Venetian law of 1268 required ambassadors to file a final report within a fortnight of the completion of their missions.⁴⁹ And more interestingly, the Italians were the first to recognise that if an ambassador was warm to secrets and scandals out of foreign countries he would have to have some spicy news to give in exchange. The Italians therefore originated the practice of providing their envoys with news from home that could be traded for foreign information.⁵⁰

Diplomacy during the period before World War I, the League of Nations, World War II and also the Cold War seemed to have failed since it did not manage to stop the conflict situation at the time degenerating in to bloody wars; the Cold War being the discovery and use of arms and other weapons of mass destruction.

Diplomacy has evolved over the years due to the expansion of the diplomatic arena as a result of democratisation and globalisation. The realisation of the sovereign equality of states has contributed to this development in international relations. Emmerich de Vattel in 1758 captured this adequately in his statement; “a dwarf is as much a man as a giant, so is a small republic no less sovereign a state than the most powerful kingdom”.⁵¹ Other contributing factors to the expansion of diplomacy include International law, technological advancement and functional diplomacy and this has in turn widened the scope of a modern day diplomat.

The five basic functions of a diplomat as traditionally held include representation, negotiation, reporting, promotion of ties and protection of interests. Each of these functions has an important aspect of symbolism in both political and legal sense.⁵² The political aspect

⁴⁷ Ibid pg 9

⁴⁸ Mattingly G, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, Peregrine Books, Baltimore, 1965 pg 10

⁴⁹ Ibid pg 12

⁵⁰ Ibid pg 10

⁵¹ Vattel E, *Principles of Natural Law* pg 17

⁵² Snyder and Furniss, *American Foreign Policy*, Rinehart & Co, New York, 1965 pg 312

of diplomacy was seen in the negotiating and reporting role since it encompassed a two-way channel of communication between the diplomat's sending state and his/her receiving state. The obligation that the diplomat conducts himself/herself as expected in the receiving country was endorsed by customary international law. The participation of a diplomat in formalities and ceremonial occasions was symbolic because he/she embodied the head of state and therefore enjoyed the privileges and immunities that accrued to the position and the establishment for which he/she was in charge.⁵³ This has not been eroded over the years and still holds as the basic roles of a modern day diplomat.

The diplomats for a long time were gentlemen of noble birth and superior education and that to a large extent, has not changed.⁵⁴ However, by and by modern day diplomacy requires more than that due to the growing sophistication of the diplomatic scene. Some of these changes now visible in the 21st century and which ultimately affect the practise of diplomacy, posing challenges especially to the developing countries including Kenya, are discussed here below.

A revolutionary era in world politics as a result of the entry of many players in the international political arena has influenced the course of events in global politics.⁵⁵ Whereas traditionally states were the main actors in international relations, the international arena today now includes supranational organisations both humanitarian and business oriented or profit-making affecting and influencing world politics since they have a great stake in the economics of the countries. Such organisations include; Nokia, a very large privately owned company in Finland that controls a great level of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The directors and shareholders of such an entity are key players in the country's

⁵³ Harr J.E, *The Professional Diplomat*, Princeton University Press, 1969 pg 14

⁵⁴ Ibid pg 16

⁵⁵ Kaplan, *The Revolution in World Politics*, John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1962 pp 8-9

decision making process.⁵⁶ Closer home, a company like Safaricom affects and influences certain decisions in Kenya.

The challenge for the developing country's diplomat is the position where he/she cannot have an authoritative voice in negotiations. Sometimes these non-state actors could influence decisions that are economically viable to them but impact negatively on the lives of citizens in developing nations. A case in point is the controversial Titanium mining⁵⁷ in Kenya by a Canadian company where due to Kenya's position as a developing country it becomes difficult to address the plight of the community who stand to lose their homes as well as a threat to their health and the degradation of the environment to the financial gains that would be made from the mining.

The existence of nuclear power has made the international system very volatile due to the changing nature of military power as well as the changing characteristics of the power units. Although nuclear power can provide some form of deterrence due to the massive destruction it can cause and therefore a sense of stability, it also contributes to instability due to the unpredictability of discoveries, rapid obsolescence leading to arms races and the proliferation of nuclear weaponry to additional countries.⁵⁸ This thus requires a modern day diplomat to have certain skills that would be vital in pacifying a volatile situation without further aggravating it. Most of the developing countries do not have nuclear power and therefore can feel threatened in a situation where they have to engage with countries with such resources. The diplomats from these countries must act prudently acknowledging this kind of deficiency.

⁵⁶ Ec.europa.eu/economy_finance, accessed 20th July 2011

⁵⁷ www.oecd.org accessed 20th July 2011

⁵⁸ Herz J, *International Politics in Atomic Age*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1962 pg 22

Expansion of both bilateral and multilateral diplomacy due to nationalism and internationalism has opened up trade and other opportunities of co-operation.⁵⁹ A diplomat must be in a position to understand which countries are of relevance to his/her own country so that he/she is able to articulate its vision. This would be made possible by first understanding the country's foreign policy agenda in order to ensure that more investments in terms of time and expense are made only to those countries that stand to benefit one's own country. Kenya as a developing country has fewer trade benefits since her dealings in trade are in the form of raw materials which fetch lower prices in the international market. As long as this is the situation, Kenya will continue to show little for all the gains made in promoting international trade. A Kenyan diplomat must therefore pursue other areas of trade that would bring real value to the country like tourism.

There has also been a proliferation of new instruments of foreign policy as a result of the lack of permissiveness of traditional diplomacy and this has seen many ingenious ways of dealing in international relations. Some have been coercive including the use of threats by states to achieve their agenda. This has resulted to a very complex situation in the foreign policy of states. The traditional diplomacy of persuasion, compromise and patient conciliation is no longer viable and therefore the need to be versed with other tools of diplomacy like sanctions, carrot and stick diplomacy as well as war or the use of force as an instrument of diplomacy, although only as a last resort. However, the principles of sound diplomacy of building and maintaining peace among states must always prevail.⁶⁰ As such the new era diplomat must understand which of these tools would be most effective in his/her situation. Unfortunately, Kenya's choices of the instruments of diplomacy are limited due to her position as a developing country since most of the countries she would be engaging with

⁵⁹ Harr J.E, *The Professional Diplomat*, Princeton University Press, 1969, pg 29

⁶⁰ Nicolson H, *The Evolution of Diplomacy*, Collier Books, New York,1962 pg 124

internationally have greater might economically, politically and even militarily and therefore unlikely to veer off traditional diplomacy.

Foreign policy is more complex than ever before because of the continuing effort to influence the forces of change. In this sense, diplomats are expected to be the innovators and leaders in the march towards this progress. This puts them at a situation where they must keenly understand what direction the change is taking so that they do not become reactors of the events. Based on past experience, and therefore the contentious issue in this study, many developing countries, Kenya included, do not train or expose their diplomats to prepare them in understanding exactly what is their foreign policy objectives and therefore enhance their capability to deal with these complex issues as pertains to their foreign policy. Consequently, the Kenyan diplomat has by and large taken the position of a reactor especially when issues get out of hand. This has been exemplified in the recent case of Kenya's shuttle diplomacy that was an embarrassing flop which did not reflect to the world the image the country has been trying to project; that of intolerance to impunity.⁶¹

Policy becomes rapidly obsolete since the process of policy-making is not static due to the rapid changes in the world. A diplomat needs to promptly appreciate these changes and can only make reference to basic ideology but move further as fast in order to fit in the objective world. Clashing ideologies have permeated international affairs where the differing opinions lead to hard line stands leading to conflict and fewer chances of compromise.⁶² The idea here is flexibility in a tactful way so as to allow for conflict resolution.

The international arena has also witnessed a shift of diplomacy from focussing on leaders and more to whole societies since the sovereignty of states is no longer vested in the person him/herself but in the office itself. States will continue to survive long after the exit of office

⁶¹ www.diplomateastafrica.com, accessed July 2011

⁶² Harr J.E, *The Professional Diplomat*, Princeton University Press, 1969, pg 31

bearers. The recent ousting of African presidents in Tunisia, Egypt, and Ivory Coast shows that there are no permanent leaders. Diplomats must therefore engage in long term relations which can stand even after their exit from the various posts and allow for the continuation of work already began.

Crises around the globe have become endemic; from nuclear weapon issues to oil crisis, starvation in some countries, natural calamities like the tsunamis among many others. This naturally means that diplomats have more to deal with now and therefore they need to be even more prepared.

The clear distinction between domestic interests and foreign affairs has lessened as countries are interacting more and more with one another. It has therefore become necessary for the diplomats to widen their exposure to other countries to create better understanding in their dealings. Understanding a people's culture, their beliefs as well as their history and traditions would go a long way in building these relationships.

Effective use of diplomacy has borne fruit especially in the period after World War II which can be perceived as a reasonably peaceful period.⁶³ The two major superpowers managed to prevent the occurrence of war even with their opposing ideologies. The enormous task of the decolonisation of African states was achieved with little or no bloodshed as a result of prudent utilisation of diplomacy.⁶⁴ And more recently, the USA's invasion of Iraq in 2003 in search of weapons of mass destruction could have degenerated if proper diplomacy had not prevailed. Diplomacy has also ensured the maintenance of balance of power between great powers to prevent power consolidation by a single hegemony due to its aspect of expansion of an organised worldwide system. It encourages the rule of law whereby dialogue exists and therefore attributes of control are reduced minimizing chances of any single entity becoming

⁶³ Watson A, *Diplomacy; The Dialogue between states*, Eyre Methuen Ltd, 1982 pg 19

⁶⁴ Harr J.E, *The Professional Diplomat*, Princeton University Press, 1969 pg 23

too powerful as to threaten the security of others.⁶⁵ In dealing with conflicts of interests, diplomacy ensures that an organised pattern of communication and negotiation, nowadays a continuous process, enables each independent government to learn what other governments want and what they object to.⁶⁶ Diplomacy therefore allows states to not only live harmoniously with one another, by keeping powers in check as well as creating an environment to settle conflict with civility but also provides opportunities for growth and development among nations in areas of trade and other co-operations that are beneficial to the entire world like on trade, health and the environment.

2.2 THE NEW TRENDS IN MODERN DIPLOMACY

Diplomacy in the 21st century was bound to be different as anticipated towards the final years of the last century and largely proclaimed as one of hope and a new world order. President Bush expressed this hope at the beginning of his term in classic Wilsonian terms:

“We have a vision of a new partnership of nations that transcends the Cold War. A partnership based on consultation, cooperation, and collective action, especially through international and regional organisations. A partnership united by principle and the rule of law and supported by an equitable sharing of both cost and commitment. A partnership whose goals are to increase democracy, increase prosperity, increase peace and reduce arms.”⁶⁷

The same feeling was expressed by his successor, President Clinton, who expounded on this theme by enlarging the democratic space. Clinton echoed his dream of free international institutions where states would join in droves and enjoy the benefits that would accrue from membership. He dreamed of a world that would allow the expression of opinions and energies of every person in thriving democracies that cooperate with each other and live

⁶⁵ Watson A, *Diplomacy; The Dialogue between states*, Eyre Methuen Ltd, 1982 pg 18

⁶⁶ Ibid pg 20

⁶⁷ Kissinger H, *Diplomacy*, New York, Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 1994 pp 804-5

in peace.⁶⁸ The two set a precedent of expanding and strengthening the world's community of market-based democracies.

