

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**PUBLIC DIPLOMACY: THE ADVENT OF POLYLATERALISM**

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## DECLARATION

This is to declare that, I, Abraham Keat Bichok have done this research paper, and that this piece of work is the work of my own hand; it has never been in whole or in part been presented for the award of a degree in any university.

Signature .....

Date.....

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**R51/69139/2013**

This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as university supervisor.

Signature .....

Date.....

**Martin Nguru**

## **DEDICATION**

To my dear maternal uncle Peter Agok Gatluak (Monygok), who took up the responsibility of my upbringing. May Almighty God bless him abundantly with good health.

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The completion of this thesis would not be possible without the material and moral support from various people. First of all, I thank the Almighty God for giving me good health, and guiding me through the entire course. Secondly, I am greatly indebted to Mr. Martin Nguru, my supervisor, for his effective supervision, dedication, availability and professional advice. I extend my gratitude to my lecturers who taught me, therefore enriching my research with the learnt knowledge.

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## **ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

ACP:	African, Caribbean and Pacific
ASEAN:	Association of Eastern Asian Nations
AU:	African Union
AUPSC:	African Union's Peace and Security Council
CBO:	Community-Based Organizations
CEPO:	Community Empowerment Progress Organization
CIG:	Crisis International Group
CPA:	Comprehensive Peace Agreement (of Sudan 2005)
EU:	European Union
FBO:	Faith –Based Organizations
FIFA:	Federation of International Foot Ball Associations.
GHG:	Green Houses Gas
GNP:	Grand National Produce
GOS:	Government of Sudan
GOSS:	Government of Southern Sudan
ICC:	International Criminal Court
ICRC:	International Committee of the Red Cross
ICT:	Information and Communication Technology
IDIS:	Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (University of Nairobi)]
IGAD:	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
IGOS:	Inter-governmental Organizations

INGO: International Non-Governmental Organizations

IROL: International Rule Of Law.

ISIL: Islamic State in Iraq and Levant

MNC: Multi-National Corporations

NATO: North Atlantic Trade Organization

NGOS: Non-Governmental Organizations

NSA: Non-State Actors

SPLA: Sudan People's Liberation Army.

SPLM: Sudan People's Liberation Movement

SPLM-IO: Sudan People's Liberation Movement in Oppositions.

UK: United Kingdom

UN: United Nations

UNISA: University of South Africa.

UNON: United Nations Office in Nairobi.

US: United States

USIA: United State Intelligence Agency.

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## ABSTRACT

This research is about the advent of a new mode of diplomacy known as Polyilateral Diplomacy that would come to strengthen partnership among the various actors in the international stage. This work is organized into five chapters each addressing a distinct part of the work.

Chapter One is about the Research Proposal, which includes introduction, statement of the research problem, objectives, justification of the study, research questions (Hypotheses) Methodology and conceptual framework. Chapter Two is all about the review of the related literature. Chapter Three is about the primary data collection and collation; population and sample of the research. The main research question is how would the traditional actors in diplomacy respond to the emergence of new actors in the international stage? The research conceptual framework is anchored on the constructivist theory which leans towards the reform of the international system for a better global partnership. Chapter four analyzes and presents the data collected from both the primary and secondary data, and Chapter five deals with the Summary, Conclusion and recommendations of the research for the prospects of diplomacy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.

Finally, the world of today is a world of global politics, global economy, global security, and global environment; therefore, the world tendency is gearing towards a global approach to all global issues and many other more which need a global forum. This concept for global approach could adequately be addressed through an established global mechanism; this is where the *Polyilateral Diplomacy* is recommended as international relations' mode of the current time.

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

### 1.1: Introduction

Based on its modern history, and precisely on the onset of the twenty Century, the formal practice of diplomacy began to shape and it was mainly characterized by bilateral type of diplomatic relations that was mainly restricted between sovereign states and principle of relations itself was largely guided by a confidentiality of ethics in both communication and negotiations . The period before the 20<sup>th</sup> century witnessed the transformation of diplomacy by introducing bilateral mode of diplomacy, while the twenty century had its part in bringing about multilateral diplomacy; so in turn, the twenty-first century is also here to witness a birth of a newer mode of diplomacy, which is *Polylateral Diplomacy*.<sup>1</sup>

About a decade ago or so, Geoffrey Wiseman (2004) predicted emergence of a new trend in the field of diplomacy-Polylateral Diplomacy. This development, according to Wiseman was due to the practice of diplomacy itself by many non-traditional actors famously known as Non- State Actors which are so influential in term of economic, social advocacy, pressure and efficacy.

These, coupled with other challenges brought about by the revolution in the information technology in the name of globalization. In the wake of this development in the international milieu, there is a great need and challenge as well, as to how these new powerful actors in the international stage can be treated as to tap their potential for the benefit of diplomacy and the international relations as well as to anchor their role in the international system including the legal framework thereof.

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<sup>1</sup> Polyilateral diplomacy is a kind of diplomacy in which a formal reporting and communication exist between state actors, group of state acting together and one entity is a non-state actor.

The omnipresence of the Non-State Actors in the diplomatic scene is calling for restructuring of international system to incorporate these new actors for their already felt influential role in many aspects of life.

## **1.2 Statement of the Research Problem**

Due to the great development that the world is witnessing and continues to witness especially in the areas of globalization, interdependence and emergence of powerful civil society in the international stage, there is a great need to restructure the international system to create a room for the said powerful and effective Non- State Actors to have a say and deed in the international affairs, that may improve needed global dialogue.

Traditional actors, the states which are dominating the international stage are enjoying a large volume of power with unproportionate degree of corresponding responsibility in term of delivery. This situation, coupled with other new challenges of globalizations and other related developments such as the rise of stronger civil society served as a springboard for the Non-State Actors to come to the international stage with effective participation. Some large transnational actors are generating a huge volume of wealth for instance, in 2004, some of the largest transnational industrial companies by sales ,each had annual revenues greater than the GNP of 133 members of the United Nations, (UN) and when using the people as the measuring standard, some Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), particularly trade unions, churches and Islamic Organizations or associations ,campaigning groups, in the field of human rights, women's right and the environment groups, have their membership measured in millions, whereas, 42 of the 193 countries in the United Nations (UN), have populations of less than 1 million, of which twelve are less than 100,000.( Baylis et al 2008).

There is also a great variations in the complexity and diversity of the economies and societies of different countries and hence the extent to which they are each involved in transnational relations; therefore, the Non-State Actors are out there to challenge the systemic structure in the international relations that allows the states actors to monopolize the powers and offer to close the gap left by state.

In another way, it is possible to say that there is this gap that need to be bridged between state actors and other actors mainly the non-state actors through a mechanism that would serve as forum for both the state actors and non-state actors in advancing the global dialogue that is one of the requirement of the new global world of today.

### **1.3: Objectives of the Research**

#### **1.3.1 General objectives**

The primary objective of this research is to examine the advent of Polyilateral diplomacy.

#### **1.3.2 Specific objectives**

1. To explore means and ways (mechanisms) through which the international system should respond to both the state and non-state actors' interests diplomatic discourse.
2. To recommend how the State Actors should take or adopt to incorporate the new actors into the international system.

### **1.4 Justification of the Study**

Traditional actors in the international scene, the state are enjoying a large volume of power with proportionate degree of corresponding responsibility in term of delivery. This situation, beside other new challenges of globalizations and other related developments such as the rise of

stronger civil society; brings about challenges that could not be adequately addressed through the bilateral and multilateral modes of diplomacy which are dominated by the state-centric approaches with narrowly defined interests. There is therefore dire need to create a favourable mechanism for effective participation of others; Polyilateral Diplomacy, is not in any way a replacement to the other traditional means of diplomacy, the bilateral and multilateral, but a complement to them.

This research when completed, the recommendations could benefit directly two categories. First it can add to the development of diplomacy and its implementing institutions as well as the other actors such as the state and non state actors.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of the Republic of South Sudan and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade of the Republic of Kenya (where the research is undertaken) would be the primary beneficiaries of this research. Last but not the least, the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS) of the University of Nairobi, will also be the academic beneficiary of this document as it would be the first custodian which bears the copyright of the research and any other benefits attached to it such as generating knowledge.

This research is intended to shed more light on the advent of Polyilateralism in diplomacy, which aims at bringing together in a partnership of the Non-State Actors, state actors and the regional authorities to complement the traditional modes of the diplomacy, bilateral and multilateral diplomacies for effective global dialogue.

The research would be conducted dually in Kenya and South Sudan; in Kenya the focus will be directed toward the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and in South Sudan it

would be the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Relations. Also in Kenya the United Nations Office in Nairobi (UNON) would be of interest to contribute data for the research.

## **1.5 Literature Review**

### **1.5.1 The Concept and Role of Non State Actors**

The main goal of this research is to introduce the Non-State Actors into the international policy through a new concept of Polyilateral Diplomacy. This approach is set to help the newly emerging actors to have a new, efficient and effective role in the international system, but it would be paramount to exactly understand what the Non-State Actors are and their corresponding role in the international community at large.

According to Paul<sup>2</sup>, Non- State Actors are entities that are divers in nature and operations These may include but not limited to Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Civil Society groups, Women Activist, Students Unions, Trade Unions, Transnational actors or Multi-National Corporations, Faith-based organizations (Christian, Muslims and Jews etc.) National Liberations Movements, Media Empires, Terrorist Organizations, Criminal Network (Drug cartels etc.),imminent persons, such as Jimmy Carter Dalai Lama ,Angelina Jolie etc.(Paul A. James Global Policy Forum 2000)

The Non- State Actors with the advantage of the recent development in globalization wield an enormous amount of power in terms of socio-economic and political sphere. For example, some of the Non- State Actors have a very huge network of global constituencies through the use of internet, large population of employment in the areas of transnational actors and millions of followers in the faith based organization. The importance of the role of the Non State Actors in

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<sup>2</sup> Paul. A James, Executive Director Global Policy Forum

the international politics especially in our time cannot be underestimated as such. Their significance was officially recognized by the former Secretary General of the United Nations, Boutros Ghali<sup>3</sup>, when he said, “The Non-Governmental Organizations are an indispensable part of the legitimacy”. This assertion by Ghali was also confirmed by his successor, Kofi Anan<sup>4</sup> who said that “Non –Governmental Organizations are the conscience of humanity”

Recently, the efficiency of the Non State Actors has been witnessed in defending the community interest and rights, promoting new positively oriented policies, lobbying on sustainability of development to support environmental protection, advocating for human rights, women rights, minority rights, and social justice etc.

### **1.5.2 The Framework for Non State Actors Diplomacy**

In the recent past, the European Union Commission could be said to be the first institution that had set foundation for the interaction to the level of partnership with the Non- State Actors. According to Valencia<sup>5</sup>, about 20% of annual development assistance of European Commission is managed by Non- State Actors; the European Union had also been on record in championing the cause of participation of the Non- State Actors in issues such as planning, strategy development, policy dialogue, implementation, decision- making, review and monitoring. This effort of the European Union was finally crowned in what is known as the Cotonou Agreement signed in June 2000, with the aim of alleviating poverty and promote sustainable development as well as integrating African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries into the world economy.

The main spirit of the Cotonou Agreement is to seek to incorporate all stakeholders in the partnership which will include national government institutions, regional authorities

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<sup>3</sup> Boutros Ghali, former (SG 1992-97) of the UN on NGOs Legitimacy. (1994)

<sup>4</sup> Kofi Anan, also former (SG 1997-06) of the UN on importance of NGOs as conscience of humanity, (2004).

<sup>5</sup> Valencia. Raquel Aquirre, (2000) The Role of Non-State Actors in Multistakeholder Diplomacy, pp 88,



(supranational organizations), northern and southern non state actors and regional associations. This development in the role of the Non-State Actors is the first framework by the European Union to forge official partnership with the non-state actors.

### **1.5.3 Globalization Shaping International Politics**

Globalization is a process of international integration arising from the interchange of world views, products, ideas, and other aspects of culture. Elements of development such as transportation, telecommunication infrastructure, rise of telegraph and its posterity, the internet are believed to be the major factors of globalization which are generating further interdependence of economic and cultural activities. Globalization as a term was first coined by economist Theodore Levitt<sup>6</sup> in the May-June 1983 issue of Harvard Business Review. Globalization according to Copeland<sup>7</sup>, is a profound process that works very well for some, affording them comfort and choice, but at the expense of many others.

