

VIRTUAL DIPLOMACY AND INTER-STATE RELATIONS:

A CASE STUDY OF KENYA

BY

BY FLORENCE WAMBUI GICHOYA

**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTERS IN DIPLOMACY AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

2016

i

DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been presented to any other academic institution.

Sign.....

Date.....

Florence Wambui Gichoya

R51/75837/2014

This project has been presented for examination with my approval as University Supervisor.

Sign.....

Date.....

Dr. Patrick Maluki

Supervisor

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I thank God for giving me wisdom, knowledge and inspiring me to research on this topic.

I am grateful to my supervisor, Dr. Patrick Maluki who has ably guided me throughout this project writing.

I also appreciate my family for their patience and encouraging me to achieve the best.

DEDICATION

To my loving mother Jacinta W.G Kamau who has encouraged and supported in me as I pursue academic excellence.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| DECLARATION | ii |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENT | iii |
| DEDICATION..... | iv |
| LIST OF ACRONYMS & ABBREVIATIONS..... | ix |
| ABSTRACT..... | x |
| CHAPTER ONE..... | 1 |
| INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| 1.0 Introduction | 1 |
| 1.1 Background of the study | 1 |
| 1.2 Statement of the Problem | 4 |
| 1.3 Main Objective | 5 |
| Specific Objectives | 5 |
| 1.3 Justification of the Study..... | 5 |
| 1.6 Literature Review | 6 |
| 1.6.1 Role of Diplomacy in Inter-State Relations | 6 |
| 1.6.2 Various Forms of Diplomacy, Their Strengths and Weaknesses | 9 |
| 1.6.3 Virtual Diplomacy..... | 14 |
| 1.6.4 Evolution of Diplomatic Communications..... | 19 |
| 1.6.5 Virtual Diplomacy and the Public..... | 20 |
| 1.6.6 Digital Social Diplomacy and its Challenges | 21 |
| 1.6.7 Virtual Diplomacy and Power Relations..... | 22 |
| 1.7 Summary of Gaps in the Literature Review..... | 22 |
| 1.8 Theoretical Framework | 23 |
| 1.9 Hypotheses | 24 |
| 1.10 Research Methodology..... | 25 |
| 1.10.1 Introduction..... | 25 |
| 1.10.2 Research Design..... | 25 |
| 1.10.3 Data Collection Techniques..... | 25 |
| 1.10.4 Data Analysis | 25 |

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| CHAPTER TWO..... | 26 |
| VIRTUAL DIPLOMACY ON POWER RELATIONS AMONG STATES | 26 |
| 2.1 National Interests and Diplomacy..... | 26 |
| 2.1.1 Primary Interests | 26 |
| 2.1.2 Secondary Interests | 27 |
| 2.2 National Interests and Foreign Policy..... | 28 |
| 2.3 Role of Diplomacy in Political Power | 29 |
| 2.4 Role of Diplomacy in National Power..... | 31 |
| 2.5 Role of Diplomacy in political Influence..... | 33 |
| 2.6 Power and Influence | 34 |
| 2.7 Coercive Diplomacy | 35 |
| 2.8 Deterrence | 37 |
| CHAPTER THREE..... | 39 |
| VIRTUAL DIPLOMACY PRACTICE IN KENYA GOVERNMENT..... | 39 |
| 3.1 Diplomatic Missions | 39 |
| 3.2 Ministry of Foreign Affairs | 41 |
| 3.3 Implementation of Foreign Policy..... | 42 |
| 3.4 Media and Foreign Policy..... | 45 |
| 3.5 Media Effects on Foreign Policy..... | 48 |
| 3.6 Digital Capacity of a Diplomatic Mission..... | 50 |
| 3.6.1 Diplomatic Representation | 52 |
| 3.6.2 Distance and Proximity | 52 |
| 3.6.3 Geopolitical Factors | 53 |
| 3.7 Financial Cost..... | 55 |
| 3.8 Smart Diplomacy | 56 |
| 3.9 Multi-stakeholder Factor..... | 56 |
| 3.9.10 Economic Diplomacy..... | 57 |
| CHAPTER FOUR | 59 |
| ANALYSIS OF THE CHALLENGES IN THE USE OF VIRTUAL DIPLOMACY | 59 |
| 4.1 Introduction | 59 |

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| 4.2 Actor Network Theory (ANT)..... | 59 |
| 4.3 Cyber Security | 64 |
| 4.4 Vulnerability Of Information Gathering..... | 67 |
| 4.5 Clusters of Extremism, Abuse, Xenophobia and Violence | 68 |
| 4.6 Governance in Diplomacy and International Policy..... | 69 |
| 4.7 Extended Roles with Limited Resources | 71 |
| 4.8 Consular Affairs | 76 |
| 4.8.1 Multilateral Environment | 77 |
| 4.8.2 Challenges in Interpersonal Relations..... | 78 |
| 4.9 Challenges of Virtual Diplomacy..... | 79 |
| CHAPTER FIVE | 81 |
| SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS..... | 81 |
| 5.1 Summary | 81 |
| 5.2 Conclusion | 82 |
| 5.3 Recommendations..... | 83 |
| 5.3.1 Policy formulation..... | 83 |
| 5.3.2 Resource allocation..... | 84 |
| 5.3.3 Personnel Training..... | 85 |
| 5.3.4 Develop a Cyber security strategy | 85 |
| REFERENCES | 87 |

LIST OF FIGURES

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Figure 1: Heterogeneous Social Network of Communication..... | 63 |
| Figure 2: The 2014-2015 Budget allocation in various Kenya government ministries..... | 73 |
| Figure 3: The 2016-2017 Budget allocation for Kenya government ministries and programmes..... | 75 |

LIST OF ACRONYMS & ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|--------|-----------------------------------------------|
| AGOA | African Growth and Opportunity Act |
| AU | African Union |
| ANT | Actor Network Theory |
| EAC | East Africa Community |
| FDIs | Foreign Direct Investments |
| FSI | Foreign Service Institute |
| GDP | Gross Domestic Product |
| ICT | Information Communications Technology |
| IMF | International Monetary Fund |
| MFA | Ministry of Foreign Affairs |
| NATO | North Atlantic Treaty Organization |
| UNSC | United Nations Security Council |
| USIP | United States Institute of Peace |
| UN | United Nations |
| VCDR | Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations |
| SDC | Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation |
| SADC | Southern African Development Community |
| WTO | World Trade Organization |
| COMESA | Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa |

ABSTRACT

There is no country in the world that has managed to set up diplomatic missions in all the United Nations 193 member states. This is because of lack of resources and capacity to establish embassies and consulates in all the countries. There's lack of ICT implementation which is the real essence of technology, it reduces the time and space required to administer public diplomacy. Kenya's conduct of diplomacy has not been able to adequately achieve its goals in advancing its economic, political, diaspora and other interests abroad. This is because of its continuous reliance on traditional methods of diplomatic practice. Virtual diplomacy will improve diplomatic services for developing countries like Kenya which are not able to have physical embassies and consulates in all foreign countries. That is why adopting virtual diplomacy to promote its national interests in the international arena will narrow the gap and achieve so much with less. Virtual diplomacy is a new phenomenon in the developing world. Kenya is an ICT hub, and is on the path to be a 'Silicon Valley' in Africa. Kenya should adopt virtual diplomacy so that it can realize the national interests and goals for the country. Virtual diplomacy is more cost effective unlike the old diplomacy. The objective of the study was to identify ways in which ministry of foreign affairs can apply virtual diplomacy in its conduct of diplomatic activities. ICT and more specifically web 2.0 in the running of public diplomacy. The specific objectives were; to explore how virtual diplomacy influences power relations among states; to explore areas where Kenya government can apply virtual representation in its diplomatic practice and to identify expected challenges in the use of virtual diplomacy. The research looked at how the use of information communications technology for development. The Actor Network Theory (ANT) guided the study by examining how interaction of virtual diplomacy, which is technology driven, interacts with traditional diplomacy that is driven by human beings. The theory analyzed how technology influences interactions in the diplomatic practice. The research methodology used the mixed methods approach. It combined both the qualitative and quantitative methods. For the public or citizens, the researcher applied judgment sampling. For data analysis, the researcher identified the main themes of the research to form the sub-topics. The primary data was analyzed thematically based on the objectives. The researcher also relied on secondary data to support the findings. The main setback in the adoption of virtual diplomacy is cyber security and high risk of leaking confidential information. The study concluded that virtual diplomacy influences power relations among states, especially in Kenya. Through virtual diplomacy, countries can setup embassies in the online space that are cost effective and eliminate expenses of maintaining diplomatic missions in all countries where they have interests.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses about the background of the study, statement of the problem, justification of the study, literature review, and summary of gaps in the literature review.

The chapter also includes the theoretical framework and methodology of research.

1.1 Background of the study

In this study the researcher looked at the use of virtual diplomacy in inter-state relations by developing countries.

Diplomacy is the activities that enable states to advance and secure their foreign policies' objectives with another subject or subjects of international law.¹ Due to its interpersonal nature, traditional diplomacy is widely applied by both developed and developing countries.

In the book 'Essence of Diplomacy' Jonson and Hall observed a good diplomat was synonymous to an excellent communicator. That is the reason why new technological innovations contribute to the growth and aptness of diplomatic communication. Therefore with technological advancements so should there be progress in communication tools in diplomacy.

The former president of United States Institute of Peace (USIP), Richard Solomon described virtual diplomacy to be "social, economic, and political interactions that are

¹Ronald Peter Bartson, *Modern Diplomacy*, Longman, 1988

mediated through electronic means rather than face-to-face communication”. This researcher concurs with him, that virtual diplomacy is a full-fledged diplomatic practice though it is not physically tangible. It serves the governments and publics through interactions in the online space.

Just like traditional diplomacy, virtual diplomacy is an actual way of conducting diplomacy using information communication technologies.² Virtual diplomacy which is the use of ICT in the conduct of diplomacy amplifies and compliments traditional diplomatic efforts by realizing improved service delivery of diplomatic missions that have limited staff.

Former USA secretary of State, Hillary Rodham Clinton called it the “21st-century statecraft”. This means that its practice is not about a change of tact in the management of diplomacy but rather an improved and dynamic way of executing diplomacy.

Virtual diplomacy develops tech-based policy solutions and encourages cyber activism. It can include various platforms like short message service (SMS), social media sites and specially designed software applications through the ministry of foreign affairs and diplomatic missions abroad.³

Out of the 193 member states of the United Nations, Kenya has established 54 diplomatic missions in 47 countries. In addition, the country has 25 honorary consuls in 24 countries. This comprises a 36% representation in the global community of Nations. For Kenya’s national interests to be advanced to full maximization it is important to adopting the

² Olesya M. Grech, *Virtual Diplomacy - Diplomacy of the Digital Age*, August 2006, Page 65

³ The New York Times, *Digital Diplomacy*, July 16 2010

concept of ‘virtual diplomacy’. Kenya will be following the footsteps of countries like USA, Canada and United Kingdom that have fully embraced digital diplomacy. Kenya’s ministry of foreign affairs launched a five year strategic plan running from 2013 to 2017. However, the document fails to give a road map on adoption of virtual diplomacy.⁴

Virtual diplomatic missions are cheaper to set up and run unlike the setting up physical diplomatic mission, a process that can take years. Virtual diplomatic missions do not require purchasing buildings or leasing premises for the embassy. A virtual embassy would require few staff members to run the online office, unlike traditional embassies that require a contingency of trained personnel.⁵

Virtual embassies are more accessible and informative than their physical counterparts. For the reason that, a diplomat can post relevant information about the country’s consular services, goals, principles and policies, unlike physical missions’ virtual representations have the ability to provide information on a 24-hour basis, seven days a week basis.

Scholar Olesya Grech conferred the concept of virtual embassies and virtual consulates can serve countries that cannot afford to set up diplomatic missions in many countries and have an international presence.⁶With virtual diplomacy, the governments are able to interact with a wider range of other actors.

The researcher seeks to put emphasis on how developing countries can use virtual diplomacy to achieve their objectives in diplomatic practice. Virtual diplomacy allows greater interactions with other countries in the conduct of diplomacy.

⁴ Kenya Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Strategic Plan 2013/2014 - 2017/2018

⁵Ibid page 26

⁶Ibid

1.2 Statement of the Problem

There is no country in the world that has established physical diplomatic missions in all the 193 UN member states. This is due to limited resources to establish embassies and consulates in all the countries. There's lack of ICT adoption which is the real essence of technology, it reduces the time and space required to administer public diplomacy. Developing countries, more so, don't have the capacity to set up embassies and consulates in all countries. Yet, having diplomatic representation is imperative if they are to promote friendly ties and advance their national interest. Virtual diplomacy promises to close this allocation of attention gap that is a glaring problem among developing countries.

Kenya's conduct of diplomacy has not been able to adequately achieve its goals in advancing its economic, political, diaspora and other interests abroad due to its continuous reliance on traditional methods of diplomatic practice. Developing countries such as Kenya which is an ICT hub in Africa and the adoption of Virtual diplomacy play a critical role in improving diplomatic services in developing countries which are not able to have physical embassies and consulates in all foreign countries. Has advancement of technology in developing countries translated to adoption of virtual diplomacy?.

The research looked into the following research questions.

- i. Which areas can the government of Kenya apply virtual diplomacy in its representation abroad?
- ii. What were the expected challenges by Kenya government in applying virtual diplomacy?
- iii. How does virtual diplomacy influence power relations between different states?

1.3 Main Objective

This research aims to identify ways in which developing countries can apply virtual diplomacy in its conduct of diplomatic activities, ICT and more specifically the worldwide web in the running of public diplomacy.

Specific Objectives

- i. To explore how virtual diplomacy influences power relations among states.
- ii. To explore areas where Kenya government can apply virtual representation in its diplomatic practice.
- iii. Identify expected challenges in the use of virtual diplomacy.

1.3 Justification of the Study

States use diplomacy to advance their national interests. The study of virtual diplomacy in inter-state relations would enable developing countries and regional governments to change strategy in their conduct of diplomacy as they strive to push for their national interests through their foreign policy.

The research would add to the body of knowledge in academia on the modern practice of diplomacy. Scholars of diplomacy would assess how technology can transform the entire practice of diplomacy in the digital era.

This research will inspire policy makers to diversify from traditional practice of diplomacy in a changing 21st century. The findings of this research will advise policy formulation to adopt virtual diplomacy when relating with the states and non-state actors in the conduct of modern diplomacy.

The research findings will advise the public on the means of engaging with actors of diplomacy. This includes citizen participation diaspora and special interest groups like lobby groups and other non-governmental experts.

1.6 Literature Review

1.6.1 Role of Diplomacy in Inter-State Relations

Lord Gore Booth defined diplomacy as ‘application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between governments of independent states’.⁷

Diplomacy is either bilateral or multilateral. Bilateral diplomacy is conducted between two states and is the oldest type of diplomacy. And multilateral diplomacy is conducted among three or more states. Apart from the two formalized approaches to the process of diplomacy, states conduct diplomatic relations in other ways, for example *ad hoc* diplomacy which entails sending emissaries and special envoys to other countries for

⁷ Lord Gore Booth, *Satous guide to diplomacy practice*

short specific tasks. The special missions are useful in helping states to save on the expenses of maintaining diplomatic missions in all countries where they have interests.⁸

The current world state system was founded after the treaty of Westphalia in 1648. An international society emerged comprising sovereign states. The treaty created a new world order that was based on state sovereignty, away from the previous papal system.

There are 194 sovereign states in the United Nations. The independent states interact with each other through the practice of diplomacy. Sir Ernest Satow defined diplomacy as ‘the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between governments of independent states.’⁹ Adam Watson simply defined diplomacy as the dialogue between states.

Andrew Cooper et al opined that states are the basic and enduring entity in international relations and their number has grown manifold in the last hundred years, producing an exceptional jump in the number of diplomatic interactions between them.¹⁰

In traditional diplomacy, Makumi Mwangi states that ‘a newly independent state will normally decide to establish diplomatic relations because this is an important *rite de passage* of statehood, and an expression of its new sovereignty and independence. However, countries are constrained to opening diplomatic missions in all the member states.’¹¹

⁸ Convention on Special Missions, 1969

⁹Satow, Ernest Mason, *Satow's Guide to Diplomatic Practice*, 5th Edition, Ed. By Lord Gore-Booth, 1979,

¹⁰Andrew Fenton Cooper, Jorge Heine, Ramesh Chandra Thakur, *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, U.K, 2013

¹¹Makumi Mwangi, *Diplomacy, Methods and Practice*, Institute of Diplomacy and International Diplomacy, Nairobi, 2004, Page 17

Renowned scholar Hans Morgenthau referred to diplomacy as the brain of the state power.¹² A sovereign state uses its diplomatic capacity to protect and advance its national interests in the international system through peaceful means.

Sovereign governments have established Ministries of Foreign Affairs and diplomatic missions in various states in order to carry out diplomatic activities. States can interact bilaterally or multilaterally.

According to article 3 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (VCDR), there are five major functions of a diplomatic mission; Representation of the sending state in the receiving state. This function is performed by all the diplomatic agents in the diplomatic mission through their personal conduct and decorum. As they carry out this function, they should uphold the reputation and status of the sending state.¹³

Another function is the protection of the sending state's interest and nationals in the receiving state. The function is done within the parameters of international law and involves safeguarding the citizens of the sending state from unfair treatment and injustices.