The new century has not disappointed these great men of the world's history because it has not only experienced massive changes that have cut across all spheres of international relations increasing the chances of interaction among states and non-state actors but has also allowed growth of economies as anticipated. This has been exemplified in areas of commerce with international organisations and regional groupings promoting the world's economic growth, science, climate, and issues relating to security, technology and many others. There is virtually no area that diplomacy can be said to seclude as a result of globalisation and interconnectedness of states.

Today, one nation's problem becomes the entire world's business. Understanding the domestic issues in a regional or global context has become relevant in modern day interstate relations. By and by, the optimal solution to the domestic issues depends on what is happening abroad, and the solution to foreign issues, in corresponding measure to what is happening at home.⁶⁹ This has been made especially so by the existence of international organisations who champion the rights of the populace with greater emphasis on the marginalised and the underprivileged in society. The United Nation Charter on Human Rights through the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), for example, has compelled all countries to adhere to certain minimum standards when it comes to the provision of basic rights for every human person.⁷⁰ This intrusion by international organisations into specific issues previously perceived as domestic matters like provision of food, shelter, security, access to clean water, health and basic education has made it necessary for governments to become more accountable to their citizenry.

⁶⁸ Kissinger H, *Diplomacy*, Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, New York, 1994 pg 805

⁶⁹ Slaughter A M, Global Policy Network

⁷⁰ United Nations Charter on Human Rights

Other attributes of the society today like the proliferation of borders as well as access to information due to advancement in technology have also played a major role in contributing to the nakedness of each country and therefore easy access by others.

The opening up of the diplomatic field has impacted on society both positively and negatively, intertwining gains and challenges among states with the effect of shared experiences and common destinies both beneficial and destructive. Examples of these are widely represented and they include security issues like terrorism, piracy, human and drug trafficking and such similar criminal threats. Issues of global health with interests in areas of communicable diseases like Avian Flu, SARS (Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome), HIV (Human Immune Deficiency Virus) and Ebola among others have also been a threat to various countries due to the polarity of borders. However, globalisation has brought more gains than challenges since advancement in technology has availed necessary solutions to man's many problems alleviating human suffering and helping improve the standards of living of the populace. This has been through various innovations in science and medicine providing remedies for diseases and other challenges while advancement in technology has ensured prompt delivery of goods and services enhancing better lives.

Modern day diplomacy now encompasses many new areas such as public diplomacy, climate diplomacy, cultural diplomacy, media diplomacy, global health diplomacy, economic and commercial diplomacy among others. These various types of diplomacy are the basis of the discussion in this chapter.

2.3 PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

Public diplomacy has been an interesting area of modern day diplomacy where states now find it necessary for their nationals to be actively involved in foreign policy formulation and

implementation. Paul Sharp defined public diplomacy as the process by which direct relations with people in a country are pursued to advance the interests and extend the values of those being represented.⁷¹ It is a soft power instrument which mainly focuses on targeting the general public especially in foreign societies, and more specific non-official groups, organisations and individuals.⁷²

Governments today realise that successful policy implementation, whether foreign policy or domestic policy requires ownership by its nationals, creating positive interest in the good of the policies for their well being. This is premised on the fact that the majority of the members of the public especially at grass root levels tend to support and take pride in projects where their ideas, which reflect their real needs, get considered and incorporated in policy formulation. They take a keen interest in the success of such policies because they understand, appreciate and deem them necessary for the improvement of their lives creating a win-win situation for the government as well as the citizens. It is, however true that there is a good number of folks, both the elite and the underprivileged, who are not interested on what is happening in their government and therefore may not participate in public diplomacy as with many areas that pertain to the good of all.

Countries that have embraced this new phenomenon have been supported by advancement in technology especially in the area of ICT (Information and Communication Technology) which has had a great impact in communication. The United States of America for instance, has successfully utilised new technology towards achievement of public diplomacy, where online social networking is currently being used to promote collaboration and also organise

⁷¹ Melissen J, *The New Public Diplomacy*, Palgrave, Macmillan, New York, 2005 pg 7

⁷² Ibid pg 9

messaging campaigns.⁷³ The video-sharing sites; YouTube and Skype among others have proven to be very beneficial in encouraging young people around the world to explore topics of democracy and intercultural dialogue.

Further, social network sites such as Facebook, Twitter and others have been of great help since they encourage young people to interact with other participants all over the world in educational or foreign exchange programs. Blogger forums available in social networking sites allow participants to ask questions directly to government officials and others in authorities. Furthermore, the sites allow a global summit of grassroots organizations from around the world to share knowledge and experience on how to use online tools against violence and extremism.⁷⁴

The modern application of the fundamental concept of public diplomacy through the internet serves as a two-way process of engagement and exchange of ideas in an interactive environment. The more noteworthy aspect of the initiative, however, is that it represents a shift in the role of government away from directly managing narratives toward acting as a mediator, thereby achieving its goal of public diplomacy.⁷⁵ These social networking sites have added great value in public diplomacy due to the immediacy and informality that allows messages to bypass traditional gatekeepers and other controls and engage the audiences directly and without any inhibitions.

⁷³Kirova I, *New Technology and New Public Diplomacy*; New Development in Public Diplomacy, Issue 1 Winter 2009 pg 6

⁷⁴ Ibid pg 7

⁷⁵ Melissen J, *The New Public Diplomacy*, New York, Palgrave, Macmillann, 2005 pg 12

States do not only use public diplomacy for their interactions with their nationals but also to promote their image locally and abroad. Through these websites, a country can use this tool as a marketing spring board and post details on the image the country wants to project to the world; its culture, scenic beauty, physical features and even its own people. However, a trend towards opening up the public diplomacy space also comes with certain challenges since the sites are also avenues for very negative publicity due to fast movement of information most of which could be unverified and destructive. States no longer have real capacity to control information which could sometimes be morally corrupting to its citizens.

Unfortunately, the developing countries still find public diplomacy a challenge due to lack of necessary infrastructure to enhance access to internet. Most of their nationals live in marginalised areas where access to even basic education is a challenge let alone access to the internet; a preserve of the elite class and only found in major towns. This leaves most of the participation and the decision making process to a privileged handful, who many not necessarily represent the actual needs of the people at grass root levels. Unless and until Kenya and the other developing countries can take care of the more urgent needs like providing basic needs like food, proper shelter and basic education to their populace, public diplomacy will remain a pipe dream for a long time.

2.4 GLOBAL MEDIA DIPLOMACY

Media diplomacy has come of age due to the evolution of foreign news coverage into a major form of journalism taken seriously by editors across the globe in a competitive market. The increase in foreign coverage has led to an increase in public interest in foreign policy, which has in turn led to a felt need by ministers of foreign affairs and officials to explain policy to

the public in order to build support. Various channels have emerged for this purpose like the diplomatic correspondents.⁷⁶

Media diplomacy is very close to public diplomacy and there is a very thin line between the two, often media being utilised as an avenue of public diplomacy. It is very difficult to put a solid claim at media diplomacy acting on its own since it very often intertwines with public opinion, propaganda and also used by the government as an instrument of foreign policy. Journalists are also involved in many diplomatic events. Media diplomacy plays an important role especially with new technology. Even with the challenges that come with this advancement and therefore easy flooding of unverified information, the reverse is also true. Media becomes a medium of reaching out dozens of people around the globe in no time, encouraging togetherness as people around the globe share in trials and tribulations. The recent tsunami in Japan, for example, becomes one of the many testimonies that advancement in media technology plays since the rapid flow of information encourages prompt response and allows for massive support to be extended from all over the world saving a grave situation. The widening of the journalistic space due to democracy has allowed the public to access information on the on-goings of their governments making the leaders more accountable.

The relationship between the media and international affairs has been examined in different approaches. First, in terms of the nature of news content specifically due to the distorted images and perceptions that end up compounding conflicts of interest between states. Unfortunately, the wider public form attitudes and opinions based on the news content having far reaching implication on policy. This however, does not often apply to ministers and officials whose information is derived from messages from diplomatic missions and internal

⁷⁶Cohen Y, *Media Diplomacy, The Foreign Office in the Mass Communications Age*, Frank Cass and Company Ltd, New York, 2005 pg 20

reports. Institutions and occupational characteristics of journalism would be another approach and this plays a key role in analysing the relationship between the media and internal affairs where the focus is on the characteristic of the correspondents, news sources and news organisations in terms of explaining the differences in news-gathering behaviour and outputs. Finally, the relevance of the media and foreign policy where public opinion is shape by different categories of publics each of whom play very significant role; the general public which participate in an indirect and passive way, the attentive public, before whom informed decisions take place, policy and opinion elites which compete for public support and influence and the official leadership which makes policy.⁷⁷

The different types of relationships between the media and diplomacy become very relevant in analysing foreign policy. The media are a source of information to diplomatic missions abroad and to officials and ministers at home and therefore influence policy making as a result of their influence on ministers in the foreign offices, interest groups and the wider general public as they offer information and set the agenda. They are channels of communication both locally and abroad. They are used by governments, individual officials and ministers at the policy formulation stage to disclose information in order to advance or hinder policy options. At the stage of formulation, the media are used in international negotiations by governments as a device through which to manoeuvre another government. The media is also used to gain public support for policy; especially where the channels used include those abroad; the diplomatic missions abroad build relations with the local media, and are used in the distribution of printed and visual material to them.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Cohen Y, *Media Diplomacy, The Foreign Office in the Mass Communications Age*, Frank Cass and Company Ltd, New York, 2005 pg 4

⁷⁸ Cohen Y, *Media Diplomacy, The Foreign Office in the Mass Communications Age*, Frank Cass and Company Ltd, New York, 2005 pg 5

Technological innovation in mass communications has added new dimensions to diplomacy, with instantaneous communication of words and images over vast distances. News organisations are able to receive information via satellite enhancing the speed and quantity of news reporting through the electronic news-gathering equipment. The increase in the flow of international news resulting from new technology creates greater public interest, and therefore greater public pressure on policymakers.⁷⁹