Because globalization generates insecurity, its management must be moved to the top of the agenda and the environment in which international policy is formulated and implemented, diplomats will need an explanatory and predictive world order model-one that takes full account of globalization, highlighting especially the dialectic between security and development.

As the world moved from the Cold War era to the globalization, development has displaced defence, as the most secure foundation upon which to build a common future. The range of threats and challenges generated by the epochal shift are best addressed not through armed force, a global war on terror, or the militarization of international policy which has resulted in a severe misallocation of resources –but through the strategic pursuit of human centred development,

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<sup>6</sup> Theodore Levitt, Economist and Professor of Business School at Harvard University, Harvard Business Review May/June 1983 issue.

<sup>7</sup> Daryl Copeland, Canadian Diplomat, author of Guerrilla Diplomacy (2009)

particular emphasis must be placed by diplomats on the role of communication, culture, non-state actors and the implementation of the de-territorialisation of political space.

#### **1.5.4 Challenges of the Multi-Stakeholders Diplomacy**

The multi-stakeholder or polyilateral diplomacy is a framework that could be employed to bring together all entities, governments, government institutions or regional bodies and non-state entities in a partnership concept that would improve a participatory work, but a number of challenges are out there which need to be overcome for realization of polyilateral diplomacy in the twenty-first century, these challenges are:-Lack of political will from the state actors to share what they regard as high political policies such as security and politics; poor structures and Capacity of Non- State Actors especially the ones in the developing countries and Independence and neutrality of the Non- State Actors.

#### **1.5.5 Non-State Actors and the International Law**

In the context of international law, which is regulating and /or controlling the functions of its subjects-the states, there must be a clear legal opinion for the Non- State Actors that would permit and legalize their functions as well as to oblige them in the international stage.

The first legal status of the Non- State Actors in the international diplomacy dates back to the 1943-45 when NGOs were involved in lobbying during the World War II time for negotiations between the warring parties, the right to have legal role was granted through Article 71 of the United Nation Charter of 1945<sup>8</sup> and affirmed by many subsequent decisions. In 1995, the 4<sup>th</sup> World's Women Conference was attended by 35,000 NGOs representatives; this demonstrates an official recognition in the international system for the Non- State Actors.

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<sup>8</sup> UN Charter on Non States Actors' Legitimacy

Zarei and Safari<sup>9</sup> in their co-authored book, *The Status of Non- State Actors under International Rule Of Law: A Search for Global Justice* proposed that Non- State Actors should be brought within the framework of International Law through the concept of the International Rule of Law (IROL), which is recognized in this research and that the efforts by these two scholars should be acknowledged as an important mile stone in according a legal basis that would pave way for recognition of the role of the Non -State Actors as important players in the international stage.

This idea is anchored on two main themes: The *responsibilities and obligation* under the international law.

In the international law, legitimacy is anchored on the concept of legal right that personalities and institutions have to exercise power in society, based on citizens' support and trust, according to Edwards<sup>10</sup>, "legitimacy in general, is generally understood as having the right to be and to do something that an organization is lawful, proper, admissible and justified in doing what it does and saying what it says, and that it continues to enjoy the support of an identifiable constituency."

The concept of legitimacy of Non-State Actors in the international arena may not be similar to that of governments (States) but could be traced back to the support they enjoy from the citizens as the result of their activities in inspiring and persuading issues in the interests of the citizens. This kind of support is considerably enough to earn the Non-State Actors recognition and legitimacy to act in the international stage on behalf of the states, intergovernmental institutions and on behalf of other non-state actors which are still new in the international arena, The

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<sup>9</sup> Mohamed H.Zarei, Assist. Professor of Public Law at Shahid Beheshti Univesristy, Faculty of Law, Tehran, co-authored the concept of the International Rule of Law (IROL) for legitimacy of Non State Actors (2009)

<sup>10</sup> Edwards(1999) *International Development NGOs: Agent of Foreign Aid or Vehicles of International Cooperation's? Non-Profit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 28 (25-37)

recognition and legitimacy are needed by the Non- State Actors to give them leverage to have a say or power to shape international legislations and policies in accordance with their interests, so it is imperative at this juncture that the Non- State Actors be accorded what it takes to be valid interlocutors in the international issues by other political actors .

For the Non -State Actors to be responsible in the international arena, they must live up to certain requirements and obligations that would demonstrate their legitimacy, some of these according to Vedder<sup>11</sup>, are:-To prove that they represent the common values of the general public linked with universal values in case of global actions; that their criteria or working principles be correct (transparency, participatory. consensual decisions) correct at least in the eyes of those who support them, and that their actions show effectiveness

Non -State Actors do not possess official authority and power and do not have institutional and financial relationships with states; the Non- State Actors have not yet been recognized as traditional object of international law, but instead as potential new subject of international law Clapham<sup>12</sup>For the role of Non- State Actors in the international relations to be properly realized and utilized in the state-centric international arena, there is a great need to review or reform the structural system of the international politics to ease way for placing a seat where the vital role of the Non- State Actors can fit in the system, this is what the new and third pillar of diplomacy- The Polyilateral Diplomacy tends to achieve to bridge the systemic gap between the states, International Organizations and Non- State Actors in the international system. As the new trend continued to develop, Daryl Copeland a Canadian diplomat in line with this theory of newly emerging trend called also for a more populace kind of diplomacy that extends beyond the

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<sup>11</sup>Vedder.A,(Ed) (2003) ,WTO and Concerns Regarding Animals and Nature.

<sup>12</sup> Clapham, A .Human Rights Obligations of Non- State Actors

diplomatic walls, that is conference and meeting rooms; this concept is clearly stated in his American published book *Guerrilla Diplomacy: Rethinking International Relations* (2009)

The continuous development in the field of diplomacy had also continued to shape the practices for the betterment of the approaches and issues; and in this sense, the role played by the European Union, World Trade organization, the America Free Trade Area, in addition to other developments in approaches of diplomacy as mentioned above by scholars in the field of International Law who suggested the idea of placing the Non -State Actors' legal status in the area of International Rule Of Law (IROL) .

Other experts and scholars of international relations writings such as Wiseman<sup>13</sup> and Copeland, had greatly contributed to the definition of the framework concept that has been affecting negatively the work and participation of the Non-State Actors in the multi-stakeholder diplomacy.

All these efforts can be summed up in the framework of *Polylateral Diplomacy* as the melting pot for the various diplomatic discourses between states, group of states acting together and Non -State Actors for a participatory global dialogue and partnership that may contribute to international peace and security.

Given the present status of the state actors that are still cocooning themselves in the narrowly-defined state interests especially among the developing countries and the other challenges facing the Non-State Actors in the international arena, the incorporation of the non-state actors into diplomacy would not smoothly go as perceived. It is apparent that the supranational organization would easily admit the Non- State Actors into cooperation with their institutions compared to the

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<sup>13</sup>Wiseman, Geoffery,(2004),authored *Polylateralism Diplomacy and New Global Model*

state actors that are always characterized with rigidity and what they always termed as defence of the so-called sovereignty.

But in practice, it would be good to begin with the regional organizations as the approach that was used by the European Union to bring about the Cotonou Agreement<sup>14</sup>, this approach should also be used by the international system to use regional authorities or regional institutions as an entry point for Non-State Actors to set the precedence for others; which would give incentives for other actors to follow suit. In the long run, the concept may gain momentum in the course of time and practice to bring on board the state actors whereby the concept of Polyilateral diplomacy would progress in practice as the rest of the diplomatic models such as bilateral and multilateral diplomacies.

In this research, it is thought that the need for global dialogue and global justice to bear positive fruits requires all the multi-stakeholders to come under one legal framework that recognizes every entity irrespective of the size or status so that the desired goal is arrived at. The best framework that would address this is *Polyilateral diplomacy* where state actors as the representatives of the sovereignty, the international institutions as the representatives of the international community and the Non- State Actors as the representatives of the international opinion, could come together under a particular unifying framework to bring about global dialogue and address global challenges through a common forum with legal recognition for all these entities to function amicably under Polyilateral diplomacy.

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<sup>14</sup> Cotonou Agreement, Partnership between the Members of the African,Carribean and Pacific group of States, one part and the European Union 23<sup>rd</sup>,June 2000

## 1.6 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework to guide this research is the Constructivists Theory with two specific main concepts of *Accommodation and Assimilation*, this theory and its concepts are attributed to Jean Piaget.<sup>15</sup> Assimilation: In the Constructivists theory assimilation is about individual's way to incorporate experience into an already existing framework without necessarily changing that framework. Accommodation: This is a constructivist thinking which deals with reframing one's mental representation of the external world to fit new experience. The two concepts of the constructivists are about a reform to already existing settings that may fail to address some aspects of life due to either oversight or neglect in a certain structural system.

As I was thinking through this research, I have come to conclude that the constructivist theory which is set to add to what already exists is the best theory for guiding this research,. This is imperative in a sense that, the Polylateral diplomacy is here to add some reformative approaches and principles into the international system of diplomacy to enable it incorporate the potentials of the Non-State Actors which are at the margin of the international system to secure a room and have a say and deed to reach at global participatory system that would work to alleviate the international challenges by using many actors' techniques and resources for that end. According to this research, *the advent of Polylateral Diplomacy* as important it serves as a new mechanism for the various actors in the international politics for modest generating of sound policies such as in the area of sustainable development, collective security, environmental issues, women and minority groups and many more aspects of international politics.

The foundation that was set by the European Union through Cotonou Agreement as indicated earlier is a positive step toward the right direction and should as well serve as the foundation

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<sup>15</sup>Peaget(1896-1980),Constructivist Theory

stone for the multi-stakeholders diplomatic engagement. Legal scholars such as Zarei and Safari are also working to find a suitable legal framework and setting to anchor on the work of the Non-State Actors for legitimate cause they are already pursuing in the international arena. Scholars such as Wiseman, Paul, Valencia and many others have also taken many strides in this path to generate scholarly thoughts for making a foundation for this concept to flourish in the international arena. In this regards, the concept of Polylateral Diplomacy as a new mode of this era's diplomatic mechanism is gaining more momentum in all aspects of life.

### **1.7 Hypotheses**

H1: The traditional actors, the state have responded well to the emergence of the Non-State Actors in the international arena.

H2: Polylateral diplomacy will bring to the world politics positive changes.

### **1.8 Methodology of the Study**

This research will employ the following methods for gathering and analysis of data: Filling in questionnaires, interviewing respondents, search the internet for creditable data, review of the existing volume of literature in the area of diplomacy using libraries, media and any other available credible source in this field. The interviews would be conducted primarily to the target population which would be drawn from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of the Republic of South Sudan in Juba and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade of the Republic of Kenya in Nairobi. Given the diversity of the issue at hand, there would also be a great need to collect data from respondents from another side of the coin to represent the views of the Non-State Actors point of view. This would be possibly done with the United Nations' office in Nairobi (UNON) and other NGOs that could be located in South



Sudan. Views of some scholars in the areas of diplomacy could also be added to make up for the academic component of the non-state actors. This research will use both the primary and secondary data for achieving its main objectives, primary data could be obtained through personal interviews with persons with knowledge and capacity for the information needed. Library research would also make another important component of this research for obtaining secondary data. The right method chosen for this research is the *qualitative type*. After thoroughly obtaining enough volume of data for the research, the act of processing these data through analysis would be conducted to establish certain relations and correlations between variables so as to draw reasonable and substantiated conclusion for the research. It would also be of great importance to evaluate the methods used in the research to determine its accuracy (Validity and reliability of the data).

### **1.9 Scope and Limitation**

This research would be conducted in two different areas of data collection; this would be in Kenya and back in South Sudan. This issue would make this research demanding in term of time and financial resources to make it a success, obtain frequent permission and travelling to and fro Nairobi and Juba would pose some challenges. The research according to the University of Nairobi, is supposed to be completed within the period from (March-August 2015).