The negotiation function is a key pillar of diplomacy, Mwagiru (2004) emphasized that, and "good and effective diplomacy therefore requires an ability to negotiate with different sectors."¹⁴

¹²PeuGhosh, *International Relations*, 2013, 3rd Edition, New Delhi, Page 104

¹³ Ibid, p.56

¹⁴ Ibid p.57

Gathering and processing information by lawful means is another function of diplomacy. The diplomatic missions should abide to the local laws in the process of gathering information in an overt way.

The essence of establishing a diplomatic mission is to promote friendly relations between the sending state and the receiving state. It is achieved by promoting economic, cultural and scientific relations.¹⁵ Promoting cultural diplomacy in the receiving state is perceived to be a tool for investing in the future.¹⁶ The practice is widely practiced by France through its Alliance Francaise centres across the globe.

A diplomatic mission may also carry out consular functions of issuing passports to nationals of the sending state and visas to persons intending to visit the sending state, as directed by Article 3(2) of the VCDR, “Nothing in the present Convention shall be construed as preventing the performance of consular functions by a diplomatic Mission.”

1.6.2 Various Forms of Diplomacy, Their Strengths and Weaknesses

Track One Diplomacy

Track One Diplomacy refers official government diplomacy conducted by official representatives of a state or state like authority. It involves interactions and discussions by high level representatives of state; heads of government, and officials from ministry of foreign affairs or state department.¹⁷ Track One Diplomacy can either be done bilaterally or multilaterally.

¹⁵ United Nations, Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (VCDR), 1961

¹⁶ Ibidp.58

¹⁷ Susan Allen Nan, *Track 1 Diplomacy*, Conflict Information Consortium, University of Colorado, June 2003, <http://www.behondintractability.org/essay/track1-diplomacy>

In negotiations Track one diplomacy works best in addressing pertinent issues like border disputes, conflict resolution between antagonists, and fair distribution of opportunities. However, Track One Diplomacy is limited in resolving issues to do with identity, survival among others.

This type of diplomacy is limited to high level government officials. It fails to consider lower level officials and may therefore escalate a conflict. The Conflict Resolution consortium from the University of Colorado reasoned that Track One diplomacy encourages competitiveness from a standpoint of either winning or losing.¹⁸

In this type of diplomacy, envoys tend to push their nation's interests at the expense of the best interests of adequately resolving a conflict. For example, Former South Africa President Nelson Mandela, hurriedly mediated Burundi conflict in 2000. After taking over as chief mediator from Tanzania's former president Julius Nyerere, Mandela complained of the slow pace of peace talks over the years. Mandela piled pressure on the negotiating parties to quickly settle on a peace deal, "I am setting no deadlines, but the sooner it takes place the better because of my tight programme." He told media reporters after taking up the role as the chief mediator for Burundi peace talks.¹⁹

Track Two (Citizen) Diplomacy

This refers to informal or unofficial interactions in conflict resolving mechanisms that aims to build relationships and cultivate new thinking which can contribute to the official

¹⁸ Ibid

¹⁹ Agence France-Presse, Burundi Peace Talks to start in February: Mandela, December 5 1999, <http://reliefweb.int/report/burundi/burundi-peace-talks-start-february-mandela>

mediation process.²⁰ It involves individuals who work outside the official Track One diplomatic channels. Track Two diplomacy is also the informal interaction between state and non-state actors and is also referred to as ‘multi-track diplomacy’ or ‘supplementary diplomacy’.

Citizen diplomacy works best in promoting mutual understanding by providing a space that is low key, nonjudgmental, and not coercive. Participants are encouraged to freely share ideas for conflict resolution without constraints of government positions.²¹

In the 2003 Liberia peace talks, the Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace played a key role in convincing antagonists Charles Taylor and rebel factions to the negotiation table in Accra, Ghana. Citizen diplomacy supplements Track One diplomacy by addressing relationships between parties by dealing with perceptions, distrust.

However, this type of diplomacy is limited because the actors are not key decision makers as opposed to Track One diplomacy where major decisions like agreements, treaties, and cease fire are made.

Shuttle diplomacy

Shuttle diplomacy involves a mediator carrying out diplomatic negotiations by travelling back and forth between the negotiating parties.²² Shuttle diplomacy is important “by keeping the communication private and indirect, the parties will not feel a need to use the debating tactics they commonly use in public conversations, and will be able to build up a

²⁰ United States Institute of Peace, Tracks of Diplomacy, <http://glossary.usip.org/resource/tracks-diplomacy>

²¹Diana Chigas, *Track II (Citizen Diplomacy)*, Conflict Information Consortium, University of Colorado, August 2003, <http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/track2-diplomacy>

²²<http://www.dictionary.com/browse/shuttle-diplomacy>

level of trust that could not have been developed in those circumstances. Once this trust and a certain level of mutual understanding is developed, then face to face and even a routine of communications can be started.”²³

Shuttle diplomacy is made possible by modern means of transportation, especially in the air travel sector, which allows easy travel between the negotiating parties by the mediator. Shuttle diplomacy is common in dealing with tense international situations

Former USA Secretary of State and Security Adviser, Henry Kissinger, is known as the ‘father of shuttle diplomacy.’ He applied shuttle diplomacy in the Israel – Egypt peace talks during the Yom Kippur War in 1973.²⁴

²³ Heidi Burgess and Guy Burgess, *Shuttle Diplomacy – Mediated Communication*, <http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/treatment/shuttle.htm>

²⁴ Henry Kissinger’s Shuttle Diplomacy after the Yom Kippur War, July 10, 2016, <http://www.onjewishmatters.com/henry-kissingers-shuttle-diplomacy>

Multilateral diplomacy

Multilateral diplomacy is conducted among three or more states and its practice advanced rapidly in the twentieth century.²⁵

The former United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan, described the evolution of diplomacy, “diplomacy has expanded its remit, moving far beyond bilateral political relations between states into a multilateral, multifaceted enterprise encompassing almost every realm of human endeavor.”²⁶

Multilateral diplomacy was institutionalized by the League of Nations in 1919. It gives states an opportunity at the decision making table.

It takes longer time to reach an agreement with multilateral diplomacy because it involves more than two states that have their own interests.

Multilateral diplomacy has also expanded the toolkit of both peaceful and coercive instruments to resolve conflicts and punish rule breaking or norm deviating states as stipulated in chapter 6 and 7 of the UN Charter which includes mediation, negotiation, arbitration, adjudication, diplomatic pressures, and economic sanctions and as the ultimate result, military force.

Public diplomacy

Public diplomacy refers to the art of communicating a country’s policies, values and culture to the publics in other countries. States make use of public diplomacy through

²⁵ Ibid

²⁶ The United Nations, *Speech delivered by former Secretary General Kofi Annan to the American Academy of Diplomacy*, November 2001

fostering mutual trust, cultivating favorability and shaping the public opinion through the media, cultural exchanges, and sports among others.

In the 1960s, American diplomat Edmund Gullion defined Public diplomacy as, “the means to promote the national interest and the national security through understanding, informing and influencing broader publics in foreign countries.”

Public diplomacy aims to build, promote and disseminate a positive image and influence a country’s public opinion abroad.²⁷ It fosters greater harmony between states and foreign publics. Public diplomacy also provides feedback channels so as to ascertain the effectiveness of a country’s foreign policy. However, public diplomacy has to be state-centric in order to qualify as diplomacy.

1.6.3 Virtual Diplomacy

The term virtual diplomacy is a type of diplomacy that is practiced in a virtual fashion through the use of technology and online space, other than the traditional face-to face diplomacy.²⁸

Virtual diplomacy has emerged as a possible alternative to the regular way of doing diplomatic business. With the use of information technology can help governments achieve their foreign policy objectives.²⁹

In 2011, Daryl Copeland, a former Canadian diplomat, stated that Virtual or cyber diplomacy which can also be referred to as digital diplomacy is what is now referred to as

²⁷Odeen Ishmael, *Notes on Diplomatic Practice: The Forms of Diplomacy*, Jan 14 2013, <http://odeenishmaeldiplomacy.wordpress.com>

²⁸Ibid

²⁹RaduCucos, *Virtual Diplomacy – a new way of conducting international affairs?*, 13th November 2012, <http://blogs.worldbank.org/ic4d/virtual-diplomacy-a-new-way-of-conducting-international-affairs>

the new diplomacy. It is practiced by the government and all diplomatic entities implementing technological and diverse software systems including internet, social media, and digitally based systems of data creation, transmission and storage in the operations of diplomacy. Virtual diplomacy describes the latest mode of practicing diplomacy while using the internet and other communication technologies.³⁰

Various studies in the field of psychology and sociology reveal that when an individual or subject cooperates with other subjects, the collaboration will probably last for a longer period of time. The growth and adaption of virtual diplomacy is capable of revolutionizing the practice of diplomacy. The likelihood of continuous, open ended cooperation between states, non-state actors and citizens abroad reveals a globalized world that is converging together.³¹

In 2000, during a regional summit to resolve conflict in Rwanda and Burundi, former U.S President Bill Clinton attended the meeting and made contributions from Washington with the help of video conference tools. He contributed in the deliberations from White House in the U.S. This again showed that states are now embracing the practice of virtual diplomacy.³²

Virtual diplomacy in the world

The developed world has successfully applied the concept of virtual diplomacy in maintaining relations with countries lacking diplomatic missions. The Maldives was the

³⁰ *ibid*

³¹ Brett Daniel Shehadey, *A revolution in Digital Diplomacy*, May 16, 2013 <http://www.internationalpolicydigest.org/2013/05/16/a-revolution-in-digital-diplomacy/>

³² Dr Luis Ritto, *Diplomacy and its Practice : Digital Diplomacy*, The International School of Protocol and Diplomacy, August 4 2014 <http://ispdnetwork.org/diplomacy-and-its-practice-v-digital-diplomacy/>

first country to unveil a virtual embassy on May 22, 2007. During the launch, Abdulla Shahid, the Maldives Minister of State for Foreign Affairs expressed, “While our vulnerability to sea-level rise has put us at the forefront of the global debate on climate change. The virtual Embassy offers another channel for us to provide information on the country, to offer our viewpoint on issues of international concern, and to interact with our partners in the international community.”³³

USA

The United States of America (U.S.A) is an epitome in the use of virtual diplomacy in its State Department. On March 12, 2001, President George W. Bush Administration proposed a 14 percent increase in funding in the State Department in the fiscal year 2002. The major reason for the increase in funding was to acquire modern information technology in the practice of diplomacy.³⁴

On December 6, 2011, the State Department launched the Virtual U.S Embassy Tehran. Diplomatic ties between Iran and U.S.A were severed in 1979 after the siege on U.S embassy during the Iran revolution.

The online embassy enables the U.S. government to inform Iranians on American foreign policy, study opportunities in the U.S, visa services and American values and culture. It gives the American government an opportunity to interact with Iranian citizens and promote greater understanding.³⁵

³³Diplo Foundation, *Maldives Unveils World's First Virtual Embassy*, May 22 2007, <http://textus.diplomacy.edu/videovault/secondlife.asp>

³⁴ Sheryl J. Brown & Margarite S. Studemeister, *Virtual Diplomacy: Rethinking Foreign Policy Practice in the Information Age*, August 2001, An International Journal, Vol.7 2001, Page 41

³⁵Virtual Embassy of the United States in Tehran - Iran, <http://iran.usembassy.gov/>

A report prepared by U.S.A's National Intelligence Council, *Global Trends 2015: A Dialogue about the Future with Nongovernment Experts* indicated that information and communication technologies have profoundly contributed to the transformation of the international system.

AFRICA

The former Director General of Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), Walter Fust, posited, that developing countries with a limited number of diplomatic missions, "The level of efficiency of their diplomats can affect their vital development interests." He argued that developing countries have the option to broaden their diplomatic capabilities by including comprehensive training of diplomatic agents on ICT's and internet.³⁶

In February 2000, virtual diplomacy was applied during the Burundi peace talks held in Arusha, Tanzania. The chief mediator Nelson Mandela invited U.S. President Bill Clinton and France President Jacques Chirac to attend the ongoing talks. But to due to his busy schedule President Clinton attended the talks via a satellite link.³⁷

The African continent has 54 sovereign states under the membership of the African Union (AU).Due to the high cost required in setting up diplomatic missions, African countries are underrepresented within the continent. The World Bank indicates Africa's economic growth rate in 2015 was at 3.0 percent.

³⁶DiploFoundation, *Maldives Unveils World's First Virtual Embassy*, May 22 2007, <http://textus.diplomacy.edu/videovault/secondlife.asp>

³⁷ Clinton will be beamed to Burundi talks, Feb 18 2000, <http://www.iol.co.za/news/africa/clinton-will-be-beamed-to-burundi-talks-28656>

There are immense opportunities for creating economic, political and cultural linkages within the continent and the international system. African states can apply virtual diplomacy and increase their representation in other countries in the continent and in the developed world.

KENYA

Kenya is a leading ICT hub in the continent, but the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) has scarcely tapped into the within reach globally competitive technological innovations.

MFA's website (www.mfa.go.ke) has segments of information on, news and press releases, profiles of Foreign Affairs cabinet secretary and the principal secretary, contact information and internet links of other government agencies.

The website lacks interactive forums for Kenyans and other foreign publics. In the online platform, it lacks the government's position on ongoing regional and international issues.

Canadian diplomat Gordon Smith imputes virtual diplomacy at most basic level as the use of information technologies to help conduct international relations.³⁸ Kenya diplomatic missions barely have an online presence. Out of the 47 diplomatic missions and 25 consuls established by the Kenyan government, only a handful has an online presence. Some of the websites are underutilized by having outdated and inadequate information to the users.

³⁸Gordon S. Smith, *Driving Diplomacy into Cyber Space*, The World Today, Royal Institute of International Affairs, Vol. 53, No. 6, June 1997, Page 156

1.6.4 Evolution of Diplomatic Communications

Communications in diplomacy has evolved throughout the history. In the 4th and 5th Centuries, the Greek city states developed a mode of communication whereby they used clay tablets. In order to protect their messages the Greeks used the cipher method.³⁹ During the era of Papal diplomacy, parchments were introduced to for diplomatic communication. After the invention of printing press and technology developed, printed documents were introduced.

In the nineteenth century, the telegraph was invented and so was the modernization of diplomatic. The telegraph became the preferred method of communication by European and North American countries because of ease and swiftness in sending messages across continents.

In 1840s, the first telegram that was received by the British foreign minister, caused him to exclaimed, "My God, this is the end of diplomacy (Catto, Henry E. Jr, 2003). Europe, USA and Commonwealth foreign missions became connected to telegraph systems. After the telegraph, later came the telephones, fax machines and finally the internet. In the late 1990s internet was introduced to the global community and it has continued to revolutionize diplomatic communications.⁴⁰

³⁹ Richard Rousseau, *From Ancient Greek Diplomacy to Modern Summitry*, September 20, 2011, Diplomatic Courier, <http://www.diplomaticcourier.com/2011/09/20/from-ancient-greek-diplomacy-to-modern-summitry/>

⁴⁰ Dr Luis Ritto, *Diplomacy and its Practice : Digital Diplomacy*, The International School of Protocol and Diplomacy, August 4 2014 <http://ispdnetwork.org/diplomacy-and-its-practice-v-digital-diplomacy/>

1.6.5 Virtual Diplomacy and the Public

The use of internet and technologies will provide government services online in a fast, efficient and transparent manner. According to the United Nations, more than 100 countries in the world have adapted their working systems to the new electronic technologies and use of digital governance to improve service delivery. Likewise, diplomatic missions in developed countries are providing efficient services online.

Most foreign missions have websites that provide information to visitors who want to visit the country, these includes, visa applications requirements, immunization information, tourist attractions, security risk areas among others. Developed countries like Canada, UK, USA, Australia, Singapore, Cambodia and Kuwait are technologically advanced in the consular services that they now issue e-visas. This eases the process of visa processing and eventually increases number of visits in the country. The use of internet as a source of information has also reduced the number of people that embassies, foreign affairs ministries and consulates worldwide.

Virtual diplomacy is imperative in maintaining relations between states that are not able to continue with traditional diplomatic practice. For example, the government of United States of America shut down its embassy in Tehran, Iran, after the 1979 Iran revolution. History was made when on December 2011, the U.S State Department opened the ‘Virtual U.S Embassy Tehran’, an online portal that would bridge the gap and promote greater understanding between the two states.⁴¹The virtual U.S embassy is no different than any other U.S embassy website.