2.5 GLOBAL HEALTH DIPLOMACY

Fauci defines health diplomacy as, “winning the hearts and minds of people in poor countries by exporting medical care, expertise and personnel to help those who need it most.”⁸⁰ This definition is based on global health in terms of foreign policy. However global health, “places a priority on improving health and achieving equity in health for all people worldwide. It emphasis is on transnational health issues, determinants, and solutions and involves many disciplines within and beyond the health sciences.”⁸¹ It is a new area in diplomacy that has shown massive interest around the globe because there is an increasing range of health issues that transcend national boundaries and require action by all the stakeholders around the globe. The broad political, social and economic implications of health issues have brought together more states interested in global health diplomacy which is gaining in importance every day. This is drawn from the fact that the expense on health can put a strain on a country’s economy not only on the cost of the diseases but also the productivity of sick members of society thereby increasing levels of poverty substantively. The international public health experts and other negotiators should be well prepared to handle this new area. Some countries

⁷⁹ Ibid pg 160

⁸⁰ . Fauci AS, Lasker, Public Service Award. *The expanding global health agenda: a welcome development*. Nat Med. 2007, pg 13

⁸¹ Koplan JP, Bond TC, Merson MH, Reddy KS, Rodriguez MH, et al. *Towards a common definition of global health*. Lancet. 2009, pg 373

have already realised the importance of this new phenomenon and are making changes in their diplomatic processes. This has included the addition of full-time health attaché to their diplomatic staff, while others have added diplomats to the staff of international health departments.⁸² The challenge commonly shared by the various countries has been to navigate a complex system in which issues in domestic and foreign policy intertwine the lines of power and constantly influence change, and where increasingly rapid decisions and skilful negotiations are required in the face of outbreaks of disease, security threats or other issues.⁸³

Most of the important issues of global health diplomacy still take place within the World Health Organization (WHO); indeed it has recently gained new momentum through the negotiation during the past five years of the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control and the International Health Regulations.⁸⁴ However, organisations dealing with global health have increased exponentially due to the seriousness that health is handled with internationally. Therefore these organisations are all clamouring for space and mainly to benefit from the generous funding and attention that would accrue to such an area. Diversifications of actors are now being felt at all levels; the most illustrative development being the growth of public-private partnerships and platforms around a multitude of health issues. It is clear that the profound change underway requires new mechanisms and new skills for global health diplomacy. Some of the benefits that global health diplomacy delivers do not only provide checks on transmission of outbreaks of communicable diseases by quickly transmitting information around the globe to ensure certain measures are taken in order to avoid further infections like imposing of quarantine and travel bans as well as vaccinations,

⁸² World Bank. World Development Report 1993: *Investing in Health*. Washington D.C.: World Bank; 1993. Accessed June 2010

⁸³ Kickbusch I, Novotny TE, Drager N, Silberschmidt G, Alcazar S. Global health diplomacy: training across disciplines. *Bull World Health Organ*. 2007;85: pp 971–973

⁸⁴ *Ibid* pg 275

but also sharing of information on recent research findings that would be beneficial in the search for medical solutions for the myriad of health issues facing humanity globally.

However, even with these lively debates on health taking place in international circles, the developing countries seem to be lagging behind in abating the myriad of health challenges facing their populace. As a matter of fact, most of these countries still have very low doctor/patient ratios with Kenya at 14 doctors per 100,000 patients', ten times less than the World Health Organisation recommended standards of 1 doctor per 1000 patients.⁸⁵ These gaps widen even further in the rural areas and worsen in hardship areas. Some of the reasons for these figures have been brain drain due to unfavourable working conditions for the existing doctors including poor remuneration and lack of facilities. The cost of training a medical doctor too, is not cheap and these governments may not afford to make such an investment or are unable to do so due to other developing countries' setbacks like lack of set guidelines on the country's priorities. Another challenge has been the lack of funding for research and therefore achievements in the area have remained very slow, almost insignificant, and this directly impacts also on the participation by health practitioners since they are ill motivated to make such commitments due to the poor pay, they are busy operating private clinics to try and make an extra income.

2.6 ENVIRONMENTAL DIPLOMACY

Environmental diplomacy is also another area of modern day diplomacy recently pursued due to the constraints put on the global resource use, which is currently deemed to be unsustainable. The fact that effects of climate change, an important aspect of the environment, is directly linked to poverty levels in the world make it an important part of

⁸⁵ Shiffman J, *A social explanation for the rise and fall of global health issues*. Bull World Health Organ. 2009;87:608-613

international relations especially with so many calamities befalling many parts of the world like the tsunamis, earthquakes as well as floods that cause wanton destruction and loss of many lives. It encompasses issues on environment as well as pollution and their impact on climatic patterns. Rapid growth in population and growth in the different economies of the world have resulted to urbanisation. These two aspects are the contributory factors to the growing pressures on the resources, directly impacting on climate change. The diverse effects on climate change undermine the fundamental societal pillars of security and prosperity, represented in insecurities in food, energy and water.⁸⁶ In an increasingly uncertain world these trends are depressingly predictable and managing the tensions of climate change and resource scarcity peacefully in a world of ever increasing interdependence will require fundamental changes on how countries view their vital national security interests, and how they engage in cooperation and diplomacy to deliver them.⁸⁷ New approaches will have to emphasise early preventative action to reduce the economic and political root causes of resource tensions.

Even with the obvious lack of commitment by developed countries on the agreements of the Kyoto Protocol, as well as its predecessor, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) both aimed to fight global warming by reducing the level of greenhouse gas emissions into the atmosphere, has drawn all stakeholders globally to engage and look for solutions resulting from pollution of the environment.⁸⁸ And although the Protocol has not achieved the anticipated results, it has managed to bring the relevant people on board having acknowledged the existence of a problem and trying to come up with solutions.

⁸⁶ Sunita N, *Environmental Diplomacy in an Unequal World*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1994 pg 17
⁸⁷ Susskind L, *Negotiating more Effective Global Agreements*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1994 pg 5-9
⁸⁸ *Ibid* pg 13

The recent trade in carbon credits, for example, is one of these solutions to the climate change menace albeit unsatisfactory. It has depicted a clear picture of how the developing countries' diplomats have to grapple with harsh realities in international relations due to the position of their countries as financially challenged. Developing countries are expected to be the losers in the long run since they have to accept the financial gain being offered at the expense of their underdevelopment. While the developed countries continue developing more and more, they continue to enjoy the massive benefits that accrue to industrialisation which include improved productivity at lower costs of production which means higher profit margins due to the employment of economies of scale, creation of employment for their growing population among other gains all at the expense of their developing counterparts who gain marginally from the financial compensation.

2.7 COMMERCIAL AND ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY

Commercial diplomacy is a relatively new field encompassing policy advocacy, policymaking and negotiations in international trade and investment. It describes the work of diplomatic missions in support of the home country's business and finance sectors in their pursuit for economic success and the country's general objective of national development.⁸⁹ Economic Diplomacy, on the other hand refers to the actions of the state's external politics, the external investments, and the negotiations with the different countries or international organisations. It also refers to the companies functioning at national or international level in promoting their economic interests.⁹⁰ Economic diplomacy happens in the realms of political influence to promote international trade and investments, improve the functioning of markets, reduce the cost and risks of cross-border transactions, achieve the internationally accepted standards, secure

⁸⁹ Kostecki M & Naray O, *Commercial Diplomacy and International Business*

⁹⁰ Menzel U(1996), "New Images of the Enemy. The Renaissance of Geopolitics and Geoculture in International Relations", *International Journal of Political Economy*, 26:3, pg 70

private property rights, develop international telecommunications, energy and transport networks and consolidate the right political climate to create a conducive environment in order to achieve all these objectives.⁹¹ An economic action is often backed by a political motive and strengthened by a diplomatic objective. This has been made so by liberalisation of trade leading to stiff competition with expected gains not only influenced by the market structure but by politics as well.

As with all other aspects of diplomacy, commercial and economic diplomacy have recently gained massive interest because of an era of greater interest in economic gain. Every state's major goal is to gain access to markets for the goods and services that are now being produced in volumes. This has brought about cut-throat competition with every state trying to out manoeuvre the other to enable it cut a niche for itself to access these markets. This can be seen through the cooperation with like-minded states with the intent to shape regulatory institutions in their favour. Countries are now in stiff competition with one another to attract direct foreign investments, attempt to protect their local industries sometimes with overt trade barriers. Interestingly, even as the countries engage in fierce competition they still want to forge and deepen relationships with one another through their membership to the World Trade Organisation (WTO), where member countries seek to be protected through the regulation and standards set by the institution.

Firms, too seek expansion through mergers and acquisitions while they intensify efforts to influence both the domestic and international policies to their favour. The transnational companies form alliances across territories and ensure proper running of their businesses as they coordinate and strengthen their lobbying with the governments of their international

⁹¹ Kostecki M & Naray O, Commercial Diplomacy and International Business

partners.⁹² Multiplicity of actors in international business is also another aspect that has thrown commercial and economic diplomacy into the diplomatic light. While states and transnational voices seem relevant in the context of trade institutions like WTO as well as collaborative competition, non-state actors are also adding their voice in economic policy debates. They become a voice of reason in all these economic gain and unfettered capitalism clamour where debates on the exploitation of natural resources, conflicts between locals especially of developing countries and the transnational companies and governments vis-a-vis their less than perfect policies in relation to their citizenry.

The broader sense of economic and commercial diplomacy hinges on the need for cooperation among states to better themselves economically. However, due to the skewedness of trade between developing and the developed countries, most of the benefits favour the developed countries. Even with great diplomacy, developing countries shall continue to achieve less in international trade. The famous statement goes that developing countries are poor because they are poor for the simple reason that they do not have necessary infrastructure to enable them actively participate and benefit in trade. For instance, the floriculture and horticulture standards set out internationally are prohibitive and a country like Kenya, despite being the hub for the production of the best flowers does not set the market prices. The case about intellectual property and the rights given to developing countries do not help much since these countries do not have the manufacturing capacity to enable them enjoy such a benefit and even when the benefit is extended further for the production to take place in a different country at no extra charge, this still poses logistical problems for these countries due to their undeveloped systems. Kenya being a renowned producer of tea and coffee worldwide gains only marginally since they trade in raw tea and

⁹² Saner R & Yiu L, International Economic Diplomacy: Mutations in Post Modern Times

coffee that have minimum gain from the international markets. The developed countries that trade in the unprocessed tea and coffee do not acknowledge their origin leading Kenya to lose out on their product. Other problems that the developing countries experience are largely self-made like poor governance, massive and widespread corruption and the entrenchment of "alms culture"⁹³ that have ensured the bottom position that most developing countries have continued to take over the years.