## **1.10 Chapter Outline**

Chapter one contains: Introduction, Statement of the Research, Objectives of the Research, Justification of the Study, Literature Review, Theoretical Framework, and Hypothesis, Methodology of the Research and the Scope and Limitations

Chapter Two International system, State and Non-State Actors' interest Literature Review .

Chapter Three: (Polylateral diplomacy in prospective.

Chapter Four Data Processing

Chapter Five: Summary, Recommendations and Conclusion.

## CHAPTER TWO

### STATE AND NON-STATE ACTORS' INTERESTS IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM.

#### 2.0 Introduction

This chapter analyses means and ways (mechanism) through which international system should respond to both the state and Non-State Actors' interests in a representative manner. It is organized into the following subtopics: Public Diplomacy, Globalized International Politics. The Changing Dimension of the International Politics, Global View of Polyilateralism, Non-State Actors, and Partnership as the Concept in Diplomacy and Power and Leadership.

#### 2.1 Public Diplomacy

In International relations, public diplomacy is the communication with the foreign publics to establish a dialogue designed to inform and influence. The United States Information Agency (USIA) describes public diplomacy as a means to seek and promote the national interests and national security of the US through understandings, informing and influencing foreign publics and broadening dialogue between the American citizens and institutions and their counterparts abroad. Public Diplomacy can be regarded as an avenue for activities intended to change people's perception in a way that helps sending states achieve their objectives by employing both governments and Non-government actors to connect with other players at other levels of society. Public Diplomacy reflects the move from the old style of state-to-state foreign policy towards the new style of multimedia, multilateral policy. Copeland<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Daryl COPLAND is an analyst, author, educator, and consultant specializing in Diplomacy, International Policy, global issues and Public management. His first book, Gurrilla Diplomacy: Rethinking International Relations ,was released in 2009 by Lynne Reinner Publishers, and is cited as an essential reference by the editors of Oxford online Bibliographies

Public diplomacy effectively communicates with publics around the globe to understand values and emulate visions and ideas; historically one of America's most effective weapons of outreach persuasion and policy. Schuker<sup>17</sup> Public diplomacy may be defined, simply, as the conduct of international relations by governments through public communications media and through dealings with a wide range of Non-governmental entities (political parties, corporations, trade associations, labour unions, educational institutions, religious organizations, and ethnic groups, and so on including influential individuals) for the purpose of influencing the politics and actions of other governments. Hendrickson<sup>18</sup> defines public diplomacy as which traditionally represents actions of governments to influence overseas publics within the foreign policy process which has expanded today - by accident and design - beyond the realm of governments to include the media, multinational corporations, NGO's and faith-based organizations as active participants in the field. Snow<sup>19</sup> "public diplomacy refers to government-sponsored programs intended to inform or influence public opinion in other countries; its chief instruments are publications, motion pictures, cultural exchanges, radio and television."<sup>20</sup> The term surfaced in January 1856 as synonyms for civility; in its modern meaning "Public Diplomacy" was coined in 1965 by Edward Gullion<sup>21</sup> of Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University.

### **2.1.1 Purposes of Public Diplomacy**

Public Diplomacy deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies, it encompasses, the dimensions of International Relations beyond the traditional diplomacy. It varies from cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries, the interaction of private and interests groups in one country with another ( for instance, when the

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<sup>17</sup> Jill SACKER, former Director of Public Affairs at the National Security Council, July 2004

<sup>18</sup> Alan K .HENRICKSON, Professor of Diplomatic History, April, 2005

<sup>19</sup> Croker SNOW Jr. Acting Director of Edward R. Murrow Centre May 2005.

<sup>20</sup> US Department of States, Dictionary of International Relations Terms, 1987 pp.85.

<sup>21</sup> Edward GULLION, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University

Chinese President visited US, his itineraries included a visit to the General Motor, one of the major car dealers in US, which is a good example of Public Diplomacy gesture, the reporting of foreign affairs and its impacts on policy; communications between those whose job is communication as diplomats and foreign correspondents and the process of inter-cultural communications. According to Nicholas Cull<sup>22</sup>, Public Diplomacy can be achieved through five methods, which are: First, Listening; second, Advocacy; third, Cultural Diplomacy; forth, Exchange of diplomacy; and fifth, International Broadcasting (IB)

### **2.1.2 Cultural diplomacy**

Cultural diplomacy is a type of public diplomacy and soft power that includes the "exchange of ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understanding. (Joseph<sup>23</sup> Nye)" The purpose of cultural diplomacy is for the people of a foreign nation to develop an understanding of the nation's ideals and institutions in an effort to build broad support for economic and political goals. In essence "cultural diplomacy reveals the soul of a nation," this in turn creates influence. Though often overlooked, cultural diplomacy can and does play an important role in achieving national security aims. Culture is a set of values and practices that create meaning for society. This includes both high culture (literature, art, and education, which appeals to elites) and popular culture (appeals to the masses). This is what governments seek to show foreign audiences when engaging in cultural diplomacy. It is a type of soft power, which is the "ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments. It arises from a country's culture, political ideals and policies." This indicates that the value of culture is its ability to attract foreigners to a nation. Cultural diplomacy is also a

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<sup>22</sup> Nicholas CULL, is a professor of Public Diplomacy and Director of Master's Programme in Public Diplomacy at the United States Cultural Centre(USC)

<sup>23</sup> Joseph NYE, Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics (Cambridge: Perseus Books,(2004)

component of public diplomacy. Public diplomacy is enhanced by a larger society and culture, but simultaneously public diplomacy helps to "amplify and advertise that society and culture to the world at large." It could be argued that the information component of public diplomacy can only be fully effective where there is already a relationship that gives credibility to the information being relayed. This comes from knowledge of the other's culture." Cultural diplomacy has been called the "linchpin of public diplomacy" because cultural activities have the possibility to demonstrate the best of a nation. In this way, cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy are intimately linked.

The effect of cultural diplomacy was demonstrated during the end of the Cold War when Kolya Vasin in 1988 used his famous music 'the Beatles' by releasing an album titled (Back in USSR), this album included a quotation on the cover from Paul McCartney<sup>24</sup> which reads" In releasing this record, made especially and exclusively for USSR, I am extending a hand of peace and friendship to the Soviet People". Later on after more than a decade and the Cold War was over, McCartney first visited Russia in May 2003,nearly half a million Russians turned out to greet him; A Russian critic reported that the only person in the Red Square who was not moved was Lenin( referring to the Lenin Statue in the Red Square at Moscow).

## **2.2 Globalized world Politics**

The World war one & two as well as the cold war contributed in different ways to shape the world affairs; the creation of the League of Nations and the United Nations, as well as the development of various diplomatic modes (bilateral and multilateral); the current affairs of the world which is mainly driven by globalization of nearly everything from communication;

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<sup>24</sup> Paul McCARTNEY is a famous American Musician who visited and organized a musical concert in USSR in May 2003.

politics, economic, security etc; this indicates that the world is heading toward a new era which will require new paradigm shifts with new mechanism for international politics and all other related fields such as diplomacy and security.

This development in the globalized world according to Wiseman, would not be successfully handled through the diplomatic approaches that were used for world wars 1& 2 era, but would need a fresh one that would address the challenges of the globalizations that includes, but not limited to interdependence in the areas of economic, security, environment, societal groupings liberties (women rights for example) and politics. Also to be considered is the emergence of powerful Non-State Actors in the international diplomatic scene.

The Non- State Actors as new players in the diplomatic stage could not fit in the bilateral and multilateral fora of the diplomacy. There is a rapid evolution of many aspects of the international issues today, and the means for handling them require new thinking and redefinition of the issues and concept as to make a reasonable way of dealing with new challenges of the globalized world

### **2.2.1 Globalization Definition**

As put by Baylis et al, (The Globalization of World Politics) Globalization is a historic process which involves the widening, deepening, speeding up and growing impact of worldwide interconnectedness, it brings about a more fragmentation, it generates powerful sources of friction and conflict.

Globalization is having important consequences for nation-states though it is by no means, as many argued or desired to prefigure its demise<sup>25</sup>. As the globalization of the world continues to dominate or reshape nearly everything ,there is therefore a dire need for a shift in the manner in

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<sup>25</sup> ibid

which every things is being done and approached, the said shift in approach would also requires rethinking of the traditional ideals about the international institutions ,to raise above the normal traditional world of yesterday and today ,because in the world of today and the one of tomorrow the distribution of power is no longer or is not going to be organized along national or territorial lines, regional integrations and integrated mode of economy which is now growing very fast and is already serving as the speeding vehicle of the globalization.

Globalization according to Copeland<sup>26</sup> is a profound process that work very well for some, affording them comfort and choice ,but at direct expense of many others; because globalization generates insecurity, its management must be moved to the top of the agenda and the environment in which international policy is formulated and implemented, diplomats will need an explanatory and predictive world order model-one that takes full account of globalization, highlighting especially the dialectic between security and development. As the world moved from the Cold War era to the globalization, development has displaced defence, and the most secure foundation upon which to build a common future. The range of threats and challenges generated by the epochal shift are best addressed not through armed force, a global war on terror, or the militarization of international policy which has resulted in a severe misallocation of resources but through the strategic pursuit of human centred development, particular emphasis must be placed by diplomats on the role of communication, culture, Non- State Actors and the implementation of the de-territorialisation of political space.

### **2.2.2 Globalization not Internationalization**

In this research and may be in many other more concepts, it is to be made abundantly clear that globalization is not similar to internationalization as many may conceive it that way; the two

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<sup>26</sup> Daryl COPLAND on globalization



terms are in no way having different concept altogether; In this aspect, globalization should not be confused with internationalization which refers to growing interdependence between states .with idea that they remain discrete national units with clear demarcated borders, in contrast, globalization refers to the process in which the very distinction between the local and external break down of distance, and time collapse, so that events many thousands miles away can come to have almost immediate local consequences.

### **2.3 The Changing Dimension of the International Politics**

The world of today is not as the same as the world of the twenty century, it is a world of twenty-first century, which is totally different from its previous one, hence, it cannot and should not therefore be governed by mechanisms of the past 100 years or there about. The world of globalization is full of many more other actors than the ones of yesteryears, as of now, there are about five main actors in the current political space of the global system; which are: Nearly 200 governments in the global system including 193 member states of the United Nations.

There are 77,220 transnational companies such as Vodafone, Ford, Shell, Microsoft, Google, etc, the world has 246 Intergovernmental Organization (IGOs) with the major ones such United Nations (UN), European Union(EU), African Union(AU), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) etc, 7,300 International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) such as International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC),Amnesty International, and other Network of several Non-Governmental Organizations. Lastly but not the least, National Liberation Movements, drugs cartels, terrorist entities, Pirates (as the categories of violent non-state actors) Baylis et al<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> John BALYIS,Steve SMITH, and Patricia OWEN The Globalization of the World Politics (4<sup>th</sup> edition 2008)

## **2.4 Global View of Polyilateralism**

Public Diplomacy Magazine defines Polyilateralism as “the conduct of relations between official entities (Such as a state, several states acting together, or a state based international organization) and at least one unofficial, Non-state entity in which there is a reasonable expectation of systematic relationship, involving some form of reporting, communication, negotiation, and representation, but not involving mutual recognition as sovereign, equivalent entities. In accordance to Wiseman<sup>28</sup>, Polyilateralism as a new mode of diplomacy is characterized by six (six) concepts that would serve as determinants of its success in the international discourse or otherwise. These are: State adaptive capacities to the new system of diplomacy-Polyilateralism, State Size, state Type (autocratic or democratic), the distinction between high and low politics (security issues as high politics and other issue as low politics), the nature of Non-State Actors engagement and the decision phases. The Polyilateral Diplomacy is geared towards purposive diplomatic interaction and is therefore seen as an extension of bilateral and multilateral diplomacies. Its main purposes are participations, representations, thinking together, reporting on, negotiating with and promoting better relations between enteritis with standing in world politics.

## **2.5 Non-State Actors**

In International relations, there exist states and Non-State Actors; states are defined territories run by governments and have permanent populations with recognized government (Montevideo<sup>29</sup> Convention of 1933) whereas there are also other actors famously known as Non-state Actors which are organizations, individuals that have political, economic and social power with

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<sup>28</sup>Dr.Geoffrey WISEMAN is a professor of the practice of International Relations at the University of Southern California.