⁴¹ Victoria Nuland, *Virtual Embassy Tehran*, December 6, 2011, <http://m.state.gov/md178343.htm>

The concept of a virtual embassy can offer information on politics, trade, economy and cultural exchanges between states. A virtual embassy can serve as a platform to provide consular services to citizens from both the receiving state and sending state.⁴²

1.6.6 Digital Social Diplomacy and its Challenges

The innovative approach of virtual diplomacy does not have the full functionality of a traditional diplomatic mission or consulate. However it is the next best alternative when a state does not have an embassy or consulate in another country.⁴³

Digital social media technologies have become part of people's everyday life. They have an impact on diplomatic practice and the way governments engage foreign publics. The conduct of diplomacy is ever more public and global. Digital diplomacy presents tremendous opportunities for global engagement, but it also generates new problems and challenges. While the fundamental purpose of diplomacy remains the same, these new and emergent communication platforms are forcing us to rethink the structures and processes of diplomatic work. It is increasingly simple for governments to directly reach a broad international audience, whilst non-governmental actors and even individuals are empowered by interactive and instantaneous communication. Determining digital technology's effect on diplomacy and international communication, and these

⁴²RaduCucos, *Virtual Diplomacy – a new way of conducting international affairs?*, November 13, 2012, <http://blogs.worldbank.org/ic4d/virtual-diplomacy-a-new-way-of-conducting-international-affairs>

⁴³RaduCucos, *Virtual Diplomacy – a new way of conducting international affairs?*, 13th November 2012, <http://blogs.worldbank.org/ic4d/virtual-diplomacy-a-new-way-of-conducting-international-affairs>

technologies' ability to strengthen networks and relationships, is a new frontier in public diplomacy work and diplomatic studies.”⁴⁴

1.6.7 Virtual Diplomacy and Power Relations

The power in cyber diplomacy is able to produce the preferred outcome in the online space. In other words, it can use various digital tools to create the expected results, within the online community and otherwise. This concept collaborates with the practice and growth of soft power in diplomacy.

The soft power model was developed by scholar Joseph Nye. This concept deals with the state's power to attract and gain favorability rather than the use of coercion or force.

Soft power is demonstrated when there is increased legitimacy by the embracing of cultural, political and values of one state by its nationals and other actors in the international system.

For example, during the conflict resolution between the Ministry of External Affairs in Sri Lanka and the Tamil Tigers, the government developed a cyber-messaging strategy in order to counter the online propaganda that was created by the Tamil Tigers.⁴⁵

1.7 Summary of Gaps in the Literature Review

The researcher having gone through a lot of researched material written by other scholars, it is evident there is minimal research on the topic especially in Kenya and other

⁴⁴ Digital Diplomacy

http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/sites/uscpublicdiplomacy.org/files/useruploads/u25898/Digital_Diplomacy_Bibliography_2014_CLI-CPD.pdf

⁴⁵Asanga Abeyagoonasekera and Thilanka Ranasinghe, *ICT for Diplomacy in the 21 Century Information Society*, April 2012

http://www.kadiringamarinstitute.lk/research/Paper%20ICT%20for%20Diplomacy_April%202012.pdf

developing countries. With this regard the researcher is committed to add to the body of knowledge on the many opportunities that are attained by incorporating virtual diplomacy in the study and practice of modern diplomacy.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

This research will be looking at how use of information communications technology for development. During the study the researcher will apply the Actor Network Theory (ANT).

ANT was originally created by French scholars Bruno Latour and Michell Callonin 1991 as an attempt to understand processes of technological innovation and scientific knowledge creation. This theory is often used in the information systems discipline like Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) for development. Actor-network theory began as a means to explain how science works, such as the operation of scientific laboratories and projects. However, it has subsequently grown to be a full-blown social theory.⁴⁶

ANT can be contrasted with 'heroic' accounts of scientific advance. For example, instead of saying Isaac Newton founded the theory of gravitation; ANT emphasizes and considers all surrounding factors because no one acts alone. ANT does not necessarily explain why a network exists but rather in the infrastructure of actor-networks and how they are formed or how they fall apart.

According to Richard Heeks, this theory propagates three main points. *First*, it says, “Hey, sociologists, you’ve been so obsessed with humans that you’ve been ignoring all

⁴⁶ Descriptive Theories, <http://learning-theories.com/actor-network-theory-ant.html>

the objects in the world. But those objects – documents, mobile phones, plants, websites etc. play an important role. Just like humans they shape the people and other objects around them. So ANT is going to treat them the same as people, and call them both ‘actors’.”⁴⁷ The theory also asserts that sociologists are obsessed with humans and they think that society and social contexts or social factors are what explain everything in life. But they are wrong for thinking that society explains what goes on in the world. Yet what goes on in the world is what explains society. Therefore, the ANT is going to focus on the mechanics of how people and objects interact within each other. Lastly, the Actor Network theory is about dynamics, innovations, technology and networks which are all important for this study.

This theory will guide the study by examining how interaction of virtual diplomacy which is technology driven interacts with traditional diplomacy which is driven by human beings. The theory will analyze how technology influences interactions in the diplomatic practice.

1.9 Hypotheses

- i. Virtual diplomacy has significant influences on power relations among states.
- ii. There areas where Kenya government can apply virtual representation in its diplomatic practice.
- iii. There are significant expected challenges in the use of virtual diplomacy.

⁴⁷ Richard Heeks, *Using Actor Network Theory in ICT4D Research*, July 30 2011, <https://ict4dblog.wordpress.com/tag/ict4d-theory/>

1.10 Research Methodology

1.10.1 Introduction

This chapter states the research design and methodology that was used in the study. It contains a description of the study design, types and sources of data, data collection instruments and procedures.

1.10.2 Research Design

The study used the mixed methods approach. It combined both the qualitative and quantitative methods. The case study approach enabled the researcher to explore the activities of interactions of Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, diplomatic missions, and the public that interacts with these institutions. This approach enabled the researcher to collect detailed information for data analysis.

1.10.3 Data Collection Techniques

The researcher used non participant observation of the virtual interactions between ministry of foreign affairs and other non-state actors like the public and foreign visitors in the country.

1.10.4 Data Analysis

The researcher identified the main themes of the research to form the sub-topics. The primary data was analyzed thematically based on the objectives. The researcher also relied on secondary data to support the findings.

CHAPTER TWO

VIRTUAL DIPLOMACY ON POWER RELATIONS AMONG STATES

2.1 National Interests and Diplomacy

Hans J. Morgenthau, a realist, equated national interest with the pursuit of state power, which can be achieved through coercive means. He further defined diplomacy as the promotion of national interest through peaceful means. Morgenthau classified national interests in two categories of either primary or secondary interests.

2.1.1 Primary Interests

Primary interests are vital and when threatened they can cause a state to go to war in order to defend them. Examples of vital interests include state sovereignty, territory and independence. For example, Kenya invaded Somalia in October 2011 after a spate of kidnappings of foreign tourists and aid workers by the Somalia based Al shabab terror group.

Kenya's former Minister of Internal Security, George Saitoti, stated the reason for Kenya's invasion to Somalia, "Our territorial integrity is threatened with serious security threats of terrorism we cannot allow this to happen at all."⁴⁸

On April 1982, Argentinian army invaded the British owned Falkland Islands located 480 km off its coast. President Leopoldo Galtieri, Argentinian's military ruler, claimed the islands were part of Argentina's territory. With approval from the House of Commons,

⁴⁸ Daily Nation, Kenya Declares War in Al Shabab, October 15 2011

Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, ordered the British Navy to take back the Falkland Islands.

2.1.2 Secondary Interests

The secondary interests rank lower than primary interests. A state is willing to compromise on these interests and not likely to go war in order to defend them. More likely a state will apply alternative approach in order to safeguard its secondary interests. Examples of secondary interests include trade, commerce, access to resources, defence of national unity, and securing of strategic advantages.

American scholar Michael G. Roskin speculated that sometimes it is hard to anticipate how other countries define their national interest.⁴⁹ But, there are instances when the secondary interests override the vital interests. Morgenthau noted that no nation has the resources to promote all its objectives with equal vigor. The necessary elements of the country's national interest have a tendency to swallow up the variable elements so that in the end all kinds of objectives, actual or potential, are justified in terms of national survival. The same problem presents itself in its extreme form when a nation pursues objectives which are not only unnecessary for its survival but tend to jeopardize it.⁵⁰

For example, the territorial dispute between Kenya and Uganda over the 0.49 acre Migingo Island in Lake Victoria began in 2008, but it has not escalated to war, for the reason that Uganda is Kenya's leading trade partner and export destination for Kenyan goods. Uganda is a landlocked country and relies on Kenya's Mombasa port to export and import its goods.

⁴⁹ Michael G. Roskin, *National Interest: From Abstraction to Strategy*, May 20, 1994, page 6

⁵⁰ *Ibid* Page 977

2.2 National Interests and Foreign Policy

Diplomacy is a tool of foreign policy while the concept of national interests is a key pillar in how a state formulates and executes its foreign policy. Charles Hughes, the 44th Secretary of State of the United States of America stated, “foreign policies are the result of practical conception to national interests.”⁵¹

Morgenthau indicated that diplomacy essentially means “the art of bringing the different elements of national power, to bear with maximum effect, upon those points in the international situation, which concern the national interest most directly.”⁵²

Reed J. Fendrick supports the argument that diplomacy is one of the major instruments that a government applies in pursuit of national interest. Other instruments include military power, economic power, intelligence gathering and operations, soft power through culture and information.⁵³

The diplomacy strategy involves a variety of practices in order to obtain the protection or furtherance of the national goals or interests. And from the realist point of view, the ultimate goal is the survival of the state and its core values.⁵⁴

Therefore, national interests are imperative in explaining, describing, prescribing or predicting, the national behavior of a state.

⁵¹Holly Sklar (Ed), *Trilateralism: The Trilateral Commission and Elite Planning for World Management*, South End Press, 1980, Page 150

⁵²Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, 4th edition, 1966, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf), Page 135

⁵³ Reed J. Fendrick, *U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Policy and Strategy*, Chapter 13 - Diplomacy as an Instrument of National Power, June 2006, Diane Publishing, Page 179

⁵⁴Ibid

Diplomacy involves assessing the power potential of other countries, their “supposed vital interests and relationship with other states”. José Calvet De Magalhães defined diplomacy as an instrument to put the governments of two or more states in contact with each other.

Lord Palmerston of England held that, “England has neither permanent friends nor permanent enemies, but instead has permanent interests.”⁵⁵

As a norm, states don’t emphasize on one national interest but rather pursues multiple goals and interests. A state is a result of coming together of different communities and actors drawn from diverse interest groups. It is therefore imperative for diplomats to a large extent address the interests of the different actors, and simultaneously address regional, continental and global demands. Most importantly the diplomats should strike a balance among the different interests and actors without favoring one side, and between domestic demands and international imperatives, between principle and pragmatism, between idealistic values and material interests, between what is the expedient and what is the right thing to do, between the national constituency and the international community, and between the immediate, medium, and long terms.⁵⁶

2.3 Role of Diplomacy in Political Power

The state’s political power refers to the capability of a state to change the conduct and performance of other states and it depends on the willingness of a state to apply its

⁵⁵ Alfred Marleku, National Interest and Foreign Policy: The Case of Kosovo, *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol 4 No, 3 September 2013, MCSER Publishing, Rome-Italy, Page 415

⁵⁶ Andrew F. Cooper, Jorge Heine, and Ramesh Thakur, *Introduction: The Challenges of 21st-Century Diplomacy*, *Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy*, August 2013, Page 21

national strength and its potential against others. P.B Rathod defined state power as the capacity or ability or strength of a nation to exert influence or exercise domination over other nations. He noted that states often frequently struggle to acquire, to retain and to expand power.

The national strength of a country can be measured by the capacity of a state to persuade and influence other states. In terms of international relations, it can be manifested in the extent to which a country has diplomatic representation abroad. Morgenthau underscored that international politics, which is like all politics, is a struggle for power.

A state's economic strength that is concerted in trade and commerce contributes the country having power and influence in the community of nations. For example,

According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) World Economic Outlook 2016 report, the economy of the United States of America (USA) is the largest economy in the world with a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of \$17.95 trillion.⁵⁷The U.S. is endowed with vast natural resources and is a leading investor in technology, infrastructure, mineral deposits, oil and gas, and therefore exerts a lot power and influence globally. Due to its economic might, the U.S. is the leading financial contributor to the United Nations. The country's economic might combined with permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). South Africa and Nigeria are Africa's leading economies and wield considerable influence in the continent's political and economic processes.

⁵⁷PrableenBajpai, The World's Top 10 Economies, Updated July 18, 2016, <http://www.investopedia.com/articles/investing/022415/worlds-top-10-economies.asp>

2.4 Role of Diplomacy in National Power

National power of a state is its ability to secure its national interests.⁵⁸ Hartman describes national power as the ability of a state to fulfill its national goals. It also tells us how much powerful or weak a state is in securing its national goals. While Norman J. Padelford and George A. Lincoln describe national power as, “the interaction of individual nation states in the pursuit of their perceived national interests and goals.”⁵⁹

The major elements of national power include diplomacy, economic might, availability of natural resources, military capacity, geography, size of population, type of leadership and technological advancement.⁶⁰ Carl Von Clausewitz observed that, “state behavior is motivated by its need to survive and prosper. To safeguard its interests, the state must rationally decide to go to war; there should be no other reason for going to war.”⁶¹

States exercise national power mainly through persuasion, manipulation, reward, force or by dominating weaker states. The importance of national power is not confined to super powers or great powers only, but also in the states that are described as smaller powers in the international system.⁶² National power is not absolute but can be termed as a relative concept. There is no other yardstick to measure how powerful a state is, other than its

⁵⁸<http://cms.gcg11.ac.in/attachments/article/259/NATIONAL%20POWER.pdf>

⁵⁹ Dr. Sabu Thomas and Dr. G. Sadanandan, *International Politics (Year II)*, School of Distance Education, University of Calicut, Paper VII, 2013, Page 5

⁶⁰ John R. Mills, 'All Elements of National Power': Re-Organizing the Interagency Structure and Process for Victory in the Long War, *Strategic Insights*, Volume V, Issue 6 (July 2006), <http://www.cc.gatech.edu/~tpilsch/INTA4803TP/Articles/Elements%20of%20National%20Power.pdf>

⁶¹ Michael G. Roskin, *National Interest: From Abstraction to Strategy*, May 20, 1994, page 2

⁶² HasarelGallage, *Evaluation of National Power as an Important Aspect for both Powerful and Micro States*, University of Kenlaniya, 2012, Page 2

comparison with other states. Moreover one country may not wield the same amount of power and influence over all the other states.⁶³

However, P.B. Rathod argues that the role of power in diplomacy is constant and conditioning. The more powerful a state is, the more it contributes indirectly at the negotiating table.⁶⁴ For example, the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) trade agreement was signed in the year 2000 between the United States of America and Sub-Saharan Africa countries. The pact allows African countries to export over 8,000 products without paying taxes to the vast U.S. market.⁶⁵

Out of 54 African countries, 39 have signed the AGOA treaty. In order to enjoy the benefits of the pact, African states have to comply with the U.S. government regulations, which include; observing human rights, international Labour laws and rule of law. On October 30 2015, USA president Barack Obama removed Burundi from the AGOA pact starting January 2016. Obama's decision was based on the political crisis in the country. President Pierre Nkurunziza vied for third term amidst violent protests in the country. Obama wrote to the U.S. Congress and faulted Burundi for, "continuing crackdown on opposition members, which has included assassinations, extra judicial killings, arbitrary arrests and torture."⁶⁶

Morgenthau noted that "diplomacy without power is feeble, and power without diplomacy is destructive and blind. No nation's power is without limits." Therefore a

⁶³ Ibid

⁶⁴ P.B. Rathod, *Diplomacy (Theory and Practice)*, ABD Publishers, India, 2004, Page 34

⁶⁵<https://agoa.info/about-agoa.html>

⁶⁶ Office of the Press Secretary, Message to the Congress – Notification to the Congress on AGOA Program Change, The White House, October 30, 2015, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/10/30/message-congress-notification-congress-agoa-program-change>

state's foreign policy should be considerate and take to account the foreign policy and national interest of others. In addition, "it is not only a political necessity, but also a moral duty for a nation to always follow in its dealings with other nations but one guiding star, one standard for thought, one rule for action: The National Interest."⁶⁷

2.5 Role of Diplomacy in political Influence

Diplomacy is an element of national power and the mode of its application produces the desired impact in other states or in the international system. Lord Gore Booth defined diplomacy as "the conduct of business between states by peaceful means." It uses persuasion and influence as means for exercising power. A state can apply diplomacy to reward, issue warnings, ultimatums and threats of punishment, without exercising force.⁶⁸

Diplomacy plays an imperative role in securing national interests in accordance to the foreign policy of the state. It works best when supported by a strong national power.

The political leadership is a major driving factor in the conduct of diplomacy in a country. Azar Ahamed argued that, "all policies domestic and international reveal three basic patterns. All political phenomena can be reduced to one of three basic types. A political policy seeks either to keep power, to increase power or to demonstrate power."⁶⁹

Governments of Eritrea and North Korea have taken up isolationist policy in their interactions with other states and non-state actors. On the other hand, the U.S government

⁶⁷ Hans J. Morgenthau, In Defence of the National Interest, Vol. 14, No. 1, Feb 1952, Page 241 - 242

⁶⁸ Diplomacy: Meaning, Nature, Functions and Role in Crisis Management, <http://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/international-politics/diplomacy-meaning-nature-functions-and-role-in-crisis-management/48491/>

⁶⁹ Concept of National Power PDF by Azar Ahamed

exerts hard power to influence its foreign policy in the world. For example, the 2003 invasion of Iraq was driven by America's quest to safeguard its national interests.