Diaspora diplomacy now plays an important role in the economy of a country as states encourage their citizens abroad to invest back home. It is estimated that, for instance, over 1.8 million Kenyan nationals live and work abroad. Diaspora diplomacy does not only enhance the relationship between nationals living abroad with their country but also provides consular services to ensure a peaceful stay in the respective countries. Some of the services offered in Diaspora embassy offices of Kenya in various countries include; facilitating the increase in remittances from the Diaspora by working with the relevant Government organs to formulate and implement cheaper and faster methods of remitting funds home, engage with the Diaspora and enlighten them on investment opportunities available in Kenya, ensuring protection of the rights and interest of Kenyan citizens abroad, facilitate the development of a consular service that addresses the needs of Kenyans in the Diaspora, participating in research and develop products and a policy framework that increases and directs remittances towards more "developmental" uses, conducting of research on the numbers of Kenyans in the Diaspora and their exact locations, developing bilateral arrangements to secure jobs in other countries, provide information to the Kenyan public about existing vacancies; currently done through the official website, working with recruitment agencies to facilitate recruitment

⁹³ Alms culture means an entrenched habit of dependability; spreading out one's hand to be given or begging.

of Kenya into international jobs, developing a database of curriculum vitae (CVs) to ensure proper placement, also currently done by the office.⁹⁴

2.8 CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

As with media diplomacy, cultural diplomacy becomes an avenue of promoting a country's image through public diplomacy, in representing its ideas about itself. It encompasses every little bit of what a country is; its constitution, national anthem, the national flag, the people and their unique attributes that make them so proudly "them", their national dress (if any) , their music and dance, their foods and all that embodies who they are that they project to the world and so known for that. Kenya, for example was for a long time, until the infamous 2008 post election violence, known as a peace loving people, warm and hospitable with a unique culture largely represented by the "maasai"⁹⁵ image, the truly Kenyan cuisine in the "Ugali"⁹⁶ and "nyama choma".⁹⁷

Cultural diplomacy seeks to utilise the uniqueness in a country to build trust and forge solid relationships based on what others know about that country; that they can be given a chance based on past experiences. Policy makers can use this as a platform to build on other strengths of the country. It demonstrates value and interests based on family, faith and desire for progress as positive attributes that other nations would like to partner with. It also creates relationships with peoples, which endure beyond changes in government, can reach influential members of foreign societies, who cannot be reached through traditional embassy functions. Culture also provides a positive agenda for cooperation in spite of policy differences, creates a neutral platform for people-to-people contact, serves as a flexible,

⁹⁴ www.kenyarep-jp.com/kenyans/diaspora02_e.html, 7 Jul 2011

⁹⁵ One of Kenya's ethnic community depicted with red traditional attire

⁹⁶ African cake made from maize meal

⁹⁷ Kenyan delicacy of roasted meat

universally acceptable vehicle for rapprochement with countries where diplomatic relations have been strained or are absent. It is uniquely able to reach out to young people, to non-elites, to broad audiences with a much reduced language barrier, fosters the growth of civil society, educates people on the values and sensitivities of other societies, helping societies to avoid gaffes and missteps that border on counterbalances misunderstanding, hatred, and terrorism.

It therefore becomes very important for influential people, especially those in positions of authority like in government to be very careful in what they do or say in public in a bid to protect the country's image. The recent shuttle diplomacy in Kenya by the Vice President to try and gather support from the international community on the issue of the six suspects of the post election masterminds (Ocampo Six) might have painted the country in negative light in terms of what the world perceived the country as one that tolerates impunity and corruption even at the higher echelons of government. This should be avoided at all costs since such images endure for a long time and erasing them would be very hard as they become ingrained in the minds of the people who perceived them.

Sports have become an integral part of cultural diplomacy where tremendous support for international sporting activities put a country in the limelight. For example Kenya has been widely promoted by athletic championships and is now internationally acclaimed for this success. The international sporting activities organised across the globe become a platform for people to visit that country when it is hosting the activity leading to a boost in tourism and many other economic activities.

2.9 NEW CONDUCT OF DIPLOMACY TODAY

It is not only the subject matter of diplomacy that has changed in the 21st century but also the conduct. There has been a recent tendency towards summit or personal diplomacy where heads of states now engage on one on one building interpersonal relations which impact on nations. However, there is also a tendency for the heads of states are now obliged to delegate not only the actual conduct of the dialogue abroad almost entirely to ambassadors, envoys and other members of the diplomatic missions, as has been the tradition but also to delegate many of the decisions on policy to political colleagues and trusted advisors.⁹⁸ Technological advancement has also enhanced diplomacy in a big way and teleconferencing is now one of the ways of handling meetings improving efficiency due to speed as well as cutting down on costs. As discussed earlier, states are no longer the only interactions in international relations there are now a multiplicity of actors. International organisations and political movements like the Palestine Liberation Organisation are now important players in the international scenes. All these trends have affected the conduct of diplomacy today.

2.10 CONCLUSION

The new trends in diplomacy as discussed in the chapter have affected its practice because of the various interactions. There is need for the inclusion to diplomacy professionals in specific fields not only as consultants but as part of the system so that they can be actively involved where their relevance is of utmost importance in today's diplomacy. States should embrace these new changes in order to achieve maximum benefit.

⁹⁸ Watson A, *Diplomacy; The dialogue between states*, Eyre Methuen Ltd, 1982 Pg 120

CHAPTER THREE

KENYA'S FOREIGN POLICY SINCE INDEPENDENCE

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will address Kenya's diplomatic history since independence as one of the pillars of Kenya's foreign policy. Kenyatta as the first president set the pace of the country's foreign policy, president Moi furthered the agenda after a period of uncertainty that the country went through after the demise of the founding father, and finally a new dawn set in through the leadership of President Mwai Kibaki through an enlarged political space. However, it should be noted that at independence what later became the principles and objectives of Kenya's foreign policy had already crystallized, and were traceable to the two KANU manifestos of 1961 and 1963.⁹⁹

In this chapter, Diplomacy will be conceptualised as an instrument of foreign policy since it is through this slide that Kenya's interactions with the international community has been perceived.

3.1 KENYA'S DIPLOMACY

Kenya's diplomatic history can be traced through the reign of the various regimes that have been in government since independence. The government of the day pre-determined the country's foreign policy depending on what goals were to be pursued and therefore the country's interactions with the international community; both states and non-state actors. It is largely acclaimed that governments do not come into existence fixed on the world of diplomacy but are rather characterised by their desire to base their external policies on

⁹⁹ Orwa K, *Continuity and Change: Kenya's Foreign Policy from Kenyatta to Moi*, in Oyugi W, (ed), *Politics and Administration in East Africa*, Nairobi, East African Educational Publishers Ltd, 1994 pg 299

domestic objectives and concerns. This means that diplomacy employed by presidents and governments will be shaped according to the policy objectives of the leaders in question.¹⁰⁰

The three reigning powers have had varied experiences and thus took different paths in the delivery of the foreign policy. The main pillars of diplomacy in Kenya have been political, economic and cultural since independence and although the policies may not have changed much, the processes of delivery have differed from one regime to another. This was determined by each leader's personal values, insights as well as experiences during their time in office.

3.2 THE KENYATTA ERA

The first president of Kenya, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta shaped the country's foreign policy which was pre-determined by the already existing British connection owing to their past relationship as her former colonial masters. This meant that Kenya's foreign policy was geared towards foreign capital and this dictated her economic and industrial infrastructure.¹⁰¹ However, Kenya was also in favour of regional integration as evidenced by her membership to the East Africa Community in 1967 but also pursued pan African ideals through her membership to the Organisation of African Unity. This was important since Kenyatta had projected a radical and strong African leader in support of the pan-African movement long before independence. An image he did not want to distort yet it was also necessary to keep close ties with the country's benefactors, mainly the British. Kenya's key concern was to encourage more foreign capital, maintain commercial links with neighbouring states, ensure the security of

¹⁰⁰Nolutshungu S, International Commitments: Some quibbles and Theoretical Suggestions: *International Affairs*, Vol 52 (2) 1976 pg 230

¹⁰¹ Okumu J, *The Foreign Policy of African States*, London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1997, pp136-7

her borders and consolidate the domestic political power base especially in the 1970s.¹⁰² As Kenya pursued these goals she found herself in a position of dependence as seen in her need to maintain relations with the West particularly Britain for aid and foreign capital, her dominance of the East African market for the produce largely governed by her Western influence, and the security dependence as manifested with the agreement with Ethiopia where the two countries were to support each other from the threat of Somali; this was in 1964. Kenya signed a number of other defence agreements with Britain in order to enjoy certain benefits, including the two agreements that led to the formation of Kenya Air Force as well as the expansion of the Kenya Army, a measure that helped Kenya increase her military might as well as consolidated her domestic political base. This helped deter a direct attack from Somali in 1967.¹⁰³

Unfortunately, by default the British ties with Kenya caused her some level of powerlessness due to the fact that the foreign investments had to be protected and largely at the expense of the middle-class. The Upper-class, the bourgeoisie, had taken over the investments from the British and had to protect the investments as they continued to pursue more foreign capital and became major beneficiaries of Kenya's relationship with Britain. Professor Colin Leys described the powerless situation as below;

The "middle-class" whose interest the Kenyan government wished to defend, yet whose power it had theoretically broken, was largely a foreign one. Its real economic and political power lay abroad. The middle-class had to be (dealt with) with great circumspection, if new capital was not to be frightened away i.e, it had to be only *ritually* "humiliated" while practically wooed.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Makinda S, *From Quiet Diplomacy to Cold War Politics, Kenya's Foreign Policy Third World Quarterly, Vol 5, No.2, Tension and Contentions Taylor & Francis Ltd, 1983pg 301*

¹⁰³ *Ibid* pg 302

¹⁰⁴ Leys C, *Underdevelopment in Kenya; the political economy of Neo-colonialism*, London, Heinemann, 1975 pg 208

Kenya maintained a low profile on international matters, avoiding radical aggressiveness on stands that she would not adequately promote in order to avoid a clash with benefactors of her foreign capital. Quiet diplomacy became Kenya's stand from the early 1970s so that she would ensure that foreign capital inflows remained consistent.¹⁰⁵ Further, Kenya's relationship with her East African neighbours also remained important due to her economic dominance which was necessary for her to find a wider market for her goods especially with the benefit of the free East Africa common market. This aggressive and domineering attribute of Kenya towards Uganda and Tanzania enraged these two neighbours as they perceived Kenya as furthering post-colonial imperialism through the trade of Western products. Kenya could not jeopardise her relationship with neither Western allies because of the foreign capital or with the East Africa Community who provided ready market for her goods.