<sup>29</sup> Montevideo Convention of 1933 on the definition of the State.

influence both at national and international levels, but most importantly, Non-State Actors do not necessarily belong to any particular country. According to Pearlman and Cunningham, Non-State Actors are defined as an organized political actor not directly connected to the state, but pursuing aims that affect vital interests of the states. (Pearlman and Cunningham<sup>30</sup> 2011). The term Non – State Actors is generally understood to be including any entity that is not actually a state, often used to refer to armed groups, terrorists, civil society, religious groups and corporations Clapham<sup>31</sup>. In terms of power, the Non-State Actors are now undisputable centres of power, with Multinationals Corporations (MNC) or Transnational Corporation which now account for:

- a) Between 2 -33 % of the world output,
- b) 70 % of the world trade and;
- c) 80% of the international investment.

Some large transnational actors are generating a huge volume of wealth for instance, in 2004, some largest transnational industrial companies by sale ,each had annual revenues greater than the GNP of 133 members of the United Nations,(UN) and when using the people as the measure, some Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), particularly trade unions, churches, Islamic Organizations or associations ,campaigning groups, in the field of human rights, women’s rights and the environment groups, have their membership measured in millions,whereas,42 of the 193 countries in the United Nations (UN), have populations of less than 1 million, of which twelve (12) are less than 100,000. There is also great variation in the complexity and diversity of the economies and societies of different countries and hence the

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<sup>30</sup> Wendy PEARLMAN and Kathleen Gallagher CUNNINGHAM in Non-State Actors ,fragmentation and conflict processes.

<sup>31</sup> Andrew CLAPHAM is a professor of Public International Law at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva

extent to which they are each involved in transnational relations. Therefore, the Non-State Actors are out there to challenge the systemic structure in the international system that allows the states actors to monopolize the power in all spheres of influence in the international affairs with insignificant output corresponding to the volume of the power being enjoyed by them ( states). The world of today is the one of 45,000 Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) that varies from Green Peace to the Climate Action Network, besides the activities of transnational criminals and terrorists networks from drugs cartels to Al-Qaeda etc. The concept of widening is not merely the matter of widening, deepening and speeding up of world interconnectedness ,but is a process that carries with it the implications of unfolding of structural changes in the scale of human, social and economic organizations, it is no longer consistence with the idea of organizing primarily on the basis of local or national scale as of today, but should be increasingly organized on transnational or global scale, Globalization ,therefore denotes a significant shift in the scale of social organization in many spheres from economic to the security transcending the world's major regions and continents.

### **2.5.1 Role of Non-State Actors in Diplomacy**

The increasing effectiveness and role of the Non-State Actors in the international relations could not be ignored as it continues to improve and become advanced every day.

Recently, the world has received with utmost delight the resumption of diplomatic relations between United States of America and Cuba, which got severed for more than half a century, but little did the public know about how these negotiations started in the first place. It happened that the Vatican in the person of Pope Francis had intensively engaged the two sides of the ideological divide, the governments of United States and Cuba to close the dark old chapter of hostilities and open a new and bright chapter of co- operations and friendship. The Cardinal of

Havana Khaim Lucas Ortega took it upon himself to negotiate on behalf of the Vatican with the Cuban government until his good work finally yielded some good fruits and was crowned with success by the decision of the two governments to exchange ambassadors in both Havana and Washington. In a related development, the President of Cuba, Mr. Raul Castero declared this month that he would resume practicing his Christian (Catholic) faiths if the Vatican continued in its new policy of reforms and continued to bear good fruits as the one of the US-Cuba relations<sup>32</sup>.

## **2.6 Partnership as the Concept in Diplomacy**

(Dr. May-Britt-U Stumbaum, of Freie University, Berlin) stated that in his work ;How to make the Strategic Partnership work: European Cooperation with China in security affairs(12 July 2012). The concept of “partnership” in diplomacy is found to be very useful approach especially in the areas of security and economic; of late, it has come to the surface that one of the most challenges of the globalized world is security, and as such the successful approach to tackle these challenges is to go for partnership with other entity to consolidate effort for successful security cooperation. In this context, we could look at the European Union-China “strategic partnership<sup>33</sup>”, this is a policy of co-operations for security issues, which composes of two folds; on one hand, it is designed to tackle global challenges with China, which ranges from non-proliferations of arms to humanitarian disaster and cyber security, on the other hand, it is to work for keeping peace in the region through contributing to prevent major armed conflicts between United States (US) the current hegemonic power and China, the emerging super power in the world by promoting multilateral approaches.

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<sup>32</sup> Al-Maugif Arabic News Paper in Juba, South Sudan, Issue no. (289) Friday May 8<sup>th</sup>, 2015.

<sup>33</sup>Dr.May-Britt-U Stumbaum (Ferie University, Berlin: How to make the strategic partnership work: European Union Cooperation with China in Security affairs (12<sup>th</sup>, July 2012)

### **2.6.1 Strategic Partnership**

As the emergence of globalization and its related advancement in technology and liberty, which brought along with it increase in the distribution of power which became apparently clear reality to deal with, in a sense that centres of powers have dramatically increased, both in the state actors and Non-State Actor's quarters. This development in the globe should be best approached through forging of what the international relation scholar Luis Blanco<sup>34</sup> termed as strategic partnership, which is a new form of association that should be used to bring together the Non-State Actors and state actors for positive global dialogue. The newly found association of the five countries from various regions in the world speaks volume to best explain the importance of this kind of association, the strategic partnership, the BRICS which includes Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa is one of the emerging blocs of power in the international politics.

### **2.7 Power and Leadership**

Power according to Joseph Nye<sup>35</sup>, is ability to obtain outcome one wants, and eventually soft power is the ability to obtain the outcome one wants by attraction and persuasion rather than coercion.

#### **2.7.1 Hard and Soft Power**

In the world of contemporary politics, the use of the two types of powers-hard and soft are of very common practice especially in the developed world; in this context, we can discuss the contrast experiences of both the United States (US) and the European Union (EU) in relation to the use of hard and soft power. The US seems to be hard power incarnate whereas, the EU in

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<sup>34</sup> Louis BALANC, The Concept of Strategic Partnership in diplomacy.

<sup>35</sup> Joseph NYE, Soft power as the new concept of diplomatic engagement in contrast to hard power or the use of military force and other economic and social sanctions(statecraft)

contrast is to be the embodiment of soft power, David Held, Mathias Koenning-Archibugi.<sup>36</sup> The US relies heavily on hard power-military might. During the Iraqi invasion (Gulf war II) the US Secretary of Defence Rumsfeld made it clear that the US could, if necessary manage quite well without its most capable ally-the United Kingdom (UK). This statement speaks volume about the level of military power the US had attained ;by contrast, the European Union has been using soft power as civilian power, on which the union relies on it, as there is no army, the European Union relies only on law, negotiations and multilateral organizations which are done through “ Contractual agreements,” the case in point and in line with this approach is the Cotonou Agreement for partnership with the Non-State Actors. In international politics, the concept of hard power goes in line with the realist theory. A few excerpts from some idealist demonstrate it clearly here: “This policy cannot succeed through speeches and songs, it can be carried out only through blood and iron”-Bismarck. “Power grew out of the barrel of a gun“-Mao Tsung. “It is better to be feared than loved, to compel rather than to attract”-Machiavelli. These statements are strong expressions of hard power.

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<sup>36</sup> David HELD, Mathias ARCHIBUGI, In American Power in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **POLYLATERAL DIPLOMACY IN PROSPECTIVE**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This part of the research is systematically designed to present the prospective of the Polyilateral diplomacy in the current international system. The perspectives are directly or indirectly link to the traditional institutions of diplomacy such as foreign offices and related missions, which are also in turn required to synchronize with the new informal institution known as Non-State Actors to come together under a particular partnership mechanism for collective global governance.

#### **3.2 Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation**

As indicated earlier, the effort I exerted to obtain some primary data for the designed research made me develop some of the research questionnaires which I served copies to the selected population and a sample to are the two ministries of Foreign Affairs in the two countries of South Sudan and Kenya.

Further steps were also taken to design how to target data from a selected sample to represent the Non-State Actors' side of the story, with research questionnaires sent to the Executive Director of The Community Empowerment for Progress Organization (CEPO) and others which unfortunately did not send back any responses particularly the one of Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade of Kenya and that of the United Nations' Office in Nairobi (UNON). In South Sudan I sent the research questionnaires to the Directorate of Research, Training and Capacity Building. These questionnaires were developed with the main idea of assessing the level of awareness and readiness or preparedness of the State and Non-State Actors about emergence of new actors in the diplomatic scene that requires a new mechanism or forum to



accommodate the said emerging actors in the international affairs which, this research is attempting to discuss as advent of a newer mode of diplomacy scholarly known as “*Polylateralism Diplomacy*”.

### **3.3 Population and Sample of the Research**

The targeted population of this research, is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, here in referred to as “*structure*” and personnel referred here to as *actors* in diplomatic field with the sample of survey as the directorate of research, Training and Capacity building in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of South Sudan to bring to their attention or share with them the idea of emerging diplomatic mode, for it is my belief that the Foreign Service in the selected countries (South Sudan and Kenya ) are the primary institutions which manage and practice the international affairs and the diplomatic relations related concepts. The samples in this regards were also taken from the respective units such as departments of research and planning in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of South Sudan. In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of South Sudan, the questionnaires for the research were addressed to the Director of Research and Planning Directorate and answered by the Deputy Director of the said directorate, in person of Counsellor, Mr. James Solomon<sup>37</sup> Padiet (PhD). Some of the questionnaires were satisfactorily answered by the respondent, but other especially the ones that had to do with the contemporary diplomacy did not have satisfactory answers, which indicate that the level of diplomatic development in South Sudan is at infant and institutional establishment and setting phase.

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<sup>37</sup> Counsellor James Solomon PADIET, (PhD) is a deputy Director for Research, Planning and Capacity Building in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of South Sudan. Graduate of Political Science at the University of Nairobi, Kenya.

Observation made on the organizational charts of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, could be self-explanatory, it was clear that the Ministry's structure does not have a department for "Public Diplomacy" which is the core idea of the research I am undertaking. This was also confirmed in the research responses filled by the respondents, the deputy director for research in the ministry. To ascertain the value of the documents I extract from the Foreign Affairs institution of South Sudan, I had tried to go extra mile to obtain the organizational chart of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, the deputy Director, Counsellor Solomon told me honestly that due to the fact that the ministry is under establishment phase, there is no organizational chart, but there is only operational chart with the following units:-

1. Republic Of South Sudan Liaison Offices at the Diaspora;
2. Directorate of Administration and Finance ;
3. Directorate of Multilateral and International Relations;
4. Directorate of Bilateral Relations;
5. Directorate of Protocol and Public Relations;
6. Directorate of Information, Communication and Technology (ICT) and Media;
7. Directorate of Research ,Training and Capacity Building

### **3.4 Ministry of Foreign Affairs.**

The idea of choosing as population and sample, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs both in Kenya and South Sudan for this research is much informed by the fact that the traditional diplomatic

*structures and actors* are found in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The institutional settings represented by structure and actors –diplomats are the main pillars of the diplomatic practices that translate the foreign policies and other related issues in the international stage.

In this regards, it would be a good starter to assess the level of readiness, competence and participation of the traditional diplomatic institutions and actors in the new development in areas of diplomacy.

The main areas of focus in the questionnaire are based mainly on the idea of emergence of powerful Non-State Actors that already have imposed their presence in the diplomatic issues and scenes and as far as this research is concerned, there is great need for recognition of the role of the Non-State Actors particularly in the current globalized world, first by the State Actors so that the new actors could be facilitated to secure a place in the international system for tapping their valuable potentials in the areas of expertise such as International Humanitarian Law, Human Rights issues, Women Rights, Environmental issues and many other international political issues.

The questions addressed here mainly focus on new mode of diplomacy that scholarly known as Polyilateralism, a kind of diplomacy that would give a formidable forum to the traditional actors-states and Non-State Actors and the supranational institutions in the international arena.

This type of diplomacy is here to address matters to do with the complementarities of the bilateralism, multilateralism and Polyilateralism in the diplomatic society.