2.6 Power and Influence

P. B. Rathod argues that a state's ability to influence does not come from a single source but it instead comes from a range of factors such as military might, economic strength, natural resources, scientific and technological advancement.⁷⁰

Morgenthau observed that the changes in the environment play a key factor in shaping the interests that determine political action of a state. He however noted that the emphasis on power must be adapted to the changing circumstances of international politics.⁷¹

He reckoned that, "despite the profound changes which have occurred in the world, it still remains true, as it has always been true, that a nation confronted with the hostile aspirations of other nations has one prime obligation, to take care of its own interests. The moral justification for this prime duty of all nations – for it is not only a moral right but also a moral obligation – arises from the fact that if this particular nation does not take care of its interests, nobody else will...A nation which would take that counsel and act consistently on it would commit suicide and become the prey and victim of other nations which know how to take care of their interests."⁷² Italian Nicholas Machiavelli alluded that "you may have splendid moral goals, but without sufficient power and the willingness to use it, you will accomplish nothing."

⁷⁰P.B. Rathod, *Diplomacy (Theory and Practice)*, ABD Publishers, India, 2004, Page 35

⁷¹ J. Peter Pham, *What Is in the National Interest? Hans Morgenthau's Realist Vision and American Foreign Policy*, American Foreign Policy Interests, 2008, Page 258, <http://www.jmu.edu/nelsoninstitute/National%20Interest.pdf>

⁷²Hans J. Morgenthau, "What Is the National Interest of the United States?" *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 282, no. 1 (1952): Page 4

On the other hand J. Peter Pham argued that, even though the importance of a specific interest for a nation's relative power position is undeniable, that fact does not give it license to neglect other interests that are likewise essential to its security, even if their significance is perhaps less obvious."⁷³

2.7 Coercive Diplomacy

Coercion refers to the use of threats and ultimatums in order to influence the behavior of another actor. This is achieved by making the actor to choose to comply rather than directly obliging it to comply. It is usually used by a state on another state actor, and intermittently on non-state actors.⁷⁴

For coercive diplomacy to be successful; the threat must entail credible severe consequences that the prospective recipient will want to avoid. The demand should also be straightforward, and possible to meet.⁷⁵

Alexander George termed coercive diplomacy as the action of supporting one's demand to an antagonist, with the threat of punishment for noncompliance, which he will consider credible and effective enough to persuade the adversary to comply with the ultimatum.⁷⁶

⁷³ Ibid page 258

⁷⁴ Patrick C. Bratton, *When is Coercion Successful? And Why Can't We Agree on It?* Naval War College Review, November 21 2012, BiblioGov, Page 100

⁷⁵ Conflict Research Consortium, *Coercive Diplomacy*, International Online Training Program on Intractable Conflict, University of Colorado, USA, <http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/treatment/coercdip.htm>

⁷⁶ Alexander George, *Forceful Persuasion: Coercive Diplomacy as an Alternative to War*, United States Institute of Peace Press, Washington DC, 1991, Page 4

He indicated coercive diplomacy has the following variables: Demand, means used for creating a sense of urgency, threats of punishment for noncompliance and potential use of incentives.

George described coercive diplomacy as a defensive tool that makes use of threats, incentives, communication, signaling, bargaining and negotiating. The four types of coercive diplomacy are:⁷⁷

- i. Ultimatum – employ demands and threats and issue time limit for compliance.
- ii. Tacit ultimatum – when the threat is conveyed indirectly.
- iii. Try and see approach – makes a demand, and gives a leeway for using mild coercive force if the demand is not met.
- iv. Gradual turning of the screw – the coercing power makes its intention to increase pressure until the adversary complies.
- v. Carrot and stick approach– it is the application of both reward and punishment in order to get the intended result.

Iraq forces invaded Kuwait in August 1990, the U.S. government applied coercive diplomacy to compel Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. The U.S led coalition of states first applied the ‘gradual turning of the screw’ approach by imposing and progressively tightening an embargo on Iraqi exports and imports. The U.S government later issued ultimatums and threats of military invasion. Iraq government led by Saddam Hussein snubbed the threats and subsequently war broke out after the January 15 1991 deadline.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ ibid

⁷⁸ ibid

Coercive diplomacy requires coordination between words and actions for it to be successful. The logic behind coercive diplomacy assumes that the target will behave rationally.⁷⁹ Hans Morgenthau opined that, “for a diplomacy that ends in a war has failed in its primary objective; the promotion of national interest by peaceful means.”

In 1962 the Soviet Union under the leadership of Nikita Khrushchev deployed ballistic missiles in Cuba. To avert the crisis, the U.S President John F. Kennedy applied coercive diplomacy and successfully compelled the Soviet Union to withdraw the missiles. The approach achieved “reasonable objectives in a crisis with less cost; with much less, if any, bloodshed; with fewer political and psychological costs.”⁸⁰

2.8 Deterrence

Deterrence is a strategy that makes use of threats to dissuade an opponent from undertaking an encroachment of one’s interests not yet initiated.⁸¹

Patrick Morgan classified deterrence into two categories; general and immediate deterrence. General deterrence deals with preventing an action, regardless if it is planned or not, for example the U.S government decision in the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). While immediate deterrence lays emphasis on concrete events.⁸²

⁷⁹ *ibid*

⁸⁰ Alexander L. George and William E. Simons, *The Limits of Coercive Diplomacy*, 2nd ed, Boulder Col. Westview, 1994, page 9

⁸¹ Ilario Shettino, Is Coercive Diplomacy a Viable Means Political Objectives, June 29 2009 <http://www.e-ir.info/2009/06/29/is-coercive-diplomacy-a-viable-means-to-achieve-political-objectives/>

⁸² Polad Muradli, What is Coercive Diplomacy? June 16, 2016, <http://thepoliticon.net/What-is-coercive-diplomacy.htm>

According to Thomas Schelling, there are two types of coercive threats; deterrent and compellent. Deterrent threats are made to cause an opponent to stop a current action or to take a certain action. Compellent threats are made to cause an adversary to stop a current action or to undertake another.⁸³

Alexander L. George and Richard Smoke outlined three different levels of deterrence in the book *Deterrence in American Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice* (1974). The first is based on the threat against which deterrent threats are aimed. The second level refers to when it's an attack on the homeland, limited wars. The scholars argued that the sophistication of deterrence doctrine is high for the first level, modest for the second level and nonexistent for the third level.⁸⁴

Deterrent threats are often clear-cut because they aim to preserve the status quo, and they have no time limit.⁸⁵

⁸³ Ibid

⁸⁴ Jack S. Levy, *Deterrence and Coercive Diplomacy: The Contributions of Alexander George*, Rutgers University, Political Psychology, Vol. 29, No. 4, 2008, Page 544

⁸⁵ Ibid

CHAPTER THREE

VIRTUAL DIPLOMACY PRACTICE IN KENYA GOVERNMENT

3.1 Diplomatic Missions

Article 2 of the VCDR states the importance of ‘mutual consent’ in setting up diplomatic relations between states and the setting up of permanent diplomatic missions.⁸⁶This resolution to institute diplomatic relations is driven by a state’s national interests, and “capacity for openness to nations outside of its geographical proximity” and trade and commercial interests.⁸⁷

Mwagiru (2004) asserts that diplomatic missions can be resident or non-resident. Resident ambassadors have physical presence in the receiving state. Non-resident diplomatic missions arise from multiple accreditation of an ambassador to promote relations between the sending state and several other states.⁸⁸For example, Kenya’s High Commission in Nigeria is also accredited to serve in Benin, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Liberia, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo.⁸⁹

Harold Nicolson described the main function of diplomacy is apply negotiation in the managing relations between states. And the diplomatic agent is the servant of the sovereign authority in the sending state.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ United Nations, Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (VCDR), 1961

⁸⁷ Odeen Ishmael, Notes on Diplomatic Practice: Diplomatic Relations and Sovereignty, March 16 2013, <https://odeenishmaeldiplomacy.wordpress.com/2013/03/16/21-diplomatic-relations-and-sovereignty/>

⁸⁸ MakumiMwagiru, *Diplomacy, Methods and Practice*, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, Nairobi, 2004, Page 49

⁸⁹ Felix Olick, *Are Ruto and Uhuru tussling over envoy postings?* The Star Newspaper, April 13 2016, http://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2016/04/13/are-ruto-and-uhuru-tussling-over-envoy-postings_c1331007

⁹⁰ Harold Nicolson, *Diplomacy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, Third Edition, 1968, Page 41

The diplomatic Mission is an institution and its main purpose for been set up is because it is at the heart of diplomatic relations.

The clearer the mission, the clearer are the functions of diplomats and diplomatic missions. In fact, the success of a mission may very much depend upon the mandates given by the home state to the Mission, and the creative initiatives that diplomats may take. In other words, the success or failure of a diplomatic mission will depend on the objectives and policies the Mission maintains and implements.⁹¹

The VCDR outlines ‘members of the diplomatic staff’ are the members of the staff of the mission having diplomatic rank. A ‘diplomatic agent’ refers to the head of mission or a member of the diplomatic staff of the mission. On the other hand, the ‘members of the administrative and technical staff’ are the members of the staff of the mission employed in the administrative and technical service of the mission.⁹²

Diplomatic agents’ main purpose is to carry out the functions of diplomacy by promoting friendly relations. In the scenario the relations are frosty, it is the work of diplomatic agents to thaw the relations and make them friendlier by, trade and investment incentives, or by conciliating the causes responsible for straining the relationship between the two states.⁹³

⁹¹ Ibid

⁹² Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, April 1961

⁹³ Charles Chatterjee, *International Law and Diplomacy*, Routledge, London, 2010, Page 167

Diplomatic agents are civil servants who should serve the government in power by offering advice, and if need be, raise objections. Ideally, they should be impartial in political issues.⁹⁴

Diplomatic agents enjoy immunity and privileges in order to execute their mandate as envoys. As prescribed in Article 29 of the VCDR, “the person of a diplomatic agent shall be inviolable. He shall not be liable to any form of arrest or detention. The receiving State shall treat him with due respect and shall take all appropriate steps to prevent any attack on his person, freedom or dignity.”⁹⁵

Technological media advancements, internet and the rising number of international 24 hour news channels is bringing information to more people in real time as events occur. As a result, the government is pressured by the public to act. Diplomats and Heads of State can now engage in the virtual space to address various issues, without the need to travel for negotiations.

3.2 Ministry of Foreign Affairs

G.R Berridge (2010) said that, no country can effectively advance its national interests without a diplomatic service that works under the ministry of foreign affairs (MFA).

There are presumptions that the origins of Ministry of Foreign Affairs was in France. In 1589, King Henry III delegated foreign affairs activities to Louis de Revol who was one of his secretaries of State. Later in the 18th century, what we know today as ministry of foreign affairs was a common feature in European governments. The British government

⁹⁴ Harold Nicolson, *Diplomacy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, Third Edition, 1968, Page 42

⁹⁵ Ibid

established its Foreign Office in 1782, and the U.S government followed suit in 1789 when it set up the State Department.⁹⁶ However, the roles of foreign ministry were not clearly defined as it faced rivalry from the ruling monarchs and their subjects in Europe.

The role of MFA is to recruit and train staff who work in the consular and diplomatic missions abroad. The ministry is tasked with the process of renting and purchase of properties in the receiving states for the purpose of housing the diplomatic missions and consular offices. MFA also facilitates for the accommodation and welfare of the diplomats and the embassies' staff in the receiving state.

3.3 Implementation of Foreign Policy

Foreign policy making process involves and encompasses a set of goals and objectives of how a state will interact with other actors. Its decision making process comprises domestic demands and its interests in the international system.

A good diplomat should have skills on foreign policy analysis. And “the discipline is concerned with the conceptual tools needed to do useful diplomatic analysis.”⁹⁷ There are three approaches that are used in the analysis of the foreign policy decision making process. They are rational actor model, organization process model and government politics model.⁹⁸

The first is the rational actor model which is based on the belief that governments are monolithic or one single entity that makes rational foreign policy decisions. The

⁹⁶ G.R. Berridge, *Diplomacy: Theory and Practice*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, Fourth Edition, 2010, page

6

⁹⁷ Ibid

⁹⁸ Ibid p.135

organization process model looks at “governments are large entities with clear processes and procedures for making decisions. And these decisions are the outputs from these organizations called governments.”⁹⁹ The government politics model refers to the belief that foreign policy decisions are the result of bargaining games” that go on amongst the government players in the foreign policy decision making process. This model propagates that “foreign policy decisions are neither simply choices made rationally by government, nor merely outputs from government decision making processes and procedures.”¹⁰⁰

The ministry of foreign affairs is tasked with the imperative role of posting diplomatic agents abroad. MFA’s role is that of implementing the country’s foreign policy and advising on the priority areas. As well as giving guidance on the mode of implementation, and receiving the information shared by diplomatic missions abroad. There are different departments that analyze the information received, often referred as political departments and segmented according to regions for example, Kenya’s MFA sections includes Great Lakes region, European Union, Americas among others. The purpose of geographical departments is to focus on regions or states that are of significant importance. On the other hand the functional departments concentrate on thematic areas like regional trade, immigration, climate change, security and human rights among others.¹⁰¹

Whether MFA has strong influence on the governments’ foreign policy differs from one country to another. In states that have well established foreign ministries and a government that is solely guided by the constitution, then the ministry is highly

⁹⁹ Ibid page 137

¹⁰⁰ Ibid page 138

¹⁰¹ Ibid page 10

influential for example the State Department in the U.S. However, in states with authoritarian leaders, military leadership ship and ‘highly personalized political leadership’, the MFA tends to have fluctuating influence in those countries.¹⁰²

For foreign policy to be aptly implemented the ministry’s institutional memory should be in order, this includes details of the promises that pledged in the past and potential promises from ongoing negotiations with other state and not-state actors.

The ministry needs to have a legal department since it is involved in the negotiations of legal instruments like treaties, bilateral and multilateral agreements. This is done to ensure that the pacts comply with the country’s constitution, which is the supreme law of the land. In Kenya the Attorney General’s office is actively involved whenever the country intends to sign up or withdraw from an international treaty.

There are instances when diplomatic missions are embroiled in legal issues. Some of the problems are due to lack of trained legal personnel and others arise because of the diplomatic staff’ lack of knowledge on the local laws. Legal issues whether between the government and another state, or diplomatic mission in a foreign country can be expensive to resolve. Part of the training of Foreign Service officers should include how to deal with basic legal problems.¹⁰³

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs or Foreign Service is a key driver of a state’s foreign policy. It is the home of diplomacy, and how it implements the foreign policy determines how its diplomacy is perceived. Just as diplomacy keeps evolving, so should the ministry

¹⁰² Ibid page 15

¹⁰³ Ibid p.148

of foreign affairs and the staff, dynamism is essential in the Ministry of foreign affairs. Traditionalism should be kept confined to a narrow limit, for the reason that diplomacy essentially is a tool which is creative and requires strategic planning, dynamism and understanding not only of the purposes of the states but also for non-state actors.¹⁰⁴

The ministry of foreign affairs just like other government agencies makes use of technology in accomplishing its objectives, which includes sharing information with the public, for instance employment opportunities in the ministry in foreign countries, tourism marketing, education and cultural exchanges opportunities, content of international agreements, communiqués, travel advisories, outcome of foreign dignitaries visiting the country and state visits made by the head of state. An online website is therefore a prerequisite for any ministry of foreign affairs today.

3.4 Media and foreign policy

The media is a strategic partner of the foreign affairs ministry. It is a powerful tool of communication. The execution of foreign policy cannot thrive without the media. There are different types of media which include print, electronic and with the advancement of technology there is a recent rise of online media. Media, especially electronic media has an effect on its audience and most certainly shapes public opinion. Television, which has the combination of visual images and sound, has the potential to have an emotive effect on the viewers in a country.

The evolution of media from traditional media to new media including online, has affected the structure of both the international and domestic system, thus indirectly

¹⁰⁴ Charles Chatterjee, *International Law and Diplomacy*, Routledge, London, 2010, Page 165

impacting foreign policy. This means that the media is a powerful tool that is incredibly successful in showing the public what to think.¹⁰⁵

Benard C Cohen (1963) argues that in the 1990s, media especially television, “demonstrated its power to move governments by focusing daily on the starving children in Somalia. Television mobilized the conscience of the nation’s public institutions, compelling the government into a policy of intervention for humanitarian reasons.¹⁰⁶

Media especially television determines what is treated as a crisis or not. After violence erupted in South Sudan in December 2013, Kenyan media carried out live coverage on the insecurity facing Kenyan nationals living and working in South Sudan. This prompted the Kenyan government to airlift its nationals from South Sudan to Kenya.

Kenyan media has often documented the human rights abuses carried out on Kenyan nationals working in the Middle East. Media pressure and the public outcry compelled the Kenyan government to revoke the licenses of employment agencies recruiting Kenyans to work in the Middle East. Foreign Affairs Cabinet Secretary stated that the ministry had pushed for a new policy of completely banning the export of Kenyan domestic workers to Saudi Arabia.