The three countries' initial step towards harmonising their trade relations was in 1961 through the formation of East Africa Common Services Organisation (EACSO) in which a shared and centralised organisation was to provide services like transportation, tax collection, communication, scientific research, university education, and social services. The organisation's charter was to create a common currency and an appellate court as well as a common market in which goods and labour circulated freely under the guidance of a common legislative assembly.¹⁰⁶ However, by 1965 the organisation started falling apart as the three countries were keen on safeguarding their national interests in the pursuit of diverging economic and political policies in 1967 the of East African Community (EAC) was established under the "Treaty of East Africa Cooperation". Unfortunately, they organisation became inoperative in 1977 as the countries rejected the East African federation, diluting the common market by rejecting the common currency and restricting movement of people

¹⁰⁵ Okumu J, Kenya Foreign Policy, in O Aluko, (ed), " *The Foreign Policies of African States*", London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1977, pg 136

¹⁰⁶ *The Economist Intelligent Unit*, 1998, Country Profile, Kenya The Unit London, pg 10

across borders, with the Ugandan woes under Idi Amin and Tanzanian's strained relations with Kenya over their socialism policies as well as the grudge over assets and liabilities of the defunct EAC. The East African Community inadvertently collapsed in 1977 and was formally dissolved in 1983, dealing a huge blow especially to Kenya due to the extensive market share she enjoyed.¹⁰⁷

Kenyatta's foreign policy can be summarised as one designed and implemented; to protect Kenya's territorial integrity and enhance national security, preserve the economic and political system that the ruling elite believed, sustain Kenya's special position in East Africa, underscore the importance of living harmoniously with her neighbours by respecting territorial integrity and sovereignty and encouraging her neighbours to do the same by adhering to international commitments, maintain a sustained inflow of foreign investment and support capital by forging closer economic, political and military relations with the Western European countries and the US and support collective African and UN objectives.¹⁰⁸

3.3 PERIOD OF UNCERTAINTY AND SELF REASSESSMENT

The late 1970s and early 1980s were difficult years for Kenya as she had to grapple with many challenges including the loss of the founding father; Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, and the strained relations with virtually all her neighbours. The collapse of the East Africa Community meant that Kenya had to look for other markets for her products. Moreover, the overthrow of Ethiopian ^{Emperor/king} president, Haile Selassie in 1974 and his replacement with a military government caused jitters in Kenya due to their co-operation in handling one common

¹⁰⁷ Green R, *The East African Community; Death, Funeral and Inheritance, African Contemporary Record, 1977-78* (London) pp A 125-137

¹⁰⁸ Orwa K, *Continuity and Change: Kenya's Foreign Policy from Kenyatta to Moi*, in Oyugi W, (ed), *Politics and Administration in East Africa*, Nairobi, East African Educational Publishers Ltd, 1994 pg 315

enemy, Somali.¹⁰⁹ Ethiopia had always been the stronger partner militarily, and therefore subscribing to a different ideology, socialism as would have been dictated by the relationship with the Soviet Union which might have posed a challenge to their friendship with Kenya which had a capitalist ideology. Luckily, the Soviet Union did not establish strong links with the Ethiopia junta. This became a period of uncertainty and self-reassessment in Kenya's foreign policy.

The collapse of the East African Community and the closure of the Tanzanian border meant that Kenya lost a significant market share from countries like Zambia and Malawi. Kenya had to build diplomatic relations and trade relations with the Arab world and other parts of Africa.¹¹⁰ In a bid to intensify her marketing, Kenya also opened trade relations with her northern neighbours Sudan and Ethiopia which saw the signing of a tripartite ministerial committee which met regularly to review progress towards the improvement of communication and commercial links among the three neighbours.¹¹¹ Kenya also signed trade cooperation treaties with Zaire, Burundi and Rwanda, though the exploitation of these markets depended on Kenya's relations with Uganda and the state of law in that country. Kenya became active in supporting the Preferential Trade Area since its success would allow her to recapture her markets with Zambia, Malawi and Tanzania and possibly open further in Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Unfortunately, this was not to be since Tanzania was not willing to sign the PTA treaty due unresolved issues with Kenya dating from the defunct East Africa Community problem of sharing liabilities and assets as well as Tanzanian resentment towards Kenya as a sub-imperialist state.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Makinda S, *Kenya Role's in the Somali-Ethiopian Conflict*: Canberra; Strategic and Defence Studies Centre; Australian National University, 1982, pp 11-12

¹¹⁰ *Africa Contemporary Record 1977-78* pg B 271

¹¹¹ *Africa Research Bulletin* (Economic and Financial Technical) 15 April 14 May, 1981 pp 58-93

¹¹² Shaw T M, *Kenya and South Africa; Sub-Imperialists States*, *Orbis* 21 (2) July 1977 pp 375-394

The end of the Kenyatta era brought with it changes in foreign policy and therefore a changed outlook in diplomacy. With the cold war period beckoning, Kenya's attraction towards the United States of America became real since it was perceived it as "liberation" from the British ties. The USA was offered a military base at the Kenyan Coast and the relationship ensured that Kenya would receive development aid and famine relief having experienced the worst drought in early 1980s. The acceptance of the assistance from the US made Kenya a hub in the Persian Gulf where the Soviet expansionism would be controlled.

3.4 THE MOI ERA

Kenya's political landscape was for a long time associated with Kenyatta and upon his death the new political leaders had to make considerable efforts to reassure foreign investors as well as allies abroad that both the domestic and foreign policies were not going to change. However, the conduct of handling both foreign and domestic policies changed even though the policies themselves did not. During the onset on the Cold War, Kenya's foreign policy became more open and vulnerable especially because of identifying more with the United States.¹¹³ In 1980, Kenya offered the United States air and naval facilities in exchange for military and economic aid. This is what drew Kenya into Cold War politics.¹¹⁴ A number of factors thrust Kenya into Cold War politics and they included the fact that the Soviet Union was emerging as a global power with interests in many parts of the world an aspect that did not please the United States and therefore the Americans needed a new military role in the East African region. There also tended to be an erosion of the American influence because of the developments in the Middle East and Persian Gulf. But most importantly at the time that the Americans were working out a new security framework for the Persian Gulf, Kenya was

¹¹³ Karimi. J and Ochieng P, *The Kenyatta Succession*, Nairobi, Transafrica, 1980 pg 327

¹¹⁴ US House of Representatives, Committee on Appropriations, "Military Construction Appropriations for 1982" (March 1981) Pp 137-9

experiencing economic crisis coupled with a new regime that was impatient to succeed and prove its existence to the world.¹¹⁵

In 1980, President Moi approached the United States for development aid and famine relief the country having experienced the worst food crisis. One report said in part; “through a combination of bad planning, mismanagement, poor weather and blatant profiteering, Kenya.....suddenly found herself moving from a position of close to self-sufficiency in basic foods to that of being a large-scale importer in 1980.”¹¹⁶

The United States acceptance to assist Kenya thrust her in a situation to contain the Soviet Union and advance American interests in the Persian Gulf region, becoming part of American defense network around the globe whose main aim was to challenge Soviet expansionism.

The Moi era saw Kenya largely involved in diplomacy of peace building in the region with retrogress on the economic front. This was a difficult time especially financially due to extensive corruption and nepotism which did not give room for economic development, and many foreign investors stayed away from the country due to the unfriendly business environment and unpleasant bureaucratic procedures with massive corruption that saw even the registration of a business a very harsh experience and this kept off many investors. However, the regime left an indelible mark in peace- building with the head of state getting actively involved in the search of lasting solution to warring nations.

In mid 1981, relations between Kenya and Somali began to improve following moves towards rapprochement. This happened because of the United States influence since the two countries were enjoying military and economic aid from American and it would have been quite an embarrassment had the two countries fought each other with American supplied and

¹¹⁵ Hyland W. G, 'US-Soviet Relations; The long road back' special issue of *Foreign Affairs* (60) 3, 1981 Pp 525-50

¹¹⁶ African Research Bulletin (Economic and Financial Technical) 15 September to 14 October 1980 Pp 56-78

trained forces. The other importance to the Kenya – Somali peace was to enhance the American's agenda in joining her other allies in the containment of the Soviet Union. In 1984, President Moi made an unprecedented visit Somali to not only negotiate border claims but also promote trade cooperation between the two countries.

The end of the Cold War marked the end of Kenya and Africa at large being perceived to be of strategic importance. The United States and the international community at large called on African nations to have democratic governments with greater emphasis on respect for human rights and free capital markets. This was because the extension of democracy was seen to foster and facilitate international peace and stability.¹¹⁷ The emergence of the United States as the most powerful nation even after the Cold War gave a chance to the observance of her ideals which included fostering democracy as a way of ensuring national security, liberal economies and respect for human rights.¹¹⁸

Moi's 24 year rule was marred with issues of massive corruption, ethnicity and oppression especially of those against his dictatorship. Often times, political leaders from the opposition were harassed and detained for expressing opinion about his leadership. Unfortunately, the United States and the British government and the international community did not make real commitment in checking this as very often the denial of aid on one hand was followed with concessions on the other. When aid was denied with the expectation for reforms, the US government would circumvent the decision and give grants or military assistance. Obviously, the two governments had varied reasons for their actions. Britain for example wanted to protect the thousands of her citizens living in Kenya as well as the strong economic ties that had been built over the years,¹¹⁹ while the United States used the opportunity to secure

¹¹⁷ Spanier and Hook, *American Foreign Policy since World War II*, Washington D.C, Congressional Quarterly, 1998 Pp271

¹¹⁸ Smith J, *The Cold War 1945-1991*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1995, pg 95

¹¹⁹ Africa Watch *The Colonial Legacy* 1991 Pp 362

various personal favours, for example the case of 1991 where the US government offered Kenya a 5 million dollar military assistance so that President Moi would provide 350 Libyan dissidents who had fled Chad where they were being armed and trained in guerrilla warfare by the CIA against Gaddafi.¹²⁰ These inconsistencies did not help Kenya achieve democratic rule as the international community was seen to put pressure on the government only when they had personal interests.

The turning point for Kenya was in 1991 when the Paris Consultative Group made up of major Western donors suspended millions of shillings in donor aid pending reforms.¹²¹ This saw Kenya reluctantly amend the constitution allowing Kenya to be a multiparty state with the first multiparty elections being held in 1992.

President Moi won the elections with the highest voter turn-out since independence and the international community endorsed him as president in the new government terming the elections as satisfactorily fair.¹²² Unfortunately, the new regime continued with its autocracies with no accountability or respect for human rights soon after coming in to power. The US and other donor agencies continued to support the Moi government, having abandoned their calls for political reforms. The trend continued even with the 1997 elections which saw President Moi back in power once more. However, with President Clinton administration, foreign aid was replaced with trade. The American president found it fit to encourage trade relations with Kenya and Africa at large by improving terms of trade as a means to alleviate poverty in Africa.¹²³ There was a clear shift from fighting for democracy by the administration of Bush Senior to improving economies in Africa by the Clinton administration. Kenya became one of the major beneficiaries of these partnerships such as

¹²⁰ Clough M, *Free at Last*, US Policy towards Africa and the end of Cold War, New York, Holmes and Meier, 1992 Pp100

¹²¹ Haugerud A, *The Culture of Politics in Kenya*, Newyork, Cambridge University Press,1995 Pg 25

¹²² Haugerud A, *The Culture of Politics in Kenya*, Newyork, Cambridge University Press,1995 pg 26

¹²³ Allen C Texas & AM University Press, 2000 Pg361

Africa Growth Opportunity Act (AGOA) having met the required eligibility criteria in 2000. The country also managed to export cut flowers, tea, coffee, textile and apparels to the US duty free, which has greatly boosted local farmers. President Clinton administration was keen on reforms and this saw Kenya by-passed during President Clinton's tour in Africa because of high levels of corruption. Foreign aid still came in to the country but only 30% was channelled through the government, while the rest came through the NGO's that the international community generously supported.