This is seen as a promising idea that would not encourage competition and other biases rather than a cooperation and coordination in incorporating the rise of Non-State Actors into the international issues.

### **3.4.1 Southern Sudan as a Non-State Actor during CPA.**

Issues of pre- and post-Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) era of Southern Sudan and the diplomatic status of the SPLM/SPLA (structure) and its leader John Garang (actor) during the CPA negotiations in which Dr, Garang was allowed to address the United Nations' Security Council in Nairobi in November 24<sup>th</sup>, 2004 for the expedition of the stalled peace talk in Naivasha of Kenya. This development served as an example of presence of Non-State Actor in the diplomatic engagement such as negotiation.

The status of Southern Sudan during the Comprehensive Peace Agreement implementation had to be regarded as that of Non-State actor, but it was much present in the international diplomacies with its Liaison Offices and SPLM Chapters in Diaspora; (later upgraded into embassies). The status of Non-State Actors that the Southern Sudan was enjoying, though as an observer had played a great role in the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, which was mediated by Inter-governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), its implementation mechanism was placed under auspices and follow-up of African Union Peace and Security Council (AUPSC in 2006-2011), to which the two parties to the peace agreement , National Congress Party representing the Government of Sudan (GoS) in Khartoum and Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) representing the Government of Southern Sudan (GoSS) in Juba.

The two sides were diplomatically treated equally in the conference rooms where each party presented its views about the progress of the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. (CPA) without any diplomatic biases between a sovereign state (Sudan) and Non-(State entity South Sudan)

In this era of the transitional period of Sudan Comprehensive Peace Agreement, Southern Sudan was granted the observer status at the African Union to enable it to engage with the member states on the implementation of the peace agreement signed in Nairobi, Kenya on January 9<sup>th</sup>, 2005 which culminated into the exercise of the famous referendum on self-determination by the people of South Sudan on January 9<sup>th</sup>, 2011 which paved the way for independence of South Sudan in July 9<sup>th</sup>, 2011, Southern Sudan was also enjoying quasi-diplomatic status in many international stages of the world, on both the Multilateral and Bilateral relations such as in the United Nations' Head quarters at New York and with over 20 liaison offices in the various regions of the world.

Under the then Ministry of Regional Cooperation, the liaison offices of Government of Southern Sudan (GoSS) supported by the Southern Sudan Diaspora chapters played a very important role as Non-State Actors in rallying a huge support behind the cause of the people of Southern Sudan. Immense moral support was secured from some of the world's strongest lobby groups in the West such as Crisis International Group (CIG), Enough Project, International Criminal Court (ICC) and other civil society organizations were out to exert enough pressure especially to the government of the United States of America, the European Union (EU) and United Nations (UN) to act on the cases of Sudan with special emphasis on Southern Sudan and Darfur regions of Sudan. The primary goal of Southern Sudan Government (GoSS) and its affiliates was to secure the conduct of the southern Sudan's self-determination through a free and fair and internationally supervised referendum which was stipulated for in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement provision as the corner stone of the agreement.

South Sudan as a recently independent state is trying to secure its place in the diplomatic community of the world, but due to the fact that it is challenged by a number of transitional

issues including transition from the ill-structured Ministry of Regional Cooperation of the regional government to that of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of a sovereign state that would make it (South Sudan) a strong party in the diplomatic business of the world. It lacks some essential aspects of diplomacy in its institutional settings; these aspects had impacted negatively on my research whose questionnaires were answered in the directorate of the research in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of the Republic of South Sudan. The director of the directorate of Research in the Ministry was not completely aware of the Public Diplomacy not to mention the topic I was researching on (Polylateralism), but luckily, his deputy who is a graduate of the University of Nairobi was my only chance of getting some of the data I managed to secure from the institution.

### **3.5 Polyilateral Diplomacy in South Sudan Peace Process**

The Non- State Actors in South Sudan although not so advanced in the South Sudanese socio-political settings, managed to secure a seat in the IGAD mediated peace talks in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia where the warring parties, the Government of the Republic of South Sudan (GRSS) and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement in Opposition (SPLM-IO) .In this peace process ,there are three parties , the government as a state actor, SPLM-IO together with the Civil Society organizations both representing the role of Non-State Actors and finally the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) as the regional body or supranational institution. It is to be noted that either with or without the knowledge of the three actors involved in this peace process, here there is a practice of Polyilateral diplomacy ,which is a formal diplomatic process bringing together government, group of governments acting together and a Non-State Actor in this respect as different entities negotiating a diplomatic issue(peace). This kind of peace process under the auspices of the IGAD is totally different from its previous one that was only involving the two

warring parties, the Government of Sudan (GoS) represented by the National Congress Party and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) representing the People of Southern Sudan, Southern Kordufan, and Southern Blue Nile, which was ,by then known as New Sudan in the Naivasha Peace process of 2003-2005, therefore this development and evolution in diplomacy , had to be noted in this process.

### **3.6 Role of Non-State Actors in Diplomacy**

As the research design requires that there must be a part of the data gathered from either civil society organizations or other Non-State Actors entities, I had a chance of sharing the questionnaires with the Executive Director of Community Empowerment for Progress Organization (CEPO), Mr. Edmund <sup>38</sup> Yakani, a local organization based and operates in Juba, South Sudan with the mission of advocacy for human rights issues in the country. In the ongoing violent conflict in South Sudan between the government of South Sudan and Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) In Opposition, the role of the Non-State Actors is so visible on day-to-day basis either through the strong and organized presence of the Civil Society Organization as partners in the Intern-government Authority and Development –IGAD led meditating peace talks where these Civil society groups made up of Community Based Organization (CBOs) ,Faith based groups, syndicated organizations(Women and Youth) are working side by side with either the government and /or the rebel (SPLM-IO) to dialogue and discuss issues of peace and governance matters at equal footings and understanding.

In the field where actual war is taking place, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is so instrumental in offering its internationally recognized role in advocating to the

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<sup>38</sup> Mr. Edmund YAKANI is the Executive Director of Community Empowerment for Progress Organization (CEPO) which is working on advocacy for Human rights in South Sudan.

warring parties in the conflict to uphold the international humanitarian law related to the armed conflict. According to the responses of Mr. Yakani, the role of the Non-State Actors in diplomacy is to work for effecting changes of attitudes and practices of the state actors so that the role of Non-State Actors, State Actors and Supranational institutions are equally realized for a desired result which is happening now with the South Sudanese stakeholders.

### **3.7 Challenges of Non-State Actors in Diplomatic Discourse**

In this matter, the respondents to the questionnaires had various responses, but to a high degree, agree to the need for meaningful participation of Non-State Actors in real global issues such as environmental challenges, human rights issues, minority rights and mostly to consider diplomacy as a vital means of engagement between and among actors and not considered only as political engagement between sovereign states per se. The Non-State Actors in a serious way are falling short of the matter of identity and recognition in the international relations due to the lack of suitable legal framework in the diplomatic scene.

#### **3.7.1 The Need to Reform the International System**

Historically, the international system and its related issues was designed specifically to suit and safeguard the interests of its main designers –the sovereign states which were and continue to be the major players in the international arena, but with the course of time, the world is developing and changing rapidly and so do the issues and actors in the international stage; some quarters are overtaken by changes and hence lack behind and others are emerging on the stage in full swing force. These new actors are struggling to have their foot secure a place in the international system, but the way this system operates blocks the new actors from gaining a place. In this



regard, the said development in the world affairs calls for shaping and reshaping understanding of not only the diplomats, but also of that of the policy makers in the international system.

Mr. Yakani, the of CEPO on the question of restructuring of the international system suggests that there is a great need to restructure diplomacy as the process of partnership for realization of mutual interests among the various stakeholders as equal actors where the state actors, Non-State Actors and Supranational Institutions come under one partnership. The globalization trend which is influencing many actions and attitudes of many actors as seen by Mr. Yakani, should be viewed as the element of changes that facilitates the partnership and should be treated as the trend that acts beyond the concentration of power and related privileges at the hand of the state actors, because it empowers the Non-State Actors to mobilize a sizeable constituencies in no time and unhindered; this advancement in technology is another tool which gives Non-State Actors a strong leverage to act and make the new actors as part and parcel of the international system for effecting global justice.

The role of Non-State Actors in this respect should be legally integrated and incorporated into the modern international legal framework to enable the modern actors break more deadlocks in negotiating on many global issues. Globally, the Non-State Actors have already found themselves in the international system without any government obligation or permission. They are not in any way in the international system to support or undermine any interests of any government, but to complement the role of governments and international bodies for the common citizens' interests and benefits which will have us see global partnership and more social justice. Mr, Yakani described the mission of the Non-State Actors in the international stage as that one to bridge the gap between the governments and citizens for a better understanding. In summary of his responses for the questionnaires, Yakani, aspires to see a

global dialogue which is the prime issue of the modern diplomacy with optimism to create a broader forum for negotiations between various actors in the world affairs. Here, I would rephrase his words as the need for a global forum where the stakeholders should dialogue for a common understanding, this idea is in line with the justification for Polyilateral Diplomacy in our modern world that would complement the already existing Bilateral and Multilateral Diplomacy which had been the prerogatives of only the state actors and supranational institution without including the role of Non-State Actors.

### **3.8 Interviews**

In the part of interviews, a structured interview was conducted with Ambassador. John Gai<sup>39</sup> Yoh,(PhD) , the minister of Education , Science and Technology of South Sudan, who also served as ambassador of South Sudan to South Africa ,Turkey and a lecturer at the University of South Africa (UNISA) .Abraham Keat Bichok interview with Dr.John Gai Yoh, the Minister of Education, Science and Technology of South Sudan, Juba, July30th, 2015.The structured interview was cantered on three issues that are believed to be crucial in diplomacy and their relation to the Non-State Actors in Diplomacy: the issues are: first, Non-State Actors, Role and Recognition in diplomacy. Second, The Prospects for Diplomacy in the twenty-first century and third and last is The Impact of globalization on diplomacy.

#### **3.8.1 Non-State Actors, Role and Recognition in Diplomacy**

The Second World War (1939-1945) which started in Europe and spread to the rest of the world shaped the emergence of Non-State Actors in the world politics. This is mainly because the

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<sup>39</sup> John Gai YOH, PhD, currently is the minister of Education, Science and Technology in the Republic of South Sudan, previously, he had served as the Liaison Officer for the Liaison office of Southern Sudan in South Africa during the CPA (2006-2011), resident Ambassador of the Republic of South Sudan to Turkey from (2011-2013) He had been a lecturer on Political Science in University of South Africa (UNISA) and published a number of books in his field

effect of the world war two saw almost disintegration of most of European countries; in this situation the main pillars of the sovereignty, the boundaries, population, government and the international recognition of those states were under enormous threat and challenge.

In this event, the world had begun to consider means through which to regulate international relations, which include strengthening of the already existing diplomacy by introducing the multilateral diplomacy through United Nations body and other regional authorities such as European Union, South American Association, and Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) etc. The other means of regulating international relations was the enactment of International Law, where the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relation of 1961 came into being to govern the conduct of diplomatic relations between sovereign states.

The Non-State Actors came about first through organizations created by states (supranational institutions) and the International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) such as International Committee of the Red Cross,(ICRC), Postal Union etc besides United Nations agencies. These actors have a very considerable level of influence in the international politics. The other second generation of the Non-State Actors are believed to be composed of international federation e.g. Federation of International Food Ball Association(FIFA), Multi-National Corporations (MNCs), Airlines, Hotel Industries ,Mining Companies etc ,these kind of Non-State Actors use their financial muscles to influence government policies in their favour, or would mobilize the masses or other powerful actors to change the regime ,the best example is the recent Ivory Coast in which the powerful Cocoa companies led to the violent overthrowing of Laurent Gbabou ;workers' Union ,Women Organizations ,Youth Associations etc.