In addition Kenyan ministry launched an online diaspora registration portal where Kenyans living and working in foreign nationals would register and report cases of abuse,

¹⁰⁵ Bernard Cecil Cohen, *The Press and Foreign Policy*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1963, Page 13

¹⁰⁶ Benard. C. Cohen, “A view from the Academy” in W. Lance Bennet and Davis L. Paletz, *Taken By Storm: The Media, Public Opinion, and US Foreign Policy in the Gulf War*, Chicago University Press, 1994, Page 9-10

thus making it possible for Kenyan diplomatic missions and consular to intervene and help the Kenyan nationals that are mistreated by their employers.¹⁰⁷

According to Stephen Livingston (1997), “television concluded the break-up of the former Yugoslavia and the fighting in the Balkans as a crisis. They began to cover it continuously, prompting the Clinton administration to do something about the crisis. However, television media did not do that during the Rwanda genocide where the excesses were every bit as bad, if not worse.”¹⁰⁸

There is an interlinkage between media and foreign policy decision making. The media industry has developed in the 21st century in terms of technology and efficiency. Breaking news is now broadcast in real-time and throughout twenty four hours in the global media. The advent of internet, online media and social media has removed the traditional gatekeepers of information before it is consumed by the public.

A scholar Stephen Livingston (1997) opines that the effect of media on foreign policy making is that of the media as an agenda setting agent. It is therefore presumed that the coverage of humanitarian crisis puts the issue in the foreign policy agenda and drives intervention.¹⁰⁹ Livingston argues that oftentimes media coverage reflects government policy agenda. For example, the Operation Restore Hope in Somalia by USA government, the media coverage followed policy makers’ actions.

¹⁰⁷ Edwin Mutai, Foreign CS wants export of domestic workers to Gulf banned, Business Daily, June 24 2015, <http://www.businessdailyafrica.com/Foreign-CS-wants-total-ban-on-export-of-domestic-workers/539546-2763688-item-1-xe22b0/index.html>

¹⁰⁸ Steven Livingston, “Clarifying the CNN Effect: An Examination of Media Effects According to Type of Military Intervention.” Research paper, Harvard University, J. F. Kennedy School of Government, June 1997, Page 6

¹⁰⁹ Ibid

3.5 Media Effect on Foreign Policy Decision Making

Over the years the media industry has evolved with the advancement of technology. First because of technological advancements, that allows electronic media to be broadcast continuously for 24 hours every day across the globe with no regards for diplomatic secrecy.

Secondly, when the Cold War came to halt in 1990, it signified that the world was no longer bipolar. This lead to a shift in the foreign policy agenda that no longer concentrated much on advancing capitalism or communism.

Media can influence the government directly on its foreign decision making or it can influence the public, which in turn puts pressure on the government on its foreign policy decision making.

Today, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of any state is no longer the only custodian of diplomacy. It has to engage with non-state actors to warrant the acceptability of its foreign policy decisions and its application.¹¹⁰

Adoption of ICTs in the functions of diplomacy, will address the challenges facing the Foreign Service of independent states

The vision of Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade is to make Kenya peaceful, prosperous and globally competitive. Its core values include: customer focus, patriotism, team spirit, professionalism, ethics and integrity, and equity and fairness. The ministry is charged with training and equipping the country's diplomats for

¹¹⁰Ikishan S. Rana and Bipul Chatterjee, Introduction: The role of Embassies, Page 37, <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.321.2235&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

effective service through the Foreign Service Institute (FSI). The institute provides short courses to equip the diplomats to promote political, trade and economic relations with other states.

However, the short courses offered by the FSI are not enough to impart the necessary skills to the diplomats who interact with diplomats from other states in a competitive environment. In August 2015, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade signed a 10 year pact with the University of Nairobi to train Kenyan diplomats in diplomacy and international relations courses. Kenyan ambassadors usually serve in a diplomatic mission for four years or 48 months, although the term may extend when they are not recalled.

Foreign Affairs Cabinet Secretary Amina Mohamed stated that the new arrangement will, empower the Foreign Service to be reliable. She admitted, “Sometimes we meet with foreign ambassadors who are called doctors but ours are very far behind.” The diplomats will now be offered postgraduate courses by the institution in diplomacy, international relations and peace studies. “Having them train here will serve the purpose of having a cadre of diplomats that can support us in various international issues.” Amina said.¹¹¹

Diplomatic agents serving in a diplomatic mission comprise the head of mission, who can be the permanent representative of a state to a UN mission or high commissioner for commonwealth countries and ambassador for non-commonwealth countries.¹¹² There are also different categories of attachés in various fields including press, trade, military, and

¹¹¹AggreyMutambo, Varsity in deal to train envoys, Daily Nation August 24 2015, <http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Varsity-in-deal-to-train-envoys/1056-2845054-vdwfjkz/index.html>

¹¹² Ibid

intelligence among others. The press attaché is usually retained in the same post for a period of several years. This comparative permanence of tenure enables the attaché to acquire great knowledge of politics and personalities. In some democracies, the ambassador may not want to openly interact with the opposition leaders, in order not to upset the government of the receiving state, but the press attaché can freely meet with the opposing groups without causing offence.¹¹³

3.6 Digital Capacity of a Diplomatic Mission

The traditional diplomacy has evolved into modern diplomacy with the help of modern information communication technologies.

In the Strategic Plan for Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, the Kenya government plans to increase its diplomatic influence by setting up new embassies and purchase or lease properties in foreign nations to accomplish this task.¹¹⁴

Among the expected challenges that were indicated in the Strategic Plan include an underdeveloped ICT infrastructure, overreliance on traditional exports and markets, unclear policy on linking both domestic and international trade in the ministry, shortage of trade experts and economists in Kenya's diplomatic missions abroad.¹¹⁵

It is not economically viable for Kenya to afford setting up embassies in all countries. It requires resources and could face the staffing challenges. No state in the world has

¹¹³ Harold Nicolson, *Diplomacy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, Third Edition, 1968, Page 91

¹¹⁴ Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Strategic Plan 2013/2014 – 2017/2018, <http://www.mfa.go.ke/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Strategic%20Plan%20final.pdf>

¹¹⁵ Ibid

managed to establish diplomatic Missions in all the 193 UN member states. There are 54 independent states in Africa and Kenya has representation only in 18 countries.

It is not economically viable for Kenya to afford setting up embassies in all countries. It requires resources and could face the staffing challenges. Kenya is a developing country with a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of 63.4 billion dollars in 2015 according to the World Bank.

Scholars have deliberated on the power of new information and communications technology in the practice of representation in diplomacy. States can apply the use of ICTs to improve relations and promote their national interests abroad.

This is part of the broader debate on the relationship between principal and agent and the related issue of the extent to which the ambassadors should be independent of the government that they represent.”¹¹⁶

Younes El Ghazi (2015) emphasized the importance of digital aptitude in the Foreign Service of any state. The various online platforms are tools to reach the global audience. He argued that in the digital age, the public is accessing most of the information on various issues from diverse online platforms.

He upheld that those channels are ever more impacting awareness, outlooks, and actions of people globally. Ghazi proposed that the online space gives opportunities to governments and foreign affairs ministries to reach a wider range of audience for public diplomacy, trade diplomacy as well as identify looming security threats. Most

¹¹⁶ Brian Hocking and Donna Leeb, *The Diplomacy of Proximity and Specialness: Enhancing Canada's Representation in the United States*, The Hague Journal of Diplomacy 1, MartinusNijhoff Publishers, 2006, 29-52, Page 35

importantly, a state's digital capacity is vital in the protection of resources, national security and national interests from impending cyber-attacks.¹¹⁷

More so, the abilities contribute to the reinvention of old diplomacy by diplomatic agents, through effective interactions with colleagues across the globe without travelling for face to face meetings. Effective application of technology enables diplomats and government agents to effectively save time and space during summits.

Younes El Ghazi (2015) predicted that eventually most states will incorporate online platforms in their diplomatic practice since there are more benefits in adopting cyber diplomacy as opposed to prospective risks in its practice.¹¹⁸

3.6.1 Diplomatic Representation

The model of representation is central in the practice of diplomacy. But the diplomatic function of representation has not evolved or adapted with the advancement of communication technologies. This is because the representation concept doesn't receive much attention it deserves, yet it is a core function of diplomatic practice.

3.6.2 Distance and Proximity

Distance and proximity of states are key factors that have assumed a significant place in the development of diplomacy. The distance between communities and growth of proximity through advanced communications and information technology is a factor that has caused the slow growth of diplomatic representation.¹¹⁹ States have special relations

¹¹⁷Younes El Ghazi, *Smart Diplomacy and the Future of Diplomatic Undertaking*, *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, November 6 2015, <http://journal.georgetown.edu/smart-diplomacy-and-the-future-of-diplomatic-undertaking/>

¹¹⁸Ibid

¹¹⁹ Ibid Page 30

with other states because of shared borders and having similar interests in a region. For example, Kenya's relations with member states of the East Africa Community (EAC). The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) brings together Ethiopia, Kenya, South Sudan, Djibouti, Uganda and Somalia. The countries in the horn of Africa have a shared burden of insecurity and climate change issues.

However Brian Hocking and Donna Leeb (2006), argues that proximity is not power. Susan Rice, the U.S government's National Security advisor, mentioned that although Canada has diplomatic representation in the U.S.A, it enjoys limited access.¹²⁰

There is a view that with collapse of distance and increased proximity have traditionally lessened the representation's importance in diplomatic practice. In regard to proximity, communities with distinct social values in a changing environment are increasing the role of a diplomatic mission as a node in knowledge networks, in the areas of regional trade, terrorism, human trafficking, education and cultural exchanges.¹²¹

3.6.3 Geopolitical Factors

States also consider geopolitical factors when considering establishing diplomatic missions abroad.¹²² Special relationship between states determines the engagement. States are brought together also because of shared interests, that are shaped by politics, a common history, For instance, commonwealth countries have diplomatic relations with the former colonial power Britain.

¹²⁰ Ibid page 40

¹²¹ Ibid

¹²² Ibid

In the new information age, traditional diplomacy has not promptly addressed the growing domestic and international demands. Diplomatic Missions have bureaucratic structures that lack flexibility to respond to the challenges in the receiving state. For instance, not all Kenyan nationals register in person at the Kenyan embassies abroad as expected, but with specially designed online portals, the citizens can register and update their information without the inconvenience of physically presenting themselves at the embassy.

Still, virtual diplomacy and use of ICTs can aid the government to actively engage in and know the exact number of its nationals living outside its country, including countries where it lacks diplomatic representation.

There are emerging issues and governments are setting up more agencies to meet their citizens' needs. For example, Canada's Diplomatic Missions usually hosts at least fifteen government departments, six agencies and three provinces.¹²³

In addition, "diplomatic services now have to come to terms with diplomacy being viewed as a consumer good. Rather than being associated solely with the distant processes of negotiation on issues far removed from the everyday concerns of the general public, a combination of mass tourism and a rising culture of expectations as to what governments can and should for their citizens abroad is transforming the approach to managing crises and disaster situations and enhancing the role of consular services."¹²⁴

¹²³ Ibid

¹²⁴ Ibid

3.7 Financial Cost

Establishing and maintaining a diplomatic mission requires finances and skilled personnel who will relocate with their families to the receiving state. Financial costs are incurred by both the sending state and the receiving state. These costs should be balanced on the benefits to be gained by the sending state as opposed to if the embassy is not established. The benefit-cost ratio is expected to change with time, however, once the diplomatic mission is setup, the costs will increase at a higher rate compared to the benefits accrued.¹²⁵

Small and Singer held, that either way all governments are faced “with the need to estimate, or re-estimate, how “important” it is to exchange missions with every other one in the system.”¹²⁶

Therefore a state’s priority is to consider the fiscal factors before establishing diplomatic missions in other states. For instance, it becomes cost effective for states to have diplomatic missions in neighbouring countries because of proximity and shared interests.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Eric Neumayer, *Research Papers in Environmental and Spatial Analysis No. 122, Geography, Power and Ideology: Diplomatic Representation in a Spatial, Unequal and Divided World*, The London School of Economics and Political Science, July 2007, Page

8<http://www.lse.ac.uk/geographyAndEnvironment/research/Researchpapers/122%20EN.pdf>

¹²⁶ Small M and Singer J D, *The diplomatic importance of states, 1816-1970: an extension and refinement of the indicator World Politics*, Page 582

¹²⁷ Ibid

3.8 Smart Diplomacy

The Global Diplomatic Forum defines Smart diplomacy as a new diplomacy that involves adoption of technological expertise in the interactions between public and private partnerships and diaspora networks.

Internet revolution has transformed how countries relate with each other, and with non-state actors. Information technology is a powerful tool and inexpensive in carrying out the functions of diplomacy.

The Forum further recognized the three pillars of smart diplomacy that contribute in deciphering smart power and its influence in bilateral and interstate relations. The pillars are digital capabilities, multi-stakeholder diplomacy and feminist diplomacy.¹²⁸

3.9 Multi-stakeholder Factor

Modern diplomacy has evolved from Track One diplomacy to include other non-state actors like civil society groups, multinational companies, academic scholars, media and religious groups, which act independently from state in shaping the foreign policy of a state. These interactions increase opportunities for the country. However, in some states these stakeholders fall under the category of the state system.

Smart diplomacy seeks to illustrate how diplomacy will evolve in the 21st century. The proponents of smart diplomacy argue that it is a concept that is highly equipped to serve a

¹²⁸Younes El Ghazi, *Smart Diplomacy and the Future of Diplomatic Undertaking*, *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, November 6 2015, <http://journal.georgetown.edu/smart-diplomacy-and-the-future-of-diplomatic-undertaking/>

country's foreign policy. It is guaranteed to have more impact because it is far reaching, effective and demonstrative of our modern societies.¹²⁹

3.9.10 Economic Diplomacy

Former Indian diplomat Kishan S. Rana defined economic diplomacy “as a plural set of practices, all aimed at advancing the home the home country's external economic interests.”¹³⁰It focuses on economic interests of state, including trade, Foreign Direct Investments (FDIs), export-import relations,

Kishan Rana further refers commercial diplomacy to the work diplomatic missions engage in promoting economic ties by advising and supporting the private sector and foreign governments on investment opportunities in the sending state.

Diplomacy as a profession has metamorphosed by definition, qualification and role expectation of what a diplomat is or is not supposed to do. More so, as states progress towards democratic governments and are interconnected through globalization, diplomatic boundaries have become more porous.¹³¹

In a globalized world, countries are now in competition with each other to attract foreign direct investments, gain market access for their national companies and attempt to protect their domestic markets by covert or overt trade barriers. Also, states are simultaneously

¹²⁹Younes El Ghazi, *Smart Diplomacy and the Future of Diplomatic Undertaking*, *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, November 6 2015, <http://journal.georgetown.edu/smart-diplomacy-and-the-future-of-diplomatic-undertaking/>

¹³⁰Kishan S. Rana and Bipul Chatterjee, Introduction: The role of Embassies, <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.321.2235&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

¹³¹ Ibid

seeking cooperation with other likeminded states in matters of national interests including trade, education, security, counter terrorism among others.

States are deepening their cooperation at standard and rule setting intergovernmental; institutions such as World Trade Organization (WTO)” and Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), Southern African Development Community (SADC), East Africa Community (EAC) among others. The role of non-state actors is imperative because they add their voice and influence economic policy debates by lobbying regional and inter-governmental organizations.¹³²

¹³²ibid

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF THE CHALLENGES IN THE USE OF VIRTUAL DIPLOMACY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter sought to identify expected challenges in the use of virtual diplomacy in interstate relations. The previous chapter explored areas where Kenya government can apply virtual representation in its diplomatic practice

4.2 Actor Network Theory (ANT)

The Actor Network Theory (ANT) has its origins in the field of technology and sociology. John Law defined ANT as:

“a disparate family of material semiotic tools, sensibilities and methods of analysis that treat everything in the social and natural worlds as a continuously generated effect of the webs of relations within which they are located. It assumes that nothing has reality or form outside the enactment of those relations.”(John Law, 2007, P.2)

ANT is distinct in that it describes actors or actants to be both human and non-human objects. John law theorized that ANT *“describes the enactment of materially and discursively heterogeneous relations that produce and reshuffle all kinds of actors including objects, subjects, human beings, machines, animals, ‘nature’, ideas, organizations, inequalities, scale and sizes, and geographical arrangements.”*¹³³

¹³³ John Law, Actor Network Theory and Material Semiotics, Version of 25th April 2007, available at <http://www.heterogeneities.net/publications/Law2007ANTandMaterialSemiotics.pdf>, Page 2 (downloaded on 17th November 2016)

Meaning, scholars can apply the same “analytical and descriptive framework when faced with either a human, text or a machine.”¹³⁴

“An actor in ANT is a semiotic definition – an actant – that is something that acts or to which activity is granted by another...an actant can literally be anything provided it is granted to be the source of action.” (Latour 1996, p.373)

Among the components of ANT includes; ‘semiotic relationality, which is a network where the ‘elements define and shape one another’; materiality, and heterogeneity which entails diverse actants both humans and non-humans. The heterogeneous process involves:

“[...] bits and pieces from the social, the technical, the conceptual and the textual are fitted together, and so converted (or translated) into a set of equally heterogeneous scientific products. (John Law, 1992, p.381)¹³⁵

In data analysis the theory considers both the actor and network depending on the perspective. French scholar Bruno Latour in his *Dialog on Actor Network Theory with a (Somewhat) Socratic Professor*, that entails an imaginary conversation between a professor and doctoral student discussed on the importance of ANT in studying information systems:

¹³⁴ Darryl Cressman, *A Brief Overview of Actor Network Theory: Punctualization, Heterogeneous Engineering and Translation*, ACT Lab/Centre for Policy Research on Science and Technology (CPROST), School of Communication, Simon Fraser University, April 2009, Page 3

¹³⁵ John Law, Notes on the Theory of the Actor Network, Strategy and Heterogeneity, Systems Practice, May 1992, 379-393, Online Publication 25th September 2011, P.381, <http://heterogeneities.net/publications/Law1992NotesOnTheTheoryOfTheActorNetwork.pdf>

Professor: [...] it depends entirely on what you make your actors, or actants, do. Being connected, being interconnected, being heterogeneous is not enough. It all depends on the sort of action that is flowing from one to the other, hence the words ‘net’ and ‘work’.