3.5 THE KIBAKI ERA

The year 2002 marked the beginning of a new era when Kenyans had their first electoral change of government since independence. There was much optimism to the return of the once-vaunted record of political stability and economic growth under the leadership of President Mwai Kibaki. The entry into power saw the new regime enjoy massive support from all quarters with aid flowing for many of the government policies that were seen to promote the well being of the citizenry. For example the free education programme was perceived as noble by all across the globe and received the much needed donor aid.

The government brought new changes in Kenya's foreign policy with economic growth being close at heart. This led to the need to widen markets not only through East African Cooperation but also through the "Look East" policy which was a paradigm shift by the Kibaki government to promote relations with countries like China, Japan, Korea among other countries in the East commonly known as the 'Asian Tigers'. Diplomatic incidents with these countries have enhanced strong ties, a move that has seen Kenya's infrastructure grow in leaps and bounds through various partnerships. Kenya has also fostered relations with other

African countries including Libya which has invested in many industries in the country.¹²⁴ The relations with the Soviet Union have been cool and are being fostered to encourage trade and other areas of cooperation like education which is a popular choice for Kenyans studying abroad.

In a bid to encourage foreign investors, the Kibaki regime has put in place the review of certain processes that have traditionally created bottle-necks for would be investors thereby discouraging foreign investments. Diplomacy today in Kenya has been that of marketing Kenya with initiatives like branding Kenya publicly not only as a tourists' destination but also as a great business hub. The business environment has seen many businesses thrive with many investors excited about the huge profits they are enjoying, for example Safaricom, a communications company that has become the lead investor in just under a decade.

Diaspora diplomacy and sports diplomacy are two new areas that the new regime has incorporated seriously in Kenya's new diplomacy. The regime has enjoyed good will from Kenyans in the diaspora and this has seen billions in Kenya shillings being remitted into the country by Kenyans abroad. The excitement to invest in property, the stock market and other areas has seen the country receive large sums of money from Kenyans across the globe. Great effort has also been made by the foreign ministry to inform Kenyans in the diaspora on what is happening in the country and to encourage them to invest and support in projects at home. This has been done through public diplomacy in the creation of websites and in the provision of information from the various embassies across the globe. Sports diplomacy has been used to promote the country, with a great reputation on athletics. Kenya is widely acclaimed for her prowess on the tracks and on every win, the country's national anthem is

¹²⁴ Kurian G, "Encyclopedia of the Third World", 4th ed, *Facts on File* Vol III; New York, N Y 1992 pg 976

played as the entire world watches and listens with envy. This too creates an opportunity for the world to know more about the country, a strategic chance to show case Kenya.

Unfortunately the passionate zero tolerance to corruption policy was not easy to manage because the government did not only inherit the existing systems and processes which already had loopholes that allowed corruption but also the same clout in the old regime that knew the ropes well enough. And within a short time, it was business as usual and the government has been unable to shake off the old reputation as a corrupt country. Donor aid has been frozen in certain quarters in a bid to pressurize the government to investigate the alleged corruption but very little has been done. Further, the political circles have remained strained with a hands-off president and a political class that is content on bickering too much. This has often times derailed many economic processes especially when it comes to passing of bills relevant to certain areas.

3.6 CONCLUSION

Diplomacy as one of Kenya's foreign policy pillars has played a major role in tapping into the potential of the other pillars; economic, political, environmental, cultural, peace and more recently Diaspora. Diplomacy of any country can make or break that country's foreign policy and it is important that due investment is made in the area so that maximum gains can be attained.

CHAPTER FOUR

DIPLOMACY IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the problems facing developing countries and how they have impacted on their practice of diplomacy based on the research findings. These problems fall in 4 broad categories which include; underdevelopment and lack of resources, globalisation, power influences and social issues relating to diplomacy as a career. The chapter concludes with how these nations can rise beyond these challenges.

4.1 CHALLENGES FACING DIPLOMACY IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Developing countries have been faced with a myriad of problems due to their problem of underdevelopment, which has seen them endure enormous challenges for many years. These problems have ranged from scarcity of resources, lack of entrepreneur skills and technological knowhow to harness existing resources as well as mismanagement of the resources and failure to maximize on their potential. The issues associated with their lack of capacity to make important decisions about their situation and therefore the lack of growth thereof are the same problems that hinder them from maximizing their potential during multilateral negotiations. The problems do not only stem from those of the negative effects of globalisation affecting the entire world in the form of crime and uncontrolled journalistic space, but also those of the impact of changes of global power centres with a slant towards multipolarity, as well as those resulting from many years of lack of resources to develop and catch up with the rest of the world.

4.2 UNDERDEVELOPMENT AND LACK OF RESOURCES

“Developing countries are poor because they are poor”.¹²⁵ The ghost of underdevelopment for the developing countries seems to haunt them in all areas, diplomacy not excluded. Lack of resource both in trained man power and finance to invest in certain technology hampers the process of diplomacy since advancement in technology ensures prompt responses to issues as well as quick execution of decisions already made. For example, video and tele-conferencing are some of the new trends in the conduct of diplomacy that would save on expenses of travel as well as the opportunity cost of multi-tasking. When the diplomat has to travel for forums that would have otherwise been handled as effectively and efficiently through video and tele-conferencing, he/she loses on other responsibilities that he/she would juggle equally well if travel was not necessary. Therefore, developing countries are unable to tap on the benefits of such a facility due to lack of resources to set up the relevant infrastructure.

Other new methods of conduct of diplomacy in the 21st century are also affected by this same lack of resources such as attendance to conferences which requires constant travel; an expense that might prove quite strenuous to some of the developing countries' economies. The lack of sufficient funding and proper facilitation to ensure all the embassy goals are provided for has also caused challenges to the fulfilment of the laid out plans. Factors relating to old diplomacy, as well as poor technology means that responses trickle in slower, hampering and derailing the decision making process since lack of modern infrastructure has ensured the slow pace of communication from the embassies.

Certain other problems are unique to each developing country; for instance, lack of a clearly laid out policy in matters relating to international affairs, which is a very important pillar of

¹²⁵ Nyandemo S, Economics lecturer, University of Nairobi, often quotes this to explain the factors of lack that causes developing countries to be poor.

development. This has been exemplified by Kenya's situation where no mention of diplomacy is made in its "Vision 2030".¹²⁶ This demonstrates a clear lack of planning making the country's grand strategy an afterthought where foreign affairs issues are relegated to positions where they can only "fit in". Another point of weakness in Kenya's foreign policy is research. No measures have been put in place to encourage research work done in areas pertaining to diplomacy or any interest shown in the utilisation of studies done even for academic purposes. Decisions made are not based on any scientific findings or well thought out plan.¹²⁷ Other problems that affect diplomacy are those that are common to developing countries like those of poor governance and internal conflicts among others.

4.3 GLOBALISATION

The world is now a global village allowing for easy interaction of people across the globe encouraging easy flow of goods and services with both positive and negative impact. This means that diplomacy now has more to deal with in terms of actors and issues. The developing countries have to grapple with this challenge putting a test to their already under developed processes. The negative effects of globalisation like infiltration of crimes such as drug and human trafficking, terrorism and piracy among others puts a strain on the developing countries when they are affected. This is because their systems are not adequate enough to handle the logistics that would go in dealing with such complex issues.

Globalisation too has enhanced communication which has been a serious threat to the practice of diplomacy among the developing countries. The projection of a country in international circles determines how other countries will relate with it. This is often done through the media whereby all avenues of communication get information about the country

¹²⁶ Observation by one of the diplomats during the 16th bi-annual conference, held in Mombasa, August, 2011

¹²⁷ Insights shared with me by the Kenyan Ambassador to Russia, Paul K. Kurgat, during the 16th biennial conference held in Mombasa in August 2011

to the world, which includes electronic and print media. More often than not the information may not be authenticated and this has many a times caused irreparable damage to a country's image especially in case of negative news. Kenya has for example one of the most liberal media in the world and unfortunately where journalists are not necessarily patriotic and have been seen as irresponsible and over enthusiastic to give sensational stories. This has often caused disgraceful stories to be aired around the world even when some of them may not reflect the true picture of what could actually be happening. Unfortunately, the recipients of the news rarely counter check to verify the correct position and quite often this has been damaging leading to creation of poor image about the country with detrimental effects including lost opportunities in business and tourism.

The other major challenge with public diplomacy also associated with media has been some Western news agencies always reporting negative information creating a bias. UNESCO movement for a "new international information order" has however alleviated this problem by setting guidelines and encouraging on positive news reporting of developing countries.¹²⁸ Others ways of solving the problem of biased reporting or alleviating the damage already caused include establishing an independent Third World-based news agency, licensing foreign correspondents and establishing a system for correcting reports which were subsequently shown to be incorrect. The government should also engage an independent body that should verify the news without necessarily gagging the media, with punitive measures taken in case journalist give unauthentic story.

Further, there is the challenge of criticism by Western governments led by the United States, of the developing countries limiting access to foreign correspondents and of the trend towards state-controlled media. This has been resolved by some Western countries who have encouraged the training of journalists from developing countries with some news

¹²⁸ Mellissen J, *The New Public Diplomacy*, New York, Palgrave, Macmillan, 2005, Pg 196

organisations such as *Reuters*, attempting to provide a more balanced and comprehensive picture of affairs in the developing world.

Another media issue is the flow of information where political and technical (jamming) means are used to stop foreign broadcasts, citing interference in their domestic affairs, and which poses a threat to the integrity of their national cultures. Training in public diplomacy could be hampered by limited communications' infrastructure as common in other developing countries, with only intermittent electricity and overloaded telephone exchanges.¹²⁹ Sometimes it is not only the physical barriers but there could be serious attitude problems which could deter training. Without encouragement from the ministry or training in dealing with the public and the media, hard-pressed staff in small missions may simply give up since it is the easiest way to contain political risk and limit the workload.