### **3.8.1.1 Role of the Non-State Actors**

The Non-State Actors use diplomacy as a tool of negotiations with the primary aim of weakening the state sovereignty, in the politics of the day, the Non-State Actors and the State fight over the sovereignty

For instance, you may come across these different statements by government and the Non-State Actors “*we are a sovereign state*” (governments) and the Non-State Actors would retort back “*We are the People*”. It is reported in some media outlet that the United States (US) has begun to contemplate on how to engage the Islamic State in Iraq and Levant (ISIL) if the ISIL succeeded in establishing its Khalifhat (Islamic state), It is said that the ISIL is occupying a vast land starting from Diyala in Iraq to Aleppo in Syria, a very considerable area in that region and declared Abu Baker Al Baghdadi as the Khalifa (Islamic leader) since June 2014. So the US and its allies will either use diplomacy to engage or continue vigorously to fight and wipe out the ISIL militarily.

Another tool that the Non-State Actors are using to go around the sovereignty is the recent United Nations’ norm of “Responsibility To Protect” (R2P) in which the International Community can intervene in internal affairs of a given state without prejudice to the United Nations’ Charter of 1945 that prohibits any intervention in internal affairs of its member states. This norm of “Responsibility to Protect” was crafted to give the International community a leeway to do its task in a case where the state is either unable or unwilling to protect its own people against genocide and other war crimes. This is a legal way of infringing the sovereignty of the states. In the current international relation there is a need to distinguish between the sovereignty of state and that of the government; the sovereignty of the state is seriously enshrined in the international law in the United Nation Charter. It could be waived though it may

contradict with the United Nations' Charter but the one of the government is enshrined in its constitution and could not contradict with the United Nations' Charter.

### **3.8.1.2 Pillars of Strategies of the Non-State Actors**

The Non-State Actors in the international politics of the time are using certain pillars as their strategies to place themselves in the international arena, they are:-

- a) Influence the policies of the state to their interests.
- b) Target the State sovereignty to do away with monopoly of certain political issues.
- c) They have network of both services and funding.
- d) Non-State Actors are part and parcel of the state component such as Multi-National Corporations (MNCs) local and international federations, Civil Society Organizations, United Nations' Agencies (World Food Programme WFP, Food and Agriculture Organizations FAO, etc.)
- e) The Non-State Actors role changes with the change of the global politics.
- f) With all these sources of influences and at the same time using diplomacy and soft power, there is dire need and justified cause for the Non-State Actors to be recognized in the International politics. Or also to use force and diplomacy to either engage or destroy them, war and diplomacy are two different faces of diplomacy.

### **3.8.2 Prospects for Diplomacy in the 21<sup>st</sup> C**

The twenty first Century is driven by the advance in the mode of communication technology which transformed from telegraph to telephone culminated today into internets and its offshoots tweeter, face book etc.This information technology advancement brought about a number of developments of many matters, like increase in the volume of Multi-National Corporations, trade routes and industrialization.

All these developments put together characterize the lifestyle of the twenty-first Century into what is technically known as globalization. The prospects for diplomacy in this century is not just about the diplomacy itself but about the tools that the diplomacy would be applying to change the mode of practices, for instance you don't have to travel from Canada in the far west to Japan in the far east to meet a business partner, you may just have a teleconference to meet and discuss the business. Also, the South Africa resident Ambassador to Russia would use his office communication gadget to share information with his colleague in New York that would make his key note speech for an afternoon United Nations conference that the telegraph would not do with immediate effects. There are possible means to use for increase of knowledge and exposure.

### **3.8.3 Globalization**

The impact of globalization which led to a globalized world is seen at work on daily basis to be a factor determining the means of business, the globalized world of today is a world of easy networking which makes it so easy for Non-State Actors to build huge constituents in no time.

Globalized world in this regard needs a globalized diplomacy in which a diplomat would use global approaches to diplomatic issues, in this chapter we have learned about the operational structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of South Sudan, where

the Directorate of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) is now of equal importance with other essential directorate such as Bilateral and Multilateral, this a technical aspect of the diplomacy in a globalized world, the other socio-political factor of the globalization should also be taken into account by the state actors (diplomat) to positively engage with the Non-State Actors as equal partners in global issues.

A global diplomacy would need to build on a multilateral approach as a launching pad for a global partnership for dialogue where all actors Non-State, State Actors and supranational organizations come together. This is paramount because the previous notion of conventional friends and enemies that was being used to define the national security interests is no longer applying; New issues that begin to emerge in the diplomatic field such as Environmental matters, Human rights and International Humanitarian Law need a very strong global network that none could do better than the Non-State Actors which their level of efficiency and efficacy is witnessed and proved in lobbying and advocating on issues of political, Humanitarian Law and environmental awareness without any string of interest attached as well as influencing the agenda, but in the near future, the Non-State Actors would be in the central stage not any longer in the peripheries to the extent to tabling and not influencing the agenda, this is where Polyilateral Diplomacy is paramount in this century.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE ADVENT OF POLYLATERALISM

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter covers data presentation and analysis of the data collected through questionnaires and interview guides. In order to simplify the discussions, the researcher provided figures that summarize the collective reactions and views of the respondents.

#### 4.2 Public diplomacy definition

Based on the findings of this study, public diplomacy is defined as an avenue for activities intended to change people's perception in a way that helps sending states achieve their objectives by employing both governments and Non-Government actors to connect with other players at other levels of society. Public Diplomacy reflects the move from the old style of state-to-state foreign policy towards the new style of multimedia, multilateral policy.<sup>40</sup>

In addition, Public diplomacy can also be referred to as effective communication with the public around the globe to understand values and emulate visions and ideas; historically one of America's most effective weapons of outreach, persuasion and policy.<sup>41</sup> Public diplomacy may also be defined, as the conduct of international relations by governments through public communications media and through dealings with a wide range of Non-governmental entities (political parties, corporations, trade associations, labour unions, educational institutions, religious organizations, and ethnic groups, and so on including influential individuals) for the

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<sup>40</sup> Daryl COPLAND is an analyst, author, educator, and consultant specializing in Diplomacy, International Policy, global issues and Public management. His first book, *Gurrilla Diplomacy: Rethinking International Relations*, was released in 2009 by Lynne Reinner Publishers, and is cited as an essential reference by the editors of Oxford online Bibliographies

<sup>41</sup> Jill SACKER, former Director of Public Affairs at the National Security Council, July 2004



purpose of influencing the politics and actions of other governments.<sup>42</sup> Public diplomacy that traditionally represents actions of governments to influence overseas publics within the foreign policy process has expanded today - by accident and design - beyond the realm of governments which include the media, multinational corporations, Non-Governmental Organizations and faith-based organizations as active participants in the field.

Snow<sup>43</sup> argues that, " public diplomacy refers to government-sponsored programs intended to inform or influence public opinion in other countries; its chief instruments are publications, motion pictures, cultural exchanges, radio and television."

#### **4.3 Phases of Evolution in Diplomacy and International Relations**

Based on the findings, account of the current diplomacy in the global relationships has been rapidly shaped and reshaped by events that usually as per their characteristics produce new means of engagement based on issues and conditions related to the events on the spotlight of the international politics. For example, the aftermath of the world war two and other accompanying conditions of war and peace managed with a considerable degree to bring forth a formidable mechanism for safeguarding the international peace and security for entire international community. Also it created a forum where the world affairs are collectively discussed and managed, thus came about the birth of the United Nations Charter, which in turn resulted into the *multilateral mode of diplomacy* for pacific means of settling dispute and discouraging the unilateral declaration of war.

From the findings, it was observed that the practice of diplomacy as an art of negotiations and pacific settlement of disputes came a very long way from ancient time in the history of human

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<sup>42</sup> Alan K .HENRICKSON, Professor of Diplomatic History, April, 2005

<sup>43</sup> Croker SNOW Jr. Acting Director of Edward R. Murrow Centre May 2005.

kind and it continued to evolve till our time. This development of diplomacy is due to a number of factors in various eras in the history of peace, war and politics; with the recent invention of technology; especially in the twenty first century, the discipline is widening beyond the scope of the traditional ways and means of conducting it in a very puzzling yet admirable manner.

The findings also indicate that this development in the field of diplomacy which took place in the first half of the twenty century is now being overtaken by a number of events that range from cold war era, followed by rapid development in technology, famously known as globalization that entails revolution in the information and communication technology where distance and means of outreaches have improved greatly. This development has led to the emergence of many actors which are Non-State entities such as Non-Governmental Organization, powerful and influential Multi-National Corporation, National Liberations Movements, armed to teeth terrorists organizations such as Boko Haram (of Nigeria) in West Africa, the Islamic State in Iraq and Levant of Middle East, media houses of immense power such as British Broadcasting Corporations (BBC) ,Aljazeera, CNN and imminent persons as Kofi Anan,Dalai Lama, Jimmy Carter just to mention a few.<sup>44</sup>

From the findings also in this era, the two already existing diplomatic modes do not adequately address the existing challenges and therefore, the field is evolving to produce a new mode of diplomacy to cater for all the challenges that would bring about a global dialogue and partnership for a peaceful world. This section discusses in depth the phases of evolutions in the field of diplomacy, though the phases listed here do not completely exhaust and cover all the areas of evolution in diplomacy, but it only serves as a guiding sample to discuss the changes it had undergone, with major mile stones such as the various models of diplomacies which started

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<sup>44</sup> An interview with respondents from departments of research and planning

from Bilateral Diplomacy, to Multilateral Diplomacy and now to the Polyilateral Diplomacy which is the topic of discussion of this research as a newer trending type of diplomacy in our twenty-first century and may be beyond until it is later challenged by any another type of diplomacy in the future given the changing nature of the world politics based on the challenges and perception of a given period of time.

#### **4.3.1 The Westphalia Phase**

The function of diplomacy though started so earlier on, its essence began to shape in the period of the Westphalia Peace Treaty of 1648 that consolidated the principle of sovereignty of nation-State where all states were regarded as equal in international law regardless of size and that the principle of non-interference into another country's internal affairs was upheld so religiously. This notion of Westphalia sovereignty according to international law scholars is considered to be the central stage where the principles of modern state were anchored in Europe and was later adopted in most countries of the world, even though this is disputed by other scholars. The development of the statehood in Europe in the seventeen century went hand in hand with the development of diplomatic practices translating this concept into values and norms related to the relations between sovereign states which gave birth to what became known as Bilateral Diplomacy.

#### **4.3.2 World War 1&2 Phase**

By the twenty century and precisely after the first and second world war ,the world saw the introduction of conference diplomacy through the establishment of the League of Nations in 1919 and the subsequent establishment of the United Nations in 1945, these two developments in the history of the modern world led to the emergence of Multilateral Diplomacy.

### 4.3.3 Globalization Phase.

It is so apparent that the world of today is a home of the information revolution which is technically known as “Globalization” where the flow of information and ease of communication as facilitated by social media outlets such as face book, twitter, whatsaps and other blogging networks led to the emergence of other actors in nearly every aspect of life from socio- economic and political , to spiritual, legal and communication; this rapid development is coming with immense force and is calling for modernization of political, economic, social, spiritual, legal and communication manners and other issues related to them such as public diplomacy and political aspects.

In our today’s world, the traditional mission and role of the resident ambassador of gathering and assessing information of foreign societies and governments, which had been for so long the ultimate function of diplomacy is fading away and losing control attached to it; this is simply because any one without much effort and only with a click of his/her keyboard gets the information s/he needs in a few seconds in any part of the world. This challenge of information technology advancement requires that the traditional actors of the diplomacy (State and its diplomatic machineries) to either modernize or minimize to adjust to the current challenges of globalization and its advanced communication which has become a means of daily life phenomena of nearly every one irrespective of the digital divide. This is a new era in the history of diplomacy and the advent of new mode of diplomacy scholarly known as *Polylateral Diplomacy*.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid

#### 4.4 The Changing patterns of public diplomacy

The findings also indicate that the early 1990s were characterized by attempts to formulate conceptions of the new world order that were replacing the Cold War system (notably Fukuyama's "End of History" thesis and Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations"). No all-embracing neologism emerged to encapsulate the new era, although "the age of globalization" and "America's uni-polar moment" were common, if contested. For many scholars interested in the rise of a global civil society following the Cold War's demise, the successful conclusion of the 1998 Ottawa Treaty banning anti-personnel land mines was seen as an exemplary case, signaling the retreat of the sovereign state as the organizing unit in world politics.<sup>46</sup>

It was also observed that during the 1990s, a number of diplomatic concepts were developed with a view to capturing shifts in the new global dialogue. These included *second-track diplomacy*, meaning methods of diplomacy outside the formal governmental system, often initiated by non-governmental actors and involving diplomats in their personal capacity; and *virtual diplomacy*, a process of direct global and transnational communication and bargaining between states, Non-State groups and individuals, made possible by new technologies, such as the Internet. These diplomacies imply an increasing role for transnational civil society actors and are best encapsulated conceptually under the Polyilateral rubric.