Student: Do you mean to say that once I have shown that my actors are related in the shape of a network, I have not yet done an ANT study?

Professor: That’s exactly what I mean, ANT is more like the name of a pencil or a brush than the name of an object to be drawn or painted.

Student: But when I said ANT was a tool and asked you if it could be applied, you objected.

Professor: Because it’s not a tool. Or, rather, because tools are never ‘mere’ tools ready to be applied, they always change the goals as well. Actor Network [...] allows you to produce some effects that you would have never obtained by any other social theory. That’s all that I can vouch for. It’s a very common experience; drawing with a lead pencil or with charcoal is not the same either, cooking tarts with a gas oven is not the same as with an electric one.”(Bruno Latour, 2004, p.84).¹³⁶

¹³⁶ Bruno Latour, *A Dialog on Actor Network Theory with a (Somewhat) Socratic Professor*, Chapter 3 – On using ANT for studying information systems: a (somewhat) Socratic dialogue, 2004/02/5, Page 64, <http://www.bruno-latour.fr/sites/default/files/90-ANT-DIALOG-LSE-GB.pdf>

The ANT theory guided the study in the interaction between diplomats who are human beings in the practice of virtual diplomacy which is technology driven. John Law conjectures the case of Portuguese and its undisputed dominance in half of the globe in 15th century? Law upholds that the Portuguese achieved this feat by investing in new innovations in the shipbuilding industry that was necessary in marine exploration, Sea infrastructure was crucial in trade across the continents. John Law argued that “ships, sails, mariners, navigators, stores, spices, winds, currents, astrolabes, stars, guns, ephemerides, gifts, merchants’ drafts were all translated into a web” that held together for more than a century.”¹³⁷

John Law (1992) underscored that the bulk of communication between human beings is channeled through technological appliances, which are active participants in the communication process.

“I speak to you through text [...] and to do that, I am tapping away at a computer keyboard. At any rate, our communication with one another is mediated by a network of objects – the computer, the paper, the printing press. And it is also mediated by a network of objects and people, such as the postal system. The argument is that these various networks participate in the social. They shape it. In some measure they help to overcome your reluctance to read my text. And (most crucially) they are necessary to the social relationship between the author and the reader.” (John Law, 1992, p.382)¹³⁸

¹³⁷ Ibid page 7

¹³⁸ Ibid, P.382

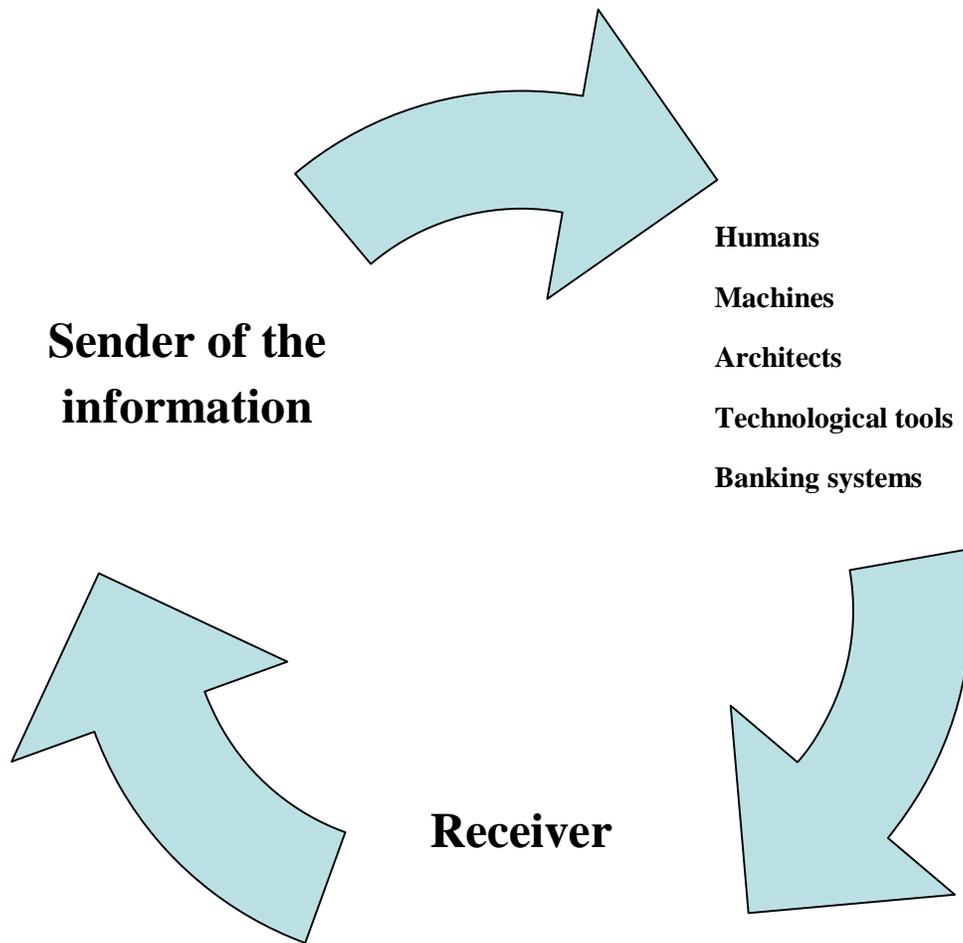


Figure 1 Heterogeneous social network of communication

The figure above underscores human elements such as communicating, writing, decision making, working among others, are accomplishment through the symbiotic interactions of the body and the environment. The process described emphasizes John Law's principle on ANT, that "an actor is also, always, a network."¹³⁹

¹³⁹ Ibid P.384

This means that, with technological advancement globally many states have adopted some elements of virtual diplomacy, although not deliberately.

Law (1992) argues that an agent, and in this case a diplomatic agent is not an agent simply because the agent is knowledgeable, with relevant skills and values.¹⁴⁰ But rather the agent's network also holds other tools for instance office environment, computers, and other machines that without these tools, it is impossible for the agent to act singularly.

The use of ANT in this study, showed that virtual diplomacy unlike traditional diplomacy, does not require a lot resources to achieve the desired results in promoting a country's national interests and when engaging with other states. The success or challenges encountered are based on the resources or lack thereof, and the method of implementation.¹⁴¹

4.3 Cyber Security

There are over three billion internet users in the world. Despite the growth on internet penetration in the globe, there is an ever increasing threat of cyber insecurity. ---With uptake of new technology in the world, states are ill equipped to deal with the influx of cyber-attacks in recent times. Internet hackers are a growing phenomenon and states and non-state actors are now developing security strategies in their interstate relations in efforts to curtail cyber-attacks that can be of the same magnitude as a military attack. Sangbae Kim, a South Korean scholar stated that, "foreign policy makers and

¹⁴⁰ Ibid P.384

¹⁴¹ Ibid P.390

international relations scholars are struggling to understand cyberspace's technological and structural characteristics, which are different from traditional security issues."¹⁴²

“Cyber security issues have largely been the domain of computer experts and specialists since the internet began as a small community where an authentication layer of code was unnecessary and the development of norms was simple. But the internet's growth changed everything. Cyberspace became not only an arena for business and social activities, but also an environment for crime, hackings and terrorism. Governments, private companies, and non-state actors are making efforts to develop indispensable capabilities for securing their resources and activities in cyber space.” (Sangbae Kim, 2014, p.324)

The 2010 Wikileaks scandal exposed the core of U.S diplomacy, by leaking confidential government communication between the American embassies abroad and the U.S State Department.

From February 2010 to September 2011 the Wikileaks organization released confidential United States Diplomatic cables. The more than 250,000 cables were shared between U.S' diplomatic missions across the world and the State Department between 1966 and 2010. Five media publications in Europe and the U.S published the cables including *The Guardian* newspaper in UK, *Le Monde* in France, *New York Times* in the U.S, *Der Spiegel* in Germany and *El Pais* in Spain.

¹⁴² Sangbae Kim, *Cyber Security and Middle Power Diplomacy: A network Perspective*, The Korean Journal of International Studies 12-2, 2014, page 324

The leaked cables threatened to affect states relations. In one of the cables dated March 2008, it revealed Chinese growing influence in Kenya, including its intelligence officials collaborating with the Kenyan counterparts in a covert way.¹⁴³

The leaks revealed that the U.S. government was not threatened by the growing influence of China in the African continent in the areas of military, security and intelligence. In the cables china was referred to as a “very aggressive and pernicious economic competitor with no morals” entrenching that China is one Africa for two main reasons; to advance its national interest in the continent and secondly, to secure African countries’ votes in the United Nations although China is a member of the UN Security Council.¹⁴⁴

One of the confidential cables dated February 23 2010 revealed the U.S Assistant Secretary Johnnie Carson was reported to have met oil secretaries in Lagos, Nigeria. He affirmed in the fight against terrorism the U.S government would open consulate in Kano in Northern Nigeria because “having no United States presence in Northern Nigeria is akin to having no presence in Egypt.”¹⁴⁵

In the wake of the cable leaks, the White House Press Secretary Robert Gibbs termed the impasse as “reckless and dangerous action” he emphasized the ripple effect on American diplomacy, “To be clear - such disclosures put at risk our diplomats, intelligence

¹⁴³ The Guardian, *US embassy cables: China providing military and intelligence gathering support to Kenya*, December 8 2010, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/us-embassy-cables-documents/249097>

¹⁴⁴ The Guardian, *US embassy cables: US monitors China and its expanding role in Africa*, December 8 2010, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/us-embassy-cables-documents/250144>

¹⁴⁵ Ibid

professionals and people around the world who come to the United States for assistance in promoting democracy and open government.”¹⁴⁶

U.S. ambassador to Germany raised concerns on the leaked cables on the reprisals on the implicated diplomats in foreign nations, saying, “The consequences are difficult to predict. It will at least be unpleasant for my government, for those who are mentioned in the reports, and for me personally as the American ambassador to Germany.”¹⁴⁷

Mutual trust is a key element that makes interstate relations to thrive. Former UK diplomat Jonathan Powell opined that, “it is very difficult to conduct diplomacy effectively when your confidential deliberations are made public in this way.”¹⁴⁸ The diplomatic leaks brought forth the new online security challenge that countries face in efforts to deliver their mandate in diplomacy of gathering and sharing information.

4.4 Vulnerability of information gathering

One of the core functions of diplomacy is gathering and processing information from the receiving state. The process involves “ascertaining by all lawful means the conditions and developments in the receiving state and reporting about them to the government of the sending state.”¹⁴⁹ The information can be source from newspapers, statistical surveys, and

¹⁴⁶ The Sydney Morning Herald, *Wikileaks releases 250,000 secret documents*, November 29 2010, <http://www.smh.com.au/technology/technology-news/wikileaks-releases-250000-secret-documents-20101128-18cmj.html>

¹⁴⁷ Dylan Welch, *US red faced as 'cablegate' sparks global diplomatic crisis, courtesy of Wikileaks*, The Sydney Morning Herald, November 29, 2010, <http://www.smh.com.au/technology/technology-news/us-redfaced-as-cablegate-sparks-global-diplomatic-crisis-courtesy-of-wikileaks-20101128-18ccl.html>

¹⁴⁸ Jonathan Powell, *US embassy cables: Leaks happen. But on this industrial scale, whose interests are served?* The Guardian, 2010, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/nov/30/us-embassy-cables-wikileaks-public-interest>

¹⁴⁹ Makumi Mwangi, *Diplomacy, Methods and Practice*, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, Nairobi, 2004, P.58

government agencies, information gathered from politicians, parliamentarians, civil society groups, religious groupings, and policy papers.

The gathered information is later processed at the diplomatic mission, the diplomatic agents distil it and submit it in report form to the sending state government. Once the government ministry in charge of foreign affairs receives it, the information is processed again.

“Processing information means not just filtering it through this process, but also giving feedback to those who gathered and processed it at the initial stages (diplomatic missions) and seeking further information and clarifications.” (Mwagiru, 2004, p.59)

4.5 Clusters of Extremism, Abuse, Xenophobia and Violence

Various observers indicated how the electronic informal networking stages, for instance, Facebook and Twitter change overall accessibility. Quite progressions do not generally make law construct improvement in light of the web. Three essential obstacles are recognized. Most importantly else, new advances draw in individuals that can breed gatherings of obsession, misuse, xenophobia and violence conveyed on different online media and channels.

Moreover, dictators and authoritarian leaders have more often restricted internet accessibility in the countries they govern. For instance, in November 2016 the Google Company exited China citing the government’s stringent censorship rules. The governments of Russia, North Korea and China have significant control over the internet

in their countries. Tyrant governments can control headways and use them to undermine social activism.

The risks of both adjusting and overseeing new technologies are as significant as not developing to innovative progressions. Various nations have encountered real repercussions from either not adjusting or not satisfactorily overseeing innovative development as of late. When there are more than two billion people with access to computer technology, the hurdles could persist for a considerable length of time to come.

The uncertainty of the changing technological innovations is critical. There are new technologies for development while others are created for cyber-attacks. There are states that have been caught off guard by cyber-attacks because they failed to monitor new technological developments.

4.6 Governance in diplomacy and international policy

Achievement of technology advance empower moment contact and along these lines make ease in overseeing tact and arranging political discourse. Alluding back to customary eighteenth or nineteenth century strategy, formal delegates needed to sit tight for quite a long time or even months to get applicable directions and strategies. All things considered, the focuses on motivation secured just the most imperative things waiting be attended to.

These days, new technological channels have supplanted obsolete types of correspondence. Authorities have ceaseless access to momentary and live systems

enabling hierarchical discourse, as well as giving global interchanges upgrading responsiveness, activity and direction.

That being said, as of now most diplomats and lawmakers utilize Twitter to cooperate with authorities, policymakers and subjects. Purported Twitplomacy has been viewed as a type of open discretion as it has been utilized by authorities as well as many residents over the globe.

Twitter has two major constructive outcomes on outside approach: First it encourages a useful trade of thoughts amongst policymakers and common society and improves representatives' capacity to accumulate data and to expect, examine, oversee, and respond to occasions. This was propagated by Giulio Terzi, the former Foreign Minister of Italy. Without a doubt, social media platform has great impact on how diplomatic agents communicate.

In addition, the U.S virtual embassy in Iran's capital city Tehran was created to offer services in the virtual space, since the U.S government does not have a physical diplomatic mission in the Middle East nation. The online embassy provides consular information, educational and cultural exchanges opportunities in the U.S. It allows discretion for Iranian nationals who are interested in studying or travelling to America.

Also the purported 'computerized strategy' has become huge in ubiquity, and this pattern is probably going to proceed. In any case, as noteworthy and impactful new dynamic correspondence channels might be, a need still exists for encouraging and fortifying authority correspondence amongst nations and worldwide substances.

There is a nonappearance of viable advanced stages that could be utilized to help with basic leadership forms between various governments. Powers frequently battle to coordinate on the most vital issues amid normal summits, formal social occasions and multilateral discussions. Basic data traded is seldom filed and converted into significant correspondence. A critical information sharing presents itself for making economical and conspicuous stages for exchange and basic leadership to improve worldwide administration and responsiveness.

4.7 Extended Roles with Limited Resources

Notwithstanding the interest for a stretched out effort to assortment of partners and local and remote open, crosswise over geological meridians and however multifaceted nature of subjects, the political administration need to organize with different services and government itself all together not to skirted in their worldwide affiliations.

“The way that political pioneers know each other well and in addition the volume, ease and speed of correspondence in the period of data innovation have brought about a circumstance where correspondence between governments as a rule happens without the mediation and frequently even the information of the consulates.” (Ambassador Paschke, 2000)

So as to build up trust in its administration, remote service in result needs to:

"Take an all-encompassing perspective of the sectoral issues that are taken care of by individual ministries, and assemble the conciliatory hardware abroad that is at its direct command to convey fundamental esteem to these household accomplices"

The developing scope of suspicions is, be that as it may, went up against with substantial budgetary shortages that remote services are confronting, which reflects to a great extent through cut back staff particularly in creating nations. In many states, the embassies continue to face staffing challenges making it difficult to deliver on the assigned mandate.

Consigning number of effort errands to central station through virtual representation apparatuses – including virtual international safe havens – is one method for crossing over any barrier between developing solicitations and contracting assets.

"The financial requirements confronted by most government foreign ministries further support the utilization of IT, as it implies reserve funds as far as both time and funds"

In the case of Kenya, in the 2009/2010 financial year, Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) stated that the government had saved more than Ksh 600 million after recalling some categories of envoys including press attachés and trade attachés. Low cadre Kenyans serving as drivers, security officers and cooks in Kenyan embassies abroad were also recalled.¹⁵⁰ The job groups have since been designated to nationals or Kenyans residing in the receiving state.