4.4 POWER INFLUENCES

The world is generally moving from a single hegemony to multipolarity¹³⁰ and although the benefits outweigh the drawbacks, certain features become salient with this new trend. Multipolarity means that no one particular state is a superpower in the sense that there is no single state that has capacity to totally depend on itself since even though it would be self sufficient in military power, economic might and cultural influence, it would still need the other states for the market of its produce alongside other partnerships to ensure the sustenance of its power. The transition from the various poles in the world in so many years means that power influences also keeps changing. Whereas Europe held more power economically before World War I, Russia was the major power wielder just before World War II and eventually the United States became the preponderant power after the Cold War. It is now

¹²⁹ Melissen J, *The New Public Diplomacy*, New York, Palgrave, Macmillan, 2005, Pg 197

¹³⁰ Multipolarity is the distribution of power where two or more states have almost the same influence militarily, economically or culturally.

evident that the Asian Tigers and the various regional grouping like the European Union now hold the global key economically. These changes means that the different countries have to change their relations depending on where the might is since that is where key decisions will be influenced. The challenge of the developing countries then becomes that of engaging with new economic and political centres of influence without losing original partners. How do these countries maintain a balance of relations and opportunities without compromising benefits accruing from new friends and their own sovereignty?¹³¹ The case of Kenya, for example, where she was allied to Britain because of the history as the colonial masters continued enjoying amiable relations many years on, but with the end of cold war and the United States being the only superpower, and hence the US's need to entrench its dominance in many regions across the globe, Kenya created new relations putting old relations with Britain at risk. Moving forward Kenya's "Look East" policy now favours relations with the Asian tigers with a lot of partnerships signed up with countries like Japan and China. This once more puts severe strains on prior relations established earlier on.

4.5 SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN A DIPLOMATIC CAREER

Diplomacy as a career is an interesting area with many people desiring of it especially the youth. The opportunity to travel and interact with many decision makers across the globe is looked upon with awe. Unfortunately, the career also has challenges at individual level and often times families have strained or even fallen apart because of problems relating to their careers in diplomacy. Postings abroad with the challenge not only of language but also adjusting to a new environment could cause untold misery to a spouse and children due to the sudden change of life. Sometimes the spouse may not get a job in the new country rendering

¹³¹ Discussion held during the 16th biennial conference held in Mombasa in August 2011

him/her unproductive and could cause depression.¹³² Postings that are less than 24 months cause disillusionment to not only the spouse of the officer but do not allow him/her sufficient time to settle down and become productive. They should therefore be avoided as much as possible. Depending on the ages of the children, there may not be an appropriate education system that would incorporate them seamlessly and this may cause upheaval in the child's life. Sometimes harsh decisions have to be made about having to leave some members of the family home as the best way to handle the education system problem for example, college going children who may not easily get an equivalent of their level of education in the new country. This gap could cause irreparable damage to the lives of these children who still need parental care and guidance. Other social costs include lost opportunities to invest at home due to the officer's absence as well as distanced relationships with family and friends. There have also been cases of degradation of officers' properties at home since there is no one to attend to them when they are away on duty. Stolen properties as well as destruction by intruders are cases often reported.¹³³ The government should provide some form of security to the homes of officers when away on duty as part of the benefits that diplomats should enjoy.

4.6 CONCLUSION

The key to resolve the developing countries' problem of underdevelopment is partnerships with the developed countries. More time and resource should be dedicated in areas that will contribute to alleviating poverty levels as well as in gaining where the developing countries feel unduly short changed by the developed countries. Many areas of effects on globalisation can actually be resolved by partnering with the developed countries. The recent trade in carbon credits, for example, is one new phenomenon that the developing countries should

¹³² Mwangiri M, *Diplomacy; Documents, Methods and Practice*, Nairobi, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, 2004 pg 152

¹³³ Insights shared with me by the various Ambassadors during the 16th biennial conference held in Mombasa in August 2011

maximize gains from by bargaining more to counter the effects of their giving up their opportunity to develop. For instance, the problem of unemployment can be resolved by the developing countries' insistence that the developed countries should import labour from the developing countries to the extent of the pollution they will generate. This would require high level of bargaining which means that the developing countries representatives must be thoroughly informed about these subjects, well aware the repercussions of each decision and therefore negotiate adequately for their countries.

The inequalities of trade can also be resolved from the same point of view in terms of understanding what really is happening so that the representatives actually know what concessions they can give. A case in point is the issue of technology in Africa where the developing countries failed to negotiate for better terms whereas the developed countries got an opportunity to provide technological services without being made a demand of. This was a great business opportunity that should not have slipped the developing countries. Unfortunately, all the decisions are often made due to a lack of understanding of the stakes involved. Therefore developing countries need to adequately train their representatives and where necessary incorporate various specific technical people so that they can negotiate with a clear understanding of the issues in question.

The issue relating to public image should be sorted out by the countries creating a sense of patriotism in the world of journalism coupled with responsibility, licensing only companies that meet the standards set out by an oversight authority.

Certain problems are associated with the diplomacy as an institution whereby the "career diplomats"¹³⁴ may be inward looking because of the traditional training that feel that diplomacy should be shrouded in mystery in the sense that states have secrets to be up

¹³⁴ Because of their training and long experience, serving officers are known as career diplomats.

held.¹³⁵ This leaves no room to pursue avenues that would be beneficial to a country. This is not the trend with the professionals who come to the field of diplomacy. They have a sense of open-mindedness that allows them to look for solutions in unique avenues. They are also not rigid and are therefore able to look for solutions promptly and in different ways unlike among the career diplomats who cling on to, “this is how it is done here”.

The social problems can be resolved by offering a couple of brief counselling sessions to officers and their spouses and/or children so that they would be psychologically prepared about their new environment.¹³⁶ It would help if information is made available about educational institutions for their children in that country, employment opportunities for spouses or other activities that would help their spouses in creating a meaningful life while they are away. Such kind of support would help the officer adjust quickly and therefore deliver more.

¹³⁵ Insights from discussion during the 16th biennial conference held in Mombasa in August, 2011

¹³⁶ Mwagiru M, *Diplomacy; Documents, Methods and Practice*, Nairobi, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, 2004 pg 153

CHAPTER FIVE

FUTURE OF THE NEW DIPLOMACY

5.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will give a summary on the usefulness of a diplomat and how best he/she can articulate his/her role by being well equipped through training. It also gives the relevant areas that a diplomat should be trained in. It will also focus on diplomacy as a career and how to make maximum use of the years after retirement.

5.1 PROFESSIONALISING DIPLOMACY

The role of a diplomat will remain relevant for a very long time, despite major advancement in technology. The scope in the role of a diplomat in terms of subject matter and delivery of the service will certainly change as it is expected to evolve with the changing trends in diplomacy over years. This is because diplomacy unlike many other professions requires a human touch, building relationships though following diplomatic procedures as opposed to fast and highly efficient processes since in diplomacy, a prompt response is not necessarily the most ideal response. Therefore, it becomes necessary to professionalise this career that leaves an indelible mark in international relations.

The diplomat is not only a contributor in shaping and implementation of policy, but he/she is also the country's single best resource in the country he/she is accredited to in engaging with the many players involved and in dealing with the myriad of issues through very complicated processes.¹³⁷ Further, success in a diplomatic mission depends to a large extent on the individual; his/her motivation and desire to deliver on the potential. Therefore countries should deploy their best talent at the capitals that truly matter to them. This then makes it necessary to adequately train the envoys not only when they are sent on the mission but

¹³⁷ Rana K. S, *The 21st Century Ambassador*; DiploFoundation, Malta and Geneva, 1983 pg79

throughout their careers bearing in mind that a diplomatic service that is well resourced and adequately staffed can give a state a significant increment of power and influence.¹³⁸

5.2 SELECTION AND TRAINING

New diplomacy calls for the running of the embassy as if it were a business enterprise in order to maximize on the benefits. This must start from the onset where the diplomat is well aware of his/her role to make the mission gainful to the country. Selection should therefore begin with the appropriateness of the individual as a person with qualities in business acumen. Diplomacy requires a sense of salesmanship with an open mind and flexibility. Integrity, honesty, confidence and good communication skills are attributes that no amount of training and exposure can be traded for. In real life, the ambassador faces moral dilemmas in situations where the complete truth may not be appropriate to the countries' interests and expectations.¹³⁹ The diplomat must have the necessary skill to enable him/her handle these situations without jeopardising his/her country or straining relations.

The major challenge for the developing countries in their international engagements is their failure to adequately understand what other states want and what they do not want. This setback would be surmounted by training the diplomat on what the objectives of one's country are so that resources are channelled towards countries that are beneficial to one's own country. The training should not only be skill based but should help to develop the continuing ability of officials to see the larger picture, and acquire emerging knowledge in the various aspects of the discipline.¹⁴⁰ Most of the countries in Africa and Asia have not invested in a framework that trains and exposes their envoys to deliver what their countries

¹³⁸ Berridge G.R, Keens-Soper M and Otte T.G, *Diplomatic Theory From Machiavelli to Kissinger*; Pallgrave, Basingstoke, 2001, pg 3

¹³⁹ Ibid pg 5

¹⁴⁰ Mwangi M, *Diplomacy; Documents, Methods and Practice*, Nairobi, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, 2004 pg 145

have to offer vis-a-vis what they need from these countries, while their counterparts learn and understand how to achieve their goals with other states. Various examples exist; the United States of America, for instance, ensures a certain form of training especially for the non-career envoys however rudimentary. The course covers basic familiarization and an introduction to embassy and State Department procedures, protocol and the like.¹⁴¹ Canada, too require all ambassadors, whether on first appointment or at a final pre-retirement assignment including its few non-professional diplomats to attend an intensive two-week training program devoted to all aspects of running the embassy including management methods, new technology and new techniques relevant to their work.¹⁴² China is in a class of its own where the envoys are expected to attend a two-month programme every thrice a year, besides high level briefings by senior leaders and ministers.

This clearly shows that for a country to succeed in diplomacy, all the representatives must be adequately trained every so often so as understand and internalise their role. Consequently, developing countries should ensure that their representatives abroad are well integrated to understand the country's national goals and principals in order to identify with the objectives of their sending states. They must also understand the key countries that their country largely engages with and their impact on their own country.

Inasmuch as the 21st century diplomat is not expected to be a genius in all international matters, in depth knowledge in certain areas should be mandatory for any achievement to be made both in multilateral and bilateral negotiations to enable the diplomat provide a sense of

¹⁴¹ Rana K. S, *The 21st century ambassador*; DiploFoundation, Malta and Geneva,1983 pg 14

¹⁴² Ibid pg 16

direction to the dialogue conducted by the state he/ she represents¹⁴³. These important areas should include; political diplomacy, economic diplomacy and media-image diplomacy.¹⁴⁴

The diplomat should be in a position to ascertain the capabilities and intentions of other powers as far as it would be reasonably possible and where not, correctly estimating them. This is because diplomacy is all about power politics.¹⁴⁵ The task of persuading another government to accept and even promote a country's policies falls squarely on the ambassador and the senior diplomatic staff. Therefore it becomes relevant to understand who are the key players in the politics of the day and as such cultivate good relations with them. This may not only include the government but others in the legislature, in political parties, key business positions, religious life and the media. The ambassador and his/ her team need to develop an effective working relationship with the media both at home and in the receiving country so as to ensure that accuracy, honesty and speed is maintained in all communication to avoid negative publicity as well as unverified reports.