The findings further noted that conflicting trends in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century make it difficult to evaluate whether the emerging international system is more or less hospitable to transnational civil society actors and issues. On the one hand, globalization increased dramatically with improvements in information and communication technologies and the rise of

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<sup>46</sup> Ann M. Florini (ed.), (2013). *The Third Force: The Rise of Transnational Civil Society*, Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

new, Internet-based media that appeared to erode state sovereignty further. On the other hand, the U.S. response to the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks arguably the defining moment of the new century's first decade appeared under George W. Bush's Republican administration to reinforce the idea of the national security state and to set an unfortunate example for human rights norms supported by civil societies around the world. Despite the impact of the U.S.'s "war on terrorism," however, many sovereign states, at least the "normal" ones (the modern and post-modern states, in Robert Cooper's terms), have shown a high degree of resilience in recent years. Most remarkable in this respect is the rise of the so-called BRIC emerging powers Brazil, Russia, India, and China. Additionally, when it comes to solving such global problems as climate change, the spread of nuclear weapons and the global financial crisis, sovereign states often coming together in multilateral never seemed to be far from the action. And even where impressive political uprisings occurred (e.g. Ukraine, Iran), they challenged the incumbent gatekeepers of sovereignty, not sovereignty itself; the goal being to replace a dubious regime with a better one, generally within the current state framework.<sup>47</sup>

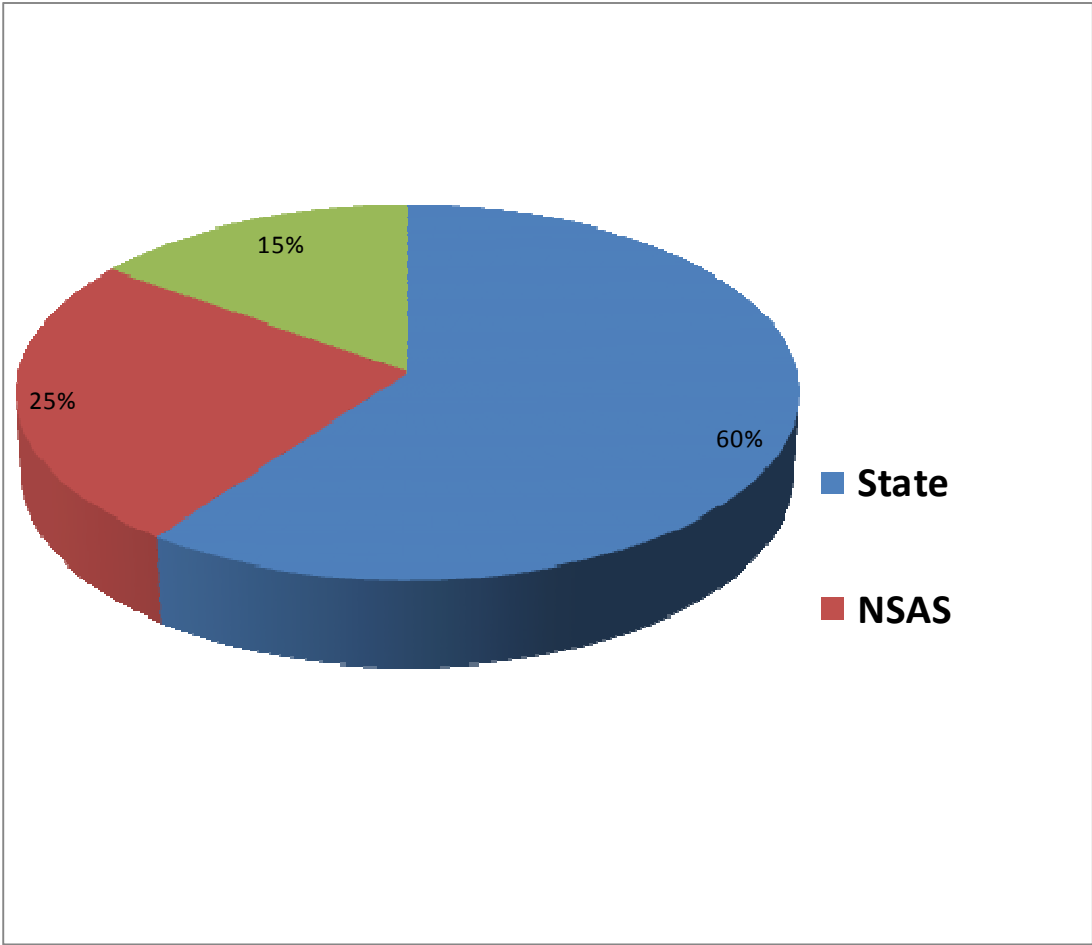
The findings established that ironically, the fact that the two traditional dimensions of diplomacy bilateral and multilateral had acquired the status of *taken-for-granted norms* became apparent only when the Bush administration appeared to challenge them. In one key respect, however, the administration's main contribution to diplomatic theory was in its recognition, if less so in its implementation, of the need to address foreign audiences as a policy strategy, giving rise to the renaissance of public diplomacy. The significance of this development was that a new wave of scholars and students began to conceptualize public diplomacy in Non- state actors' terms, viewing public outreach to foreign audiences as a policy tool for not only states, but a wide range

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid

of non-state actors as well. The findings reveal that international developments over the past decade suggest a mixed, perhaps cautious, conclusion as to whether state diplomatic actors and institutions are adopting Polyilateral practices, welcoming the presence of transnational civil society actors in the international policy process and in other tasks normally reserved for state diplomatic agents.

**Figure 4. Pie chart representing the ratios of partnership for state, Non-State Actors and regional organizations as perceived by Polyilateral diplomacy.**



Source: Public Diplomacy: The Advent of Polyilateralism research project 2015.

## **4.5 Polylateralism and its application today**

Based on the findings, Polylateralism is central to any understanding of contemporary or new Diplomacy. This is the relationship between the state and other entities. The importance of transnational organizations in the mix of modern state affairs is increasingly important. Geoffrey Wiseman(2008 ) mentions that the United States has, on the face of it, differing diplomatic accentuations in Los Angeles, New York and Washington DC which is due to the emphasis of any centre of power.<sup>48</sup> New York is host to the United Nations and other institutions so, it is Polylateralism, Washington DC is bilateralism by nature because many embassies are bilateral and exhibit an older diplomatic *raison d'être*. Los Angeles is modern and scattered and has strong links to big transnational so is Polylateralism. However one cannot make this an easy case for explanation because as it happens the World Bank and the IMF are in Washington DC and a plethora of institutes, think tanks and lobbyists. On closer examination though bilateralism dominates Washington, which are all examples of complex Polylateral networks. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall and the gradual emergence of developing states as regional powers the idea of Polylateralism has taken root.

### **4.5.1 Polylateral Diplomacy and politics**

The researcher sought to establish the respondent's opinion on whether the Polylateral Diplomacy affected politics. The results are displayed on the table below.

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<sup>48</sup> Jean-Francois Rischard, "Global Issues Networks: Desperate Times Deserve Innovative Measures," *The Washington Quarterly*, vol. 26



**Table 4.1: Polyilateral Diplomacy and politics**

<b>Statement</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>
Polyilateral Diplomacy affect politics	79%	21%

Source: Polyilateral Diplomacy research questionnaires 2015.

From the findings, it was noted that majority of 79% agreed that Polyilateral Diplomacy affected politics. The findings further indicate that Polyilateral diplomacy plays very significant role in the contemporary world of politics. It can be force for good by creating channel of communication among conflicting sides as well as helping to establish, innovate and foster global peace and security. It is widely believed that, the diplomacy is solely a function of foreign office and its representative. However, *'the New Diplomacy'*, goes further deeper beyond the surface. Diplomacy involves Non-State Actors such as Non-Governmental Organizations, and it also has important role for the environment, trade and crisis.

The new diplomacy (Polyilateral diplomacy) facilitates channel of communication among heads of states and non state politics in contemporary world of politics. Without communication, there would not be any international system as there will not be any interaction among states and non state actors.

The negotiation of agreements plays crucial role for enhancing relationships and achieving mutual benefits, thus diplomacy facilitates states actor to interact with minimum friction and tension. From the findings it was established that at the same time, there has been a decrease in importance of one traditional diplomacy core aspects; the role of ambassador has been undermined. Additionally it was noted that an effective diplomacy can help to establish and maintain international peace and security. It can be argued that politicians may not be diplomats.

Distinctions can be drawn between politicians and diplomats. Unlike old diplomacy, new diplomacy tends to be low politics rather than high politics.

The findings further indicate that the diversity of actors has created opportunities for new partnerships to form an older one to be strengthened, but an essential component of future global governance has been short-chained in our enthusiasm for non-state actors. The coming together of these new systems requires increased legal codification and more robust orchestration by intergovernmental organizations. The absence of Inter-Governmental Organization (IGOs) with the requisite scope, resources, and authority means that the global system is deprived of the tools, wherewithal, and legitimacy that only universal intergovernmental organizations can bring. Rather than describing current global governance as “good enough,” a better label would be “better than nothing.” Certainly global problem-solving is not a sunset industry, and progress will require actors doing what each does best and designing incentives so that they continue to contribute or begin to do so.<sup>49</sup>

#### **4.5.2 The Distinction between High and Low Politics.**

It is very imperative that many countries hide their illegal interests behind the shield of sovereignty when things are getting awkward, when things come to what are termed as issue of National Security interests, state would not like the Non-State actors to come anywhere nearer to the decision-making related to security issue (High politics) and would always want the Non-State Actors to be engaged in simple matters of low politics that has no significant impacts on the political issues. This deliberate act by states is made to arrest the advance of the Non-State Actors to the threshold of decision- making process.

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<sup>49</sup> An interview with selected respondents from Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation

#### 4.6 Efficiency of the new diplomacy (Polylateral Diplomacy)

The researcher sought to establish the respondents view on the efficiency of Polylateral diplomacy.

**Table 4.2: Efficiency of the new diplomacy**

Statement	Yes	No
New diplomacy efficiency	73%	27%

Source: Polylateral Diplomacy Research findings.2015.

From the findings it was noted that majority of 73% of the study respondents agreed that Polylateral diplomacy was effective. Respondents explained that the new diplomacy has brought about cooperation between Non-Governmental Organizations and multilateral cooperation due to the impact of globalisation which has made trade, investment, travel and information technology much closer to each other. Another important aspect of the new diplomacy is that international law has come into force compared to the 19th and 20th century whereby it was limited to issues such as piracy, wartime embargoes, rights of diplomats which was all about states thus through multilateralism, states have come into agreement through the United Nations (UN) and the European Union (EU) whereby international law has been put into place and of which states have to abide by it especially when it comes to human rights.

The findings of this research revealed that with the advance of new technology, new diplomacy has made it easy for information to bypass resident ambassadors in a way that coverage such as the media can transfer messages. For example Cable Network News (CNN) coverage of the Gulf war.<sup>50</sup> New diplomacy has also shaped the importance of smaller poor states in a way that they

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<sup>50</sup> Interview with the respondents from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

do lack technology due to financial hardships and thus by states coming together through conferences, these countries can easily express their cases like in the United Nations (UN) and also get help in specific fields where they need expertise, for instance when it comes to trade tariffs. In addition, Polyilateral Diplomacy has made travel and work for foreign affairs ministers and diplomats much easier in that they can move from one place to another negotiating directly with foreign missions in which they are respected just like the resident ambassador and also a leader can send his message directly to a foreign land with the use of modern technology just like Barack Obama did during his address to the Iranian people.