In 2012, the Kenyan government announced plans to further downsize the high number of staff in the country's diplomatic missions abroad, in efforts to cut down costs of recurrent expenditure.

¹⁵⁰Victor Juma, Business Daily, October 29 2012, *Kenya Turns to Foreigners in Shift to Economic Diplomacy*, <http://www.businessdailyafrica.com/Corporate+News/Kenya+turns+to+foreigners+in+shift+to+economic+diplomacy+/-/539550/1606462/-/uoxlr0/-/index.html>

Kenyan diplomats earn at least Ksh one million per month, which computes to Ksh 12 million per year. If the country deployed ambassadors in all the 193 states, the country would incur costs of not less than Ksh 200 million on basic salaries of ambassadors alone.

In January 2013, parliament's Defence and Foreign Relations Committee indicated that MFA received Ksh 8.3 billion every year from the National Treasury to spend on recurring expenditure. Embassies in Europe used at least Ksh 100 million annually for rent arrears for ambassadors and envoys' accommodation.

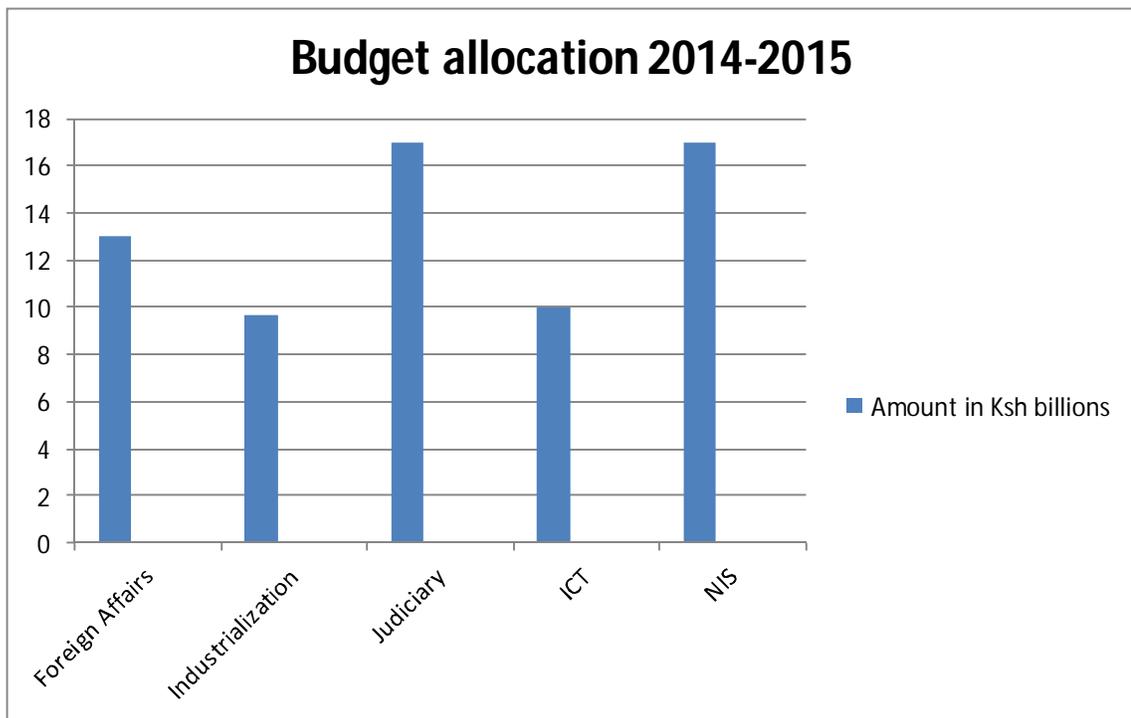


Figure 2: 2014-2015 budget allocation on various ministries SOURCE: Kenya National Treasury

The 2014-2015 financial year budget was Ksh 1.8 trillion, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs received Ksh 13 billion, which translated to 0.71% of the total budget. The Judiciary received Ksh 17 billion. Industrialization ministry was allocated Ksh 9.7 billion, ICT ministry Ksh 10 billion and the National Intelligence Service (NIS) received Ksh17 billion.

The funds received by the Foreign Affairs ministry were mainly to facilitate the recurring expenditure, including Kenya's diplomatic missions abroad.

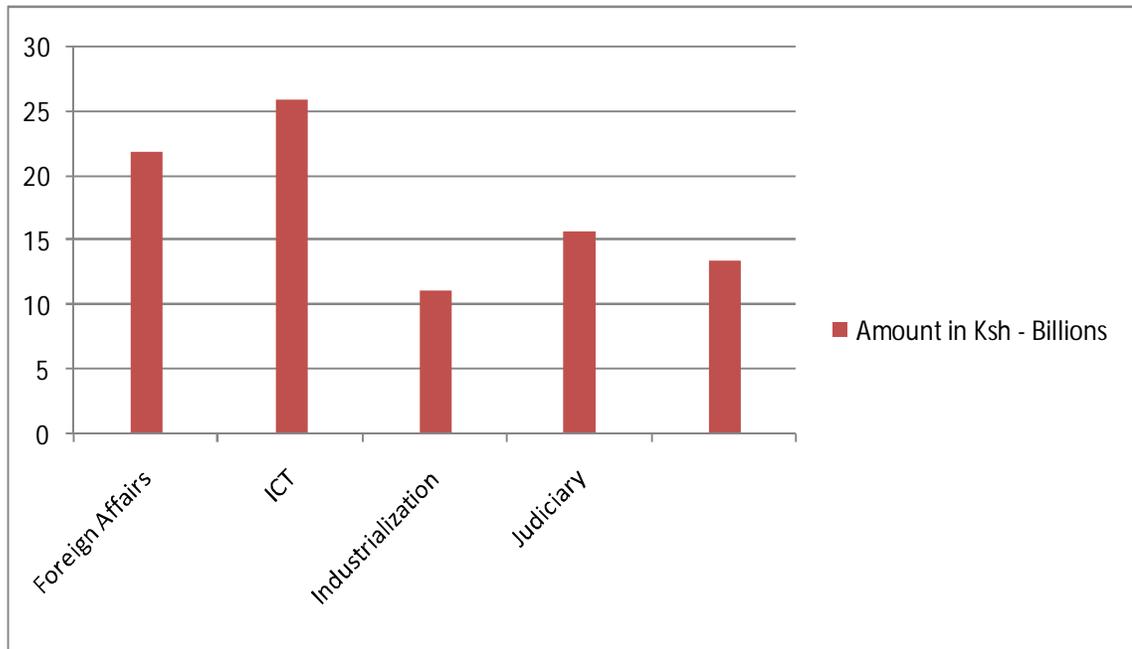


Figure 3: The 2016-2017 Budget allocation for ministries and programmes

In the 2.3 trillion 2016 – 2017 budget, MFA received Ksh 21.9 billion, a Ksh8.9 billion increase from the previous year. The ICT ministry received Ksh 25.9 billion, Industrialization Ksh11.2 billion, judiciary Ksh 15.8 billion and the free primary education programme was allocated 13.4 billion.

Increased funding in the ICT ministry and close collaboration with the MFA may well be instrumental in the adoption and implementation of virtual diplomatic practice by the country.

The USA has the highest number of diplomatic missions abroad at 126. Coming second is Africa’s largest economy, South Africa with 122 diplomatic missions. In 2015, South Africa’s National Treasury raised concerns on the high cost of maintaining embassies and its personnel abroad. In the 2014/2015 financial year, the South African government spent ZAR 3.2 billion on its diplomatic missions abroad. Government pundits proposed

measures of cutting costs and achieve more with less.¹⁵¹ There was a public uproar on the large amount of public funds spent in the country's diplomatic missions, which still garnered minimal returns.

4.8 Consular Affairs

With rapid broad strategy and section of ICT – PDAs at first – work environments have extended effective gadget for quick response with emergencies association in calamity conditions, for example, political emergencies, fear based psychological militant assaults, wave of strikes. Favorable and encompassing data association is place for achievement of any response in such cases.

Having, figuratively speaking, strong crucial telecom foundation which draws in unobtrusively proceeding with access to general trades and data for the amount of residents in the imperiled area, office can interface their nationals to urge them what to do and ask for their condition, of course it can finish incomprehensible contacts inside covertly made systems – particularly the non-government affiliations which are, by attempted and genuine control, especially related and beneficial in such conditions and can help with beating dialect limits . While cell phones may stall out as a consequence of over-weight of the system movements (base stations, twitter and SNP associations remain operational in light of in a general sense augmented improvement over Internet and their telecom dealing with nature, which makes such shows interface on spotlights on more totally. In 2005, after the a terror attack in London, UK, the "VoIP office Voice-over-IP Internet-based organization was the essential means for a couple of families to get any

¹⁵¹ Gareth Van Onselen, Sunday Times, *SA's Spends R 3.2 billion a year on Diplomatic Missions*, November 15 2015, <http://www.timeslive.co.za/sundaytimes/stnews/2015/11/15/SAs-spends-R3.2-billion-a-year-on-diplomatic-missions>

sort of news direct from the Malta High Commission in London" . This showed visual tact in the time of innovation progression would work effectively.

Additionally, an anticipated ICT-bolstered hot-line of the occupant office with most lifted power in the nation of source ought to be guaranteed so that even important choices can be taken quickly. Inhabitants in associations remain a basic assignment whose store has broadened moreover as an aftereffect of high improvements. Interest for issuing upgraded varieties of individual and vacationer records, for example, biometric all inclusive IDs and chip-orchestrated ID cards, besides giving force reports and disclosures to nationals living abroad ought to be tended to with high gage of association and inside sensible dealing with time.

4.8.1 Multilateral Environment

The Multilateral environment is evolving in the era of globalization. The dissemination of influence by multi-polar actors reveals the intricacies of working environment by Intergovernmental Organizations, for instance African Union, World Trade Organization, International Monetary Fund, Interpol, among others. The groupings have increased in number due to the need of collaborations in interstate relations. There is also the involvement of non-state entities in contributing to the internet diplomatic communication exchanges during the diplomatic correspondence, making the deliberations more fruitful.

In order for a state to gain maximum success in advancing its national interests, it is required to actively participate in multilateral channels. The U.K's former Foreign Office Officer, Mark Malloch Brown observed that, his government's capacity to have impact

during the 2003 Iraq war, was based on U.K's capability to engage with Washington, the EU and the UN. He however stated that there is bureaucracy in multilateralism as opposed to a state unilaterally making a decision.

In the area of summit diplomacy, the conference can incorporate delegates to participate in the meeting deliberations through video links, applications portals specially designed for the conference. The participants can also make presentations and in some instances vote for or against the meeting resolutions. For example, the annual UN General Assembly brings together heads of government and other non-state actors who ensure their voice is heard by either attending the conference venue in New York, U.S.A or by making their statements in the virtual space.

4.8.2 Challenges in Interpersonal Relations

For a diplomat to be effective, he or she should be an exceptional communicator. The verbal and non-verbal communication is important in conveying information and receiving feedback from the other party.

The challenge of online communication is the lack of interpersonal communication that is more likely to thaw frosty relations by breaking the ice, since the communicator can observe if the other party is receptive of the information or unreceptive to the information and aloof to the subject. Sometimes virtual correspondence can lead to miscommunication and wrong perceptions developed by the parties.

The power of face to face deliberations is further reinforced by Kurbalija, Jovan, (2002) observed that an arbitrator usually has the best perception of the information presented,

the expected intrigue gather and the setting of information in association with the organization's game plans and objectives.

Moreover, conciliatory position has legitimate and political centrality, and is used for vital hailing and exchange of remarks. These concentrations make political talk excessively basic, making it impossible to be in any capacity left in hands of originators or particular powers

4.9 Challenges of Virtual Diplomacy

The adoption of virtual diplomacy in interstate relations does not come without challenges. The manner that governments conduct their affairs leads to bureaucracy. New policies take time and a lot of time to plan and implement.

Virtual diplomacy requires new technology uptake of new technology in the affairs of government. The bureaucratic process of procuring, implementing and monitoring on how the online data systems are working for the government are very structured. They often don't allow for flexibility to address arising problems without seeking clearance from the authorities, a situation that cause the problem to linger.

There is also the human resource challenge that arises from lack of adequately trained staff in the management of virtual diplomacy. The internet community keeps evolving and new application tools are invented every other day.

The question is if states are able to keep up the momentum of having well trained personnel in the implementation of virtual diplomacy. It is important to note that more practical IT skills are required as compared to academic papers.

Unlike the old diplomacy, virtual diplomacy is not a preserve of state actors only. Online diplomacy has brought about the decline of a state's power. It has demystified the conduct of diplomacy, for the reason that the government lacks controls on how the information is relayed to the public.

It has brought the rising influence of non-state actors. Today, in a globalized world the non-state entities are the main drivers of information. For instance, governments were not able to control the spread of the Arab spring in North Africa and the Middle East countries, which was fuelled in social media platforms.

Also, a state cannot engage in environmental matters without collaborating with leading environmental organizations such as the Greenpeace International, and multinationals that advocate for environment conservation.

In addition, virtual diplomacy curtails the diplomatic function of negotiations, for the lack of face to face communication. The role of negotiations and persuasion is paramount in diplomatic practice for instance in resolving European immigration crisis heads of government in Europe meet regularly to reach a consensus on how to mitigate the crisis.

Traditional diplomatic agents are still essential in negotiating and following up on the implementation of bilateral and multilateral agreements and mediating conflict between warring communities.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

The study established that virtual diplomacy influences interstate relations. The study indicated that special missions are very useful in enabling states to cut the expenses that would be incurred when running physical diplomatic missions in all foreign nations a country has interests. Kenya is a leading ICT hub in the continent, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs can tap into the available globally competitive technological innovations that would improve its diplomacy and inter-state relations.

The study revealed that there limited data on the use of virtual diplomacy in Kenya and other developing countries especially in Africa. No state has achieved 100% representation in all countries. Adoption of virtual diplomacy would bridge the gap in carrying out the functions of diplomacy for states.

This study shows that with the exception of few developed countries, virtual diplomacy has not been embraced by many countries. In Africa, all the 54 states are ranked as either developing countries or poor countries. Virtual diplomacy is a model that would advance the foreign policy of these countries and make them globally competitive just like the developed countries.

Diplomatic missions can be resident or non-resident. Resident ambassadors have physical presence in the receiving state. Non-resident diplomatic missions arise from multiple accreditation of an ambassador to promote relations between the sending state and several other states. This may not be practical for many countries because of limited resources,

and developing countries like Kenya can explore areas where they can establish virtual embassies that would advance the country's national interests.

Although the adoption of visual diplomacy is cost effective and convenient to operate, it lacks the aspect of interpersonal communication, for instance face to face communication and non-verbal cues. Its use is also limiting in the diplomatic function of negotiation.

5.2 Conclusion

Embassies are vital for advancing a country's national interest and gathering information and implementing the government's foreign policy decisions in the receiving state. Although nations cannot do away with traditional diplomatic practice of maintaining physical diplomatic missions in key states, Virtual diplomacy will bridge the gap in the effective use of diplomacy in interstate relations, notwithstanding the emerging challenges of cyber security.

The need to promote relationship among developing countries could not be disengaged from the advancing influence of advanced technology. The advance of computerized unrest over the globe has presented new thinking in the relationship among comity of countries. This raises critical issues on importance of virtual diplomacy as new tool for country to country commitment. The dominance of advanced technology in virtual diplomacy will promote relations among states, global organization, global foundations and open up global networks and communication.

The study concluded that globally, states are now in competition with each other to attract foreign direct investments, gain market access for their multinational companies (MNCs). Diplomatic missions are important in advancing these interests. However it's

not economically viable to set up embassies in all countries, for the move would require increased budget allocation to cater for the staffing and maintenance of the mission.

There are various features that contribute to the developments of diplomacy coming from the increasing role of non-state actors in foreign policy making process.

The option of having non-resident ambassadors to narrow the gap is not practical. Because a non-resident ambassador is still required to move from one work station, an action that will still incur more financial costs.

Internet offers low-cost form of diplomacy, by offering information and the online ambassadors executing their diplomatic functions in the online cyber embassies. They can easily substitute for physical embassies that are making minimal impact.

The management of virtual representation can be done from the ministry of foreign affairs' head office or in other existing diplomatic missions.

The study identified the various challenges encountered in the use of virtual diplomacy. Innovative technological skills will be required to guarantee a successful virtual embassy.

5.3 Recommendations

The adoption of virtual diplomacy in interstate relations is an opportunity for the enhancement of interstate relations.

5.3.1 Policy formulation

Governments should develop policy on the adoption of virtual diplomacy in the practice diplomacy in the country. If need be legislation can be done through the parliament to

ensure that virtual embassies are legal entities that have capacity to conduct the full functions of diplomacy just like physical diplomatic missions.

The policies should reflect on the evolving and changing nature of technology, and the government should remove the bureaucracies and adapt quickly to new technology in the practice of virtual diplomacy.

It is imperative for the policy to include input and collaboration with the private sector and non-state actors. It should be replicated in other government agencies and ministries, since in case of a cyber-attack all the arms of government would respond accordingly.

5.3.2 Resource allocation

Virtual diplomacy requires various resources and there needs to be adequate budget allocation by government. The latest computer hardware and up-to-date software products are a prerequisite for a successful operationalization of a virtual embassy.