The diplomat should understand and influence power politics in all their complexity, being able to determine the options available to the government and submitting them for decision alongside other considerations that the government could take into account. Further, after the decision has been made, communicating and explaining them to the corresponding diplomatic instruments of other powers and sometimes to the public of the receiving state. This would also entail persuading governments, individuals, especially those who influence public opinion, to accept and possibly assist in the implementation of these decisions.

Practitioners of diplomacy are not easily recognised because their professional skills and expertise are not sharply etched, not so unique as would be in careers like law, medicine,

¹⁴³ Kissinger H, *Diplomacy*, Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, New York, 1994 pg 12

¹⁴⁴ Kissinger H, *Diplomacy*, Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, New York, 1994 pg 17

¹⁴⁵ Watson A, *Diplomacy; The Dialogue Between States*, Eyre Methuen Ltd, 1982 pg 126

architecture and many others. The areas of competence for a diplomat can be applied to other activities, however, the distinction is not only in the broad knowledge in different areas, craft, and skills even though they would not be hard to access, but also in the complete collection of all the diverse experiences both academic and general that becomes the profession's unique trait.¹⁴⁶ Aside from the basic technical knowledge specific to certain areas like those of politics, economics and media diplomacy, innovative thinking is a professional requirement and therefore self-development and motivation are of great essence in the career of a diplomat. Moreover, a mindset of cross-cultural openness, a sharp awareness of one's environment and an interest in the dynamics of societal change and a passion in international affairs are invaluable to the profession.

The level of preparation and training that a diplomat is exposed to determines to a large extent their ability to negotiate successfully. Governments should incorporate a multi-stakeholder approach to diplomatic training. This will not only ensure quality among the diplomats but also produce great results in all strategic functions for purpose of information gathering as well as trade negotiations. States should include technical experts as well as non-governmental organisations in their diplomatic team to enable access the thinking behind various organisations that would be relevant in promoting the government interests. For instance, countries no longer want to deal directly with others but instead through their regional groupings, for example the African group through the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), where the countries take a common position on same issues at forums. Governments should therefore send technical experts in the delegation during multilateral negotiations in tandem with professional cultures. Multi-stakeholder approach to diplomatic training allows for diverse cultural training and outward looking of the diplomats as opposed to the

¹⁴⁶ Rana K. S, *The 21st Century Ambassador*; DiploFoundation, Malta and Geneva, 2004 pg 170

conservativeness that has been traditionally held in traditional diplomacy. Some countries have proactively reached out to non-state actors and have co-opted them for the advancement of economic interests abroad, through formal and informal mechanisms. Examples are advisory groups composed of businessmen to guide external economic outreach and FDI mobilization, official bilateral joint commissions that are actually driven by associations of business and industry, joint eminent person groups and CEO panels to brainstorm on new opportunities, think tanks and scholars working with business leaders to advise on free trade negotiations and other areas of interest.

Modern diplomacy also incorporates citizen diplomacy which involves key stakeholders in society who include professionals, opinion leaders and other influential people in a particular community or society but without official status to contribute to the formulation and implementation of policy. The importance of this diplomacy is that it seeks to bridge the government and civil society, between elites and grassroots levels within communities as well as other different cultural worldviews on how to handle policy. It complements official diplomacy opening up opportunities for communication, cross-cultural understanding and joint efforts to explore methods of addressing the different parties' needs especially in the management of conflict.¹⁴⁷

While this thesis underscores the importance of expanding the training to capture the new aspects of diplomacy, relevant traditional diplomatic training in areas of diplomatic etiquette, state protocol and itinerary preparation still remains key in diplomatic training. The rules of diplomacy should also ease out a little since the question of morality is often posed when it comes to diplomatic engagements. Reality however has it that more “business deals” are handled and sealed in informal settings, more information revealed through informal

¹⁴⁷Davies, J. and E. Kaufman (eds) *Second Track Citizens Diplomacy*. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003 Pg2

discussions when people are relaxed and feeling at ease to engage with one another. Modern diplomacy should allow for such kind of engagement to encourage growth of portfolios and seeking of necessary information though integrity must always be exercised.

The professional diplomat having successfully trained and internalised his/her role, must always know that he/she owes utmost allegiance and permanent commitment to the sending state though the professional obligations would need to sustain credibility with the receiving state and fellow envoys.¹⁴⁸ Harold Nicolson aptly put it when he noted that;

“The professional diplomatist is governed by several different and at times conflicting loyalties. He owes a loyalty to his own sovereign, government, minister and foreign office, he owes loyalty to his own staff, he owes a form of loyalty to the diplomatic body in the capital where he resides, he owes loyalty to the local expatriate community and to its commercial interests, and he owes another form of loyalty to the government to which he is accredited and to the minister with whom he negotiates.”¹⁴⁹

Governments all over the world would ideally like to be represented by people of unquestionable character, great integrity and without reproach. Unfortunately, this does not always happen and by and by cases of irresponsible behaviour among the diplomatic corps are being reported across the globe. As an old saying goes, “manners maketh man”, even with all the training and exposure, the personal character of an ambassador remains very important in their career. There have been many incidents where the lack of integrity of an envoy has been the subject of scrutiny leading to embarrassing situations and sometimes strained relations between states. However, often times little can be done except for recalling of the offending envoy. Cases of financial scandals often involving corrupt business deals, romantic liaisons due to lack of indiscretion by the ambassadors or their spouses, cases of indiscipline leading to confrontations with colleagues, security lapses many times arising

¹⁴⁸ Rana K. S, *The 21st Century Ambassador*; DiploFoundation, Malta and Geneva, 2004 pg 178

¹⁴⁹ Nicolson H, *Diplomacy*, Institute of the Study of Diplomacy, Georgetown University, Washington DC

from blackmail by agencies of host states and entrapping the ambassador in compromising situations, local indiscretion of cases of drunken behaviour, major traffic incidents, unpaid parking tickets, indebtedness like unpaid rent, shopping bills and such petty issues are more about an ambassador's character.¹⁵⁰

5.3 RETIREMENT

The diplomat's career need not come to a grinding halt when he/she attains the obligatory retirement age which varies from one country to another. At this point in time, the diplomat has accumulated a wealth of knowledge and experience due to the wide exposure in various countries and therefore it should be exploited for the benefit of his/her government and corporate companies in his/her country. This has borne fruit in the Republic of Korea where former envoys are encouraged to join a cooperative consultancy enterprise created with the help of the foreign ministry. This group offers expertise to both private and public institutions looking for information and contacts in foreign countries.¹⁵¹ Many other countries have made good use of their envoys on their retirement. The UK, has a unit in the Foreign Office that assists in their placement in other areas of public office where their services could be needed. The US has a "revolving door system" where the envoys are exposed to an extensive network of grace and favour appointments that the federal government operates, with many different kinds of advisory bodies, committees and special appointments that are available.¹⁵²

Other ways that diplomats chose to spend in their old age are academic activities as a second career focused on international relations and diplomatic activity, heading institutions of higher learning especially in an era where sourcing for funding becomes a necessity. Others pursue political careers, business consultancy and chosen vocations like community service.

¹⁵⁰ Rana K. S, *The 21st Century Ambassador*; DiploFoundation, Malta and Geneva, 2004 pg 185

¹⁵¹ *Ibid* pg 187

¹⁵² Rana K. S, *The 21st Century Ambassador*; DiploFoundation, Malta and Geneva, 2004 pg 188

An interesting phenomenon that is gaining popularity is that of writing sometimes to relive good old experiences as well as offer information about certain happenings during their careers. This has emerged to be a viable way of preserving collective memory, data collection and some form of public accountability as has been witnessed with China's "pen clubs".¹⁵³

Generally, developing countries should be encouraged to maximize on the use of this group of people who can offer insurmountable value both to private companies and government bodies in their countries.

5.4 CONCLUSION

The 21st century diplomat today must be a "public entrepreneur" where he or she must endeavour to run the duties assigned to him/her as if it were a business enterprise. They must import into their work the methods, the mindsets and the tools of a good business entrepreneur, blending proactivism with good judgement and persuasive skills to implement the laid out goals.¹⁵⁴ Particularly, they must be in a position to calculate risk versus gains in order to make sound decisions.

However, unlike the entrepreneur-owners in the business world, the envoy is not autonomous and must be answerable to a higher authority, the head of state. In as much as the envoy considerable power of action, the success of the "enterprise" too depends largely on the support by the sending nation. The modern ambassador must comprehend and master his/ her environment once the headquarters sets the goals and provides the necessary resources. He/ she must look for opportunities, make necessary connections, discern what are the long term and short term goals and prioritize them, he/she must build, sustain, diversify, deepen and embellish relationships in the country of assignment in pursuit of national objectives.

¹⁵³ Rana K. S, *The 21st Century Ambassador*, DiploFoundation, Malta and Geneva, 2004 pg 189

¹⁵⁴ Ibid pg 192

Certain aspects will be necessary in making the journey as an envoy easier and must conform to them. The envoy must discern early enough the actions that he/she can undertake on his/her own and those that require approval from the headquarters to avoid conflict with the sending state, that he/she deals with public goods and services some of which are tangible; they could be exports from home, mobilization of resources in either directions, creation of scientific, cultural, education or any other connections, and others would be improving political understanding or the country's positive image all of which require the entrepreneur's business strategy.

As an entrepreneur, the modern day ambassador must be proactive, asserting leadership, not only to those within his/her realm of authority but also to those he/she can influence and motivate for the good of his/her country. He must possess openness to new ideas and innovation and take personal responsibility for the mission's performance; embracing both credit and blame as merited. And just like in business, difficulties being inevitable, the envoy must rise beyond these challenges promptly and move on to steer the mission forward.

However, the diplomat should not stretch his/her entrepreneurship too far as to jeopardise his/her country and should always temper it with sound judgement. Where the environment is static and does not allow for proactivism, with adverse conditions prevailing, the envoy would be well advised to wait and probably engage more in containing the situation with new initiatives taking a back seat, at least for a while.

The 21st century diplomat is however not alone in the pursuit of gains for his/her country since he/she has the support of the government as well as the support systems in place which

assist, checks and evaluates the performance. The judgement and good decisions are borne out of knowledge, training and experience so therefore the many situations where he/she is expected to sponsor a proposal or act will depend largely on these attributes.

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