#### **4.7 Importance of public diplomacy in the contemporary world**

The findings<sup>51</sup> established that in the present contemporary world with the spread of democracy that created a new environment in the international system to win hearts and minds of people by governments. This is what public diplomacy does by trying to influence foreign nationals and the public with values, policies and actions of their governments to be supported. Public diplomacy can be defined as the efforts of one nation to influence public or elites of the other nation for the purpose of using foreign policy to its target. From the findings, it was established that governments always attempt to communicate with foreign public to export their ideas, its institutions and culture, as well as national goals and current policies. Public diplomacy looks at promoting its culture for long term aims while short-term when it comes to current foreign policies and can also be looked at as propaganda for a nation state by improving its image abroad which will be favourable to the state. The importance of foreign public diplomacy is that it is influenced by soft power rather than use of force or hard power and has brought dependency of

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<sup>51</sup> An interview with respondents from ministry of Ministry of Foreign Affairs

citizens on their governments and the local press for information on foreign events and increased potential targets for direct communication of diplomatic messages.

As observed, another important point is that distribution of information around the globe is not restricted any longer due to new technology that can transmit messages around the world in seconds like fighting terrorism in an age of global real-time television and the internet.<sup>52</sup> Public diplomacy also serves both bilateral and multilateral diplomacy in the sense that they are intended for national interest like in the quest of investment, promotion of trade, and international tourism which is also referred to as branding and also creates cooperation and interaction. Examples can be seen in the Canadian and Norwegian experience with the Ottawa process on landmines which shows how collaboration between the domestic and international policy arenas and the public and private sphere. According to the findings of the study, the importance of the new diplomacy is that it does unite nations to come into an understanding when negotiating matters of common interest and also at the same time it creates interaction and cooperation between nation states.

Additionally, the new diplomacy has also made it possible for developing countries to air their views in that these countries might lack embassies or missions due to lack of adequate resources but could afford communicating machineries like the internet thus through conference meetings which gives them a chance to negotiate. Another aspect is that the new diplomacy is that it does involve third parties, thus this is important in the sense that when two conflicting parties fail to come to understanding, the third party will act as an intermediary; for example the United Nations or the European Union in conflict solving like in the case of a country that is at war

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<sup>52</sup> Manuel Castells provides an excellent statement of this perspective in *Communication Power*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

between the government and opposition, the UN or the EU will intervene through mediation process which could aim at reaching a favourable solution for both parties. The new diplomacy creates skills; Personnel working in the foreign office, embassies or consulates are usually trained to represent their countries in particular negotiations like trade, crisis, or security and at the same time, the new diplomacy has created representatives like civil societies that will act on behalf of a international citizenry to champion their interest and to represent them in terms of negotiation.

#### **4.8 State response to emergence of non-state actors**

In this period of the would be trending new mode of diplomacy, the state actors in the international politics would be required to comprehend and undertake some appropriate measures in order for them to set a positive tone for the upcoming diplomatic engagement –the Polylateral diplomacy. In this regards, we have to look at what Wiseman described as six determining factors for the success of the Polylateralism in the international arena. These determining measures are:

- a) *State Adaptive capacity to new system of diplomacy*
- b) *State Size*
- c) *State type of system whether a democratic government, or autocratic in system,*
- d) *The distinction between high and low politics such as security and other strategic issues and other non-security and non-strategic matter as low political issues,*
- e) *The nature of Non-State Actors engagement.*
- f) *The decision phase.*

The above factors as put by Wiseman are not so easy to achieve by the state actors for the purpose needed in order for Polylateral Diplomacy to take its place and course in the international politics as quickly as possible. In analyzing some of the six factors, let us look critically at some of them.

#### **4.8.1 State adaptive Capacity**

According to the findings, it is obvious that in nature of international politics that some of the states are very good in adapting new norms and regulation ,this is due to their high level of civility and quest to update on periodical basis for adjustment as required by citizens that serve as determining leverage to the policy makers, this is so possible in countries driven by their constituencies in term of their policies issues; but in contrast, some states that are held hostage by their tyrant policy makers would always lag behind in term of quick adaptability of any world political event, for example, the North Korea in the recent days is planning to have its separate time zone which would go against the geographical setting of the world maps. The reason is just that the country (North Korea) does not want to share the same time zone with the countries it perceives as enemies.<sup>53</sup>

#### **4.8.2 State Type**

The type of the state system would be determining the responses of that particular state in the international events, for instance, the democratic countries would act civilly to this type of diplomacy in a positive manner, but the autocratic ones, would resist the advent of this diplomatic event until a time that things became so embarrassing to them and later would shamefully be compelled to concede after losing a considerable time and values.

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<sup>53</sup> Fen O. Hampson and Christopher K. Penny(2008) “Human Security,” in Thomas Weiss and Sam Daws (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the United Nations*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, , p. 552.

### 4.8.3 The Nature of Non-State Actors Engagement

In the issue to do with the very engagement of Non-State Actors ,there is great need to look into this matter. In the effectiveness and efficacy of the work of the Non-State Actors, there must be a clear agenda that would guide a work of a specific entity, some of the Non-State Actors might have a programme contradicting with some of the provisions of the constitutions of the countries that would want to work with, so the nature of their engagement with the government of that particular state would be at jeopardy and hence the engagement would be concluded with failure, but the positive engagement of the Non-State Actors and the government would always create a kind of mutual trust and understanding if carefully undertaken .

### 4.9 Recognition of Non-State Actors in International Law

The researcher sought to investigate respondents' opinion on recognition of Non-State Actors in International Law.

**Table 4.3: Recognition of Non-State Actors in International Law**

<b>Statement</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>
Non-State Actors recognition in the International Law	81%	19%

The findings indicate that majority (81%) of the respondents were of the opinion that the Non-State Actors were recognized in International Law. The findings however revealed that the international law was set in a way it caters only for sovereign nations as subject of legal personality, this principle in the law does not give room to other entities to have a foot in the international stage, but with the change of time and other developments, there is now a great



need in our world more than before for the recognition of the Non-State Actors in the world affairs. Non-State Actors are nowadays wielding a considerable amount of power in terms of socio-economic and political power.<sup>54</sup>

It is believed that in the whole world, the Non-State Actors are representing a population of many millions more than some of the United Nations member States that have only few hundred as their population. Also the Non-State Actors are enjoying a good number of constituents such as faith based organizations with Roman Catholics Church that has its worldwide population in nearly billions, Islamic followers also inhabiting a big number of countries in the Middle East, Asian countries, North African Countries and recent increase of population in European countries, these figures representing the faith based organizations, when put together would exceed more than half of the world actual population.

On the other hand, the Non-State Actors are custodian of the world wealth with Multi-National Corporations (MNCs) owning asset of billions if not trillions of Dollars in both service and finance. In this regards, many Multi-National Corporation (MNCs) may dictate term when it comes to issue of politics that has direct bearing on the company's interests before that of the state interests; for example to discuss issue of environmental matters such as Green Houses Gases (GHG), the government of the United State is unable to sign Kyoto Protocol simply because some of its giant companies like Exxon Oil interest is at stake, here the leverage is very clear by the Non-State Actors, so conventional wisdom would have it that engaging Exxon Oil company in environmental diplomacy would yield more fruits than dealing with the United State Government on the matter at hand. In this respect, the manifestation of power, here is the first concept that the international law uses as a factor to measure and recognize the state.

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid

Many Non-State Actors have all what it takes to be recognized as a legal personality in the international law with few exceptions such as defined territories, and governments, as stipulated in the Montevideo Convention of 1933, so therefore, it would be an extra advantage to the international community to have a third power in the international politics besides the state and the supranational organizations for fruitful and sound global partnership and dialogue.

#### **4.10 Partnership as preceding Concept**

<sup>55</sup> The concept of Partnership could in the first place serve as beginning phase of application of Polyilateral Diplomacy where the Regional Organizations could take a lead in engaging the Non-State Actors on a partnership basis as it was pioneered 15 years ago by the European Union which led to the birth of the Cotonou Agreement as a basis for Non-State Actors engagement in the world. This concept is also adapted by the United Nations by going into partnership with some Non-Governmental Organizations through entrusting them with some issues in their agenda for either implementation or in terms of lobbying in favour of the issues at the international affairs.<sup>56</sup>

The other supranational organizations are also required to borrow a leave from the European Union and the United Nations to set precedence in this direction. The African Union (AU), the Organization of South American States, Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and other regional bodies could be encouraged to take this bold step. This process should be considered as a first phase of Polyilateral Diplomacy to help build a kind of mutual trust and understanding that is needed among and between the actors. The supranational organizations after this partnership would in turn introduce the Non-State Actors' role into their member states

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<sup>55</sup> Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid

with higher degree of ease for a fully pledged partnership and diplomatic engagement in this respect, there after Polyilateral Diplomacy would be in practice of the diplomatic engagement.<sup>57</sup>

The State Actors, the Supranational Institutions in Polyilateral Diplomacy through this partnership assigned to each entity a particular role to play in the concept of the partnership, the role may include current issue in the world affairs, such as Green Houses Gas (GHG), and other matters of global warming where no country is politically willing to take lead, world economic issues, international security and related threats and advocacy on other issues of human rights and minority groups' rights.

The partnership share should be as follows: State Actors should for time being control a percentage of 60 % of the matters at hand, Non-Sate Actors could go for control of 25 % and the Regional Organizations could have control of 15%.

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<sup>57</sup> Robert Cooper (2003), *The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-first Century*, New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2003.

#### 4.11 Conclusion

According to the findings nowadays, sovereign states almost universally conduct bilateral diplomacy with other sovereign states and multilateral diplomacy in groups of three or more states, but a good deal of the world's political activity no longer falls within these two dimensions of state-to-state diplomacy. That is why a third dimension what is referred to as *Polylateral*, or *state-non-state*, diplomacy is needed. The evidence produced in the past decade on what future relations between sovereign states and transnational civil society actors will be decidedly mixed. But even if Polyilateral diplomacy has not yet been fully conceptualized, it captures this important category of interactions in world politics that flows logically from the bilateral and multilateral categories. Whether transnational civil society actors will be absorbed and socialized by territorial, state-based diplomatic culture, or whether driven by their concerns about global issues from human rights to climate change, and connected by “borderless” technology-enhanced networks these actors will cumulatively shape and socialize the prevailing diplomatic culture.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Richard Price, “Reversing the Gun Sights: Transnational Civil Society Targets Land Mines,” *International Organization*, vol. 52, no. 3 (Summer 1998), p. 615.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of the findings, conclusions based on the findings and recommendations to “*The Public Diplomacy: The Advent of Polyilateralism.*”

#### 5.2 Discussion of the findings

This research is about the advent of Polyilateral Diplomacy as a new evolving and trending mode of public Diplomacy; Polyilateral Diplomacy is the type of diplomacy that involves entities such as state actors, supranational institutions or group of states acting together and a Non-State Actor in an official engagement. The Purpose of Polyilateral Diplomacy is to establish a global partnership concept through a systemic reporting, communications and negotiation on issues of mutual benefits. The primary concept of this research is to come up with a meaningful reform in the international system which would give adequate space to the new and emerging actors in the international stage after quite long period of time of dominance by the traditional state actors and their linked regional authorities.

The main objective of the research is to recommend some appropriate approaches and mechanisms for adequate responses to the challenges of the time that topped in the list by globalization and fast proliferation of various powerful actors at the international stage, these actors are known according to the Cotonou agreement as Non-State Actors. The Polyilateral Diplomacy as perceived by this research doesn't in any way come to replace or compete with the already existing modes of diplomacy (Bilateral and Multilateral Diplomacies), but, it is here to complement them for complete resolution of pressing global issues in a partnership concept for

global peace and tranquillity. The Conceptual framework for this research is derived from the constructivist theory narrowed down to two main sub-concepts of *assimilation and accommodation* that are aiming at incorporating new ideas into the already existing framework without necessarily changing the original framework and the constructivist thinking which deals with reframing ones' mind set and representation to fit and suit new experience respectively.

In the research, the question of how the traditional actors in diplomacy respond to the role and recognition of the new actors that are emerging with efficacy and efficiency, this is discussed and finalized with some findings that include either modernization of the old structures and actors of the diplomacy or minimize some of their roles like giving up practicing of some other approaches: for example, public diplomacy which had already been taken over almost completely by the Non-State Actors that had been practically seen as doing it with high degree of satisfaction and