The private sector is the driver of technological innovations in Kenya, there is need for collaboration between the government and the private sector in innovations of computer applications to be used in virtual diplomacy.

The ministry of foreign affairs should conduct periodic modernization of all diplomatic missions to secure the integrity of cyber diplomacy.

5.3.3 Personnel training

The success of virtual diplomacy is dependent on application of the latest technology by highly trained diplomatic staff. The diplomatic agents should be trained on a regular basis since technology keeps evolving.

The curriculum at training institutions like the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) should be overhauled to include training on the use and implementation of virtual diplomacy.

Cooperation with other government agencies and ministries, for instance the ministry in charge of Information and Communication Technologies should be streamlined to ensure the adoption of best ICT practices in virtual diplomacy.

5.3.4 Develop a cyber-security strategy

The advancement of technology has brought global interconnectivity, however today the threats of cyber-crime can be adverse just like a terrorist attack or invasion of a country. States through the ministry of foreign affairs should develop a cyber-security strategy that should be reviewed periodically due to the ever increasing and changing nature of attacks. The 2010 U.S diplomatic cables' leak damaged America's reputation abroad and breached trust from former allies.

The strategy should be designed to mitigate vulnerability of confidential data and information on diplomatic correspondence, which could threaten the reputation of the country in the global stage.

States can partner and cooperate with neighbouring countries, or with other states that share common interests in the cyber security strategy. Regional organizations such as the African Union (AU), East Africa Community (EAC), and South African Development Community (SADC) among others should develop and adopt cyber security strategies to neutralize rising threats and vulnerabilities.

REFERENCES

- Alexander George, *Forceful Persuasion: Coercive Diplomacy as an Alternative to War*, United States Institute of Peace Press, Washington DC, 1991
- Alexander L. George and William E. Simons, *The Limits of Coercive Diplomacy*, 2nd ed, Boulder Col. Westview, 1994
- Alfred Marleku, *National Interest and Foreign Policy: The Case of Kosovo*, Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences, Vol 4 No, 3 September 2013, MCSER Publishing, Rome-Italy
- Andrew F. Cooper, Jorge Heine, and Ramesh Thakur, *Introduction: The Challenges of 21st-Century Diplomacy*, Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy, August 2013.
- Andrew Fenton Cooper, Jorge Heine, Ramesh Chandra Thakur, *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, U.K, 2013.
- AsangaAbeyagoonasekera and ThilankaRanasinghe, *ICT for Diplomacy in the 21 Century Information Society* April 2012.
- Brett Daniel Shehadey, *A revolution in Digital Diplomacy*, May 16, 2013.
- Brian Hocking and Donna Leeb, *The Diplomacy of Proximity and Specialness: Enhancing Canada's Representation in the United States*, The Hague Journal of Diplomacy 1, MartinusNijhoff Publishers, 2006, 29-52
- Charles Chatterjee, *International Law and Diplomacy*, Routledge, London, 2010
- Conflict Research Consortium, *Coercive Diplomacy*, International Online Training Program on Intractable Conflict, University of Colorado, USA, <http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/treatment/coercdip.htm>.
- Daily Nation, Kenya Declares War in Al Shabab, October 15 2011, <http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Kenya-declares-war-on-Al-Shabaab/1056-1255736-9x7xlbz/index.html>.
- Daily Nation, *Varsity in deal to train envoys*, Daily Nation August 24 2015, <http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Varsity-in-deal-to-train-envoys/1056-2845054-vdwfjkz/index.html>.
- Diana Chigas, *Track II (Citizen Diplomacy)*, Conflict Information Consortium, University of Colorado, August 2003, <http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/track2-diplomacy>.
- DiploFoundation, *Maldives Unveils World's First Virtual Embassy*, May 22 2007, <http://textus.diplomacy.edu/videovault/secondlife.asp>.

- Diplomacy: Meaning, Nature, Functions and Role in Crisis Management, <http://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/international-politics/diplomacy-meaning-nature-functions-and-role-in-crisis-management/48491/>
- Dr Luis Ritto, *Diplomacy and Its Practice V: Digital Diplomacy*, August 4 2014, The International School of Protocol and Diplomacy.
- Dr. Sabu Thomas and Dr. G. Sadanandan, *International Politics (Year II)*, School of Distance Education, University of Calicut, Paper VII, 2013, Page 5
- Eric Neumayer, *Research Papers in Environmental and Spatial Analysis No. 122, Geography, Power and Ideology: Diplomatic Representation in a Spatial, Unequal and Divided World*, The London School of Economics and Political Science, July 2007, <http://www.lse.ac.uk/geographyAndEnvironment/research/Researchpapers/122%20EN.pdf>
- Felix Olick, *Are Ruto and Uhuru tussling over envoy postings?* The Star Newspaper, April 13 2016, http://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2016/04/13/are-ruto-and-uhuru-tussling-over-envoy-postings_c1331007
- Gordon S. Smith, *Driving Diplomacy into Cyber Space*, The World Today, Royal Institute of International Affairs, Vol. 53, No. 6, June 1997, Page 156-158
- Gordon Smith, *The Challenge of Virtual Diplomacy*, United States Institute of Peace, https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/challenge_virtual_diplomacy_vdi.pdf
- Hans J. Morgenthau, “*What Is the National Interest of the United States?*” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 282, no. 1 (1952)
- Hans J. Morgenthau, *In Defence of the National Interest*, Vol. 14, No. 1, Feb 1952
- Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, 4th edition, 1966, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf)
- Harold Nicolson, *Diplomacy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, Third Edition, 1968
- HasarelGallage, *Evaluation of National Power as an Important Aspect for both Powerful and Micro States*, University of Kenlaniya, 2012
- Holly Sklar (Ed), *Trilateralism: The Trilateral Commission and Elite Planning for World Management*, South End Press, 1980
- <http://cms.gcg11.ac.in/attachments/article/259/NATIONAL%20POWER.pdf>
- <http://lifeboat.com/ex/web3.0>.
- http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/sites/uscpublicdiplomacy.org/files/useruploads/u25898/Digital_Diplomacy_Bibliography_2014_CLI-CPD.pdf

<http://www.cc.gatech.edu/~tpilsch/INTA4803TP/Articles/Elements%20of%20National%20Power.pdf>

<http://www.internationalpolicydigest.org/2013/05/16/a-revolution-in-digital-diplomacy/>

http://www.kadrigamarinstitute.lk/research/Paper%20ICT%20for%20Diplomacy_April%202012.pdf

<http://www.mfa.go.ke/downloads/Strategic%20Plan%20final.pdf>

http://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/18/magazine/18web2-0-t.html?_r=0

<https://agoa.info/about-agoa.html>

<https://ict4dblog.wordpress.com/tag/ict4d-theory/>

Ikishan S. Rana and Bipul Chatterjee, Introduction: The role of Embassies
<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.321.2235&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

Ilario Shettino, *Is Coercive Diplomacy a Viable Means Political Objectives*, June 29 2009
<http://www.e-ir.info/2009/06/29/is-coercive-diplomacy-a-viable-means-to-achieve-political-objectives/>

J. Peter Pham, *What Is in the National Interest? Hans Morgenthau's Realist Vision and American Foreign Policy*, American Foreign Policy Interests, 2008, Page 258,
<http://www.jmu.edu/nelsoninstitute/National%20Interest.pdf>

Jack S. Levy, *Deterrence and Coercive Diplomacy: The Contributions of Alexander George*, Rutgers University, Political Psychology, Vol. 29, No. 4, 2008

Jesse Lichtenstein, *Digital Diplomacy*, The New York Times Magazine, July 16 2010

John R. Mills, *'All Elements of National Power': Re-Organizing the Interagency Structure and Process for Victory in the Long War*, Strategic Insights, Volume V, Issue 6 (July 2006)

Kenya Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *Strategic Plan 2013/2014 - 2017/2018*, <http://www.mfa.go.ke/downloads/Strategic%20Plan%20final.pdf>

Makumi Mwangi, *Diplomacy, Methods and Practice*, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, Nairobi, 2004.

Michael G. Roskin, National Interest: From Abstraction to Strategy, May 20, 1994

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Strategic Plan 2013/2014 – 2017/2018, <http://www.mfa.go.ke/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Strategic%20Plan%20final.pdf>

Nova Spivack, *Web 3.0 the third generation web is coming*, Life boat foundation,

- Odeen Ishmael, *Notes on Diplomatic Practice: Diplomatic Relations and Sovereignty*, March 16, 2013, <https://odeenishmaeldiplomacy.wordpress.com/2013/03/16/21-diplomatic-relations-and-sovereignty/>
- Odeen Ishmael, *Notes on Diplomatic Practice: The Forms of Diplomacy*, Jan 14 2013, <http://odeenishmaeldiplomacy.wordpress.com>
- Office of the Press Secretary, Message to the Congress – Notification to the Congress on AGOA Program Change, The White House, October 30, 2015, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/10/30/message-congress-notification-congress-agoa-program-change>
- Olesya M Grech, *Virtual Diplomacy: Diplomacy of the Digital Age*, August 2006
- P.B. Rathod, *Diplomacy (Theory and Practice)*, ABD Publishers, India, 2004
- Patrick C. Bratton, *When is Coercion Successful? And Why Can't We Agree on It?* Naval War College Review, November 21 2012
- PeuGhosh, *International Relations*, 3rd Edition, New Delhi, 2013
- PoladMuradli, What is Coercive Diplomacy? June 16, 2016, <http://thepoliticon.net/What-is-coercive-diplomacy.htm>
- PrableenBajpai, The World's Top 10 Economies, Updated July 18, 2016, <http://www.investopedia.com/articles/investing/022415/worlds-top-10-economies.asp>
- RaduCucos, *Virtual Diplomacy – a new way of conducting international affairs?*13th November 2012, <http://blogs.worldbank.org/ic4d/virtual-diplomacy-a-new-way-of-conducting-international-affairs>
- Reed J. Fendrick, *U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Policy and Strategy*, Chapter 13 - Diplomacy as an Instrument of National Power, Diane Publishing, June 2006
- Richard Heeks, *Using Actor Network Theory in ICT4D Research*, July 30 2011,
- Richard Rousseau, *From Ancient Greek Diplomacy to Modern Summitry*, September 20, 2011, *Diplomatic Courier*, <http://www.diplomaticcourier.com/2011/09/20/from-ancient-greek-diplomacy-to-modern-summitry/>
- Ronald Peter Bartson, *Modern Diplomacy*, 1988, Longman.
- Satow, Ernest Mason, *Satow's Guide to Diplomatic Practice*, 5th Edition, Ed. By Lord Gore-Booth, 1979.

- Sheryl J. Brown & Margarite S. Studemeister, *Virtual Diplomacy: Rethinking Foreign Policy Practice in the Information Age*, August 2001, An International Journal, Vol.7 2001.
- Small M and Singer J D, *The diplomatic importance of states, 1816-1970: an extension and refinement of the indicator World Politics*
- Susan Allen Nan, *Track 1 Diplomacy*, Conflict Information Consortium, University of Colorado, June 2003, <http://www.behondintractability.org/essay/track1-diplomacy>
- Tang Mun-Kwong, *The Roles of Diplomacy and Deterrence in the 21st Century*, Journal V27 N1 (Jan – Mar 2001).
- The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy, Print Publication Date: Mar 2013, Online Publication Date: Aug 2013.
- United Nations, Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (VCDR), 1961
- Victoria Nuland, Virtual Embassy Tehran, December 6, 2011, <http://m.state.gov/md178343.htm>.
- Virtual Embassy of the United States in Tehran - Iran, <http://iran.usembassy.gov/>
- Younes El Ghazi, *Smart Diplomacy and the Future of Diplomatic Undertaking*, *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, November 6 2015, <http://journal.georgetown.edu/smart-diplomacy-and-the-future-of-diplomatic-undertaking/>
- Baldi, S. (. The Internet and diplomats of the twenty first century. In: J Kurbalija (eds). *Modern Diplomacy*. Malta: DiploPublishing. (1998)
- Bergman, M.K. . White paper: the deep web: surfacing hidden value. 2001. *Journal of Electronic Publishing, University of Michigan* .
- Berridge, G.R. et al. *Diplomatic theory from Machiavelli to Kissinger*. Basingstoke: Palgrave. (2001).
- Berridge, G.R. *Diplomacy: theory and practice*. Basingstoke: Palgrave. 2002).
- Briggs, L. Chapter 1: A passion for policy. *A passion for policy: Essays in public sector reform, 2005*
- Catania, A. (2009). The use of ICT and the Internet in the diplomatic service. *Presented at the 2009 international meeting “Modern Diplomacy for Small States” held in Malta*.
- Falk, R. (2008). The waning of the state and the waxing of cyberworld. In: Journal of Kurbalija (eds).

- Feketekuty, G. (2004). *A Practical guide to negotiations, macroeconomic an policy* (2007). (2007). *cy assessment skills paper, Module 8* [online]. Washington, DC: World Bank Institute.
- Rana and J. Kurbalija (eds.). *Foreign ministries: managing diplomatic networks and optimizing value*. Msida: DiploFoundation, pp. 212-224. 2011
- Hemery, J. Innovations in diplomatic training. In: K. Rana and J. Kurbalija (eds.). *Foreign ministries: managing diplomatic networks and optimizing value*. (2007).
- Klinkenborg, V. (2003). Trying to measure the amount of information that humans create. *The New York Times* [online]. 12 November 2003.
- Kummer, M. Diplomatic services and emerging multidisciplinary issues, such as Internet governance. 2007
- Rana, K. and Kurbalija J. (eds.). *Foreign ministries: managing diplomatic networks and optimizing value*. Msida: DiploFoundation, pp. 180-185.
- Kurbalija, Jovan. *The evolution of diplomacy and technology*, 2005(Unpublished work in progress, DiploFoundation).
- Kurbalija, J. *An introduction to Internet governance*. Malta: DiploFoundation. 2009).
- Lane, A. Diplomacy today: delivering results in a world of changing priorities. *Report from 2005 Wilton Park Conference WPS05/4*, (2005).
- Nye, J. *Soft power: the means to success in world politics*. New York: Public Affairs (member of Perseus Book Group). 2004).
- Oates, S. et al. *The Internet and politics: citizens, voters and activists*. New York: Routledge. (2006).
- O'Mahony, P. Sweden trumped by Maldives in Second Life. *The Local* [Sweden] 22 May 2007.
- O'Keefe, J. Transformational diplomacy. In: K. Rana and J. Kurbalija (eds.). *Foreign ministries: managing diplomatic networks and optimizing value*. Msida: DiploFoundation, pp.55-59. 2007
- Paschke, K. T. (2007). Public diplomacy. In: K. Rana and J. Kurbalija (eds.). *Foreign ministries: managing diplomatic networks and optimizing value*. Msida: DiploFoundation, pp. 207-211.

- Prensky, M. Digital natives, digital immigrants. *On the Horizon, MCB University Press, Vol. 9 No. 5*.2001
- Rana, K. Modernising the Delivery System for Foreign Policy. *Busines Standard*. (2000).
- Rana K. *Bilateral diplomacy*. Malta: DiploProjects. (2002).
- Rana, K. . Foreign ministries: change and reform. *Working paper presented at the 2005 International Conference “Challenges for Foreign Ministries: Managing Diplomatic Networks and Optimising Value” held in Geneva*. 2010].
- Rana, K. MFA reform – global trends. In: K. Rana and J. Kurbalija (eds.). *Foreign ministries: managing diplomatic networks and optimizing value*. Msida: DiploFoundation, pp. 20-43. 2007
- Rimkunas, A. The modernization of the Lithuanian consular service I response to global challenges. (2007).
- Rana, K. and Kurbalija, J. (eds.). *Foreign ministries: managing diplomatic networks and optimizing value*. Msida: DiploFoundation, pp. 186-191.2009
- Scott, B. Whose story wins? Relevance theory and public diplomacy. *Proceedings of the 2006 annual meeting of the International Studies Association held at the Town & Country Resort and Convention Center, San Diego, California, USA* (2006).
- Solana, J. The sound of Europe. *Speech delivered at the 2006 Conference “The Sound of Europe” held in Salzburg*, (2006). .
- Stein, R. Building a professional foreign service. *Report presented at the 2005 33rd Meeting of Deans and Directors of Diplomatic Academies and Institutes of International Relations held in Chile*. (2005).
- Stephens, H. Uncle Sam's blog. *Boston Globe* [online] 14 March 2005.
- TechCrunch. (2009). *YouTube video streams top 1.2 billion/day*. Trigona, A.S Paradise lost: regaining paradise. *Working paper presented at the* (2007).
International Conference “Foreign Ministries: Adaptation to a Changing World” held in Bangkok
- Tscharner, B. Switzerland’s agreement with the European Union: how to manage complex international negotiations. In: K. Rana and J. Kurbalija (eds.). *Foreign ministries: managing diplomatic networks and optimizing value*. Msida: DiploFoundation, pp. 159-165. (2007).

Walters, B. . Obama on auto execs' private jets: „A little tone deaf“. *ABC News* 25 November 2008.

Weimann, G. *Terror on the Internet: the new arena, the new challenges*. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace. (2006).

Whitney, L. (2010). Average Net user now online 13 hours per week. *CNET News* December 2009. Available from: http://news.cnet.com/8301-1023_3-10421016-93.html [Accessed: 20 May 2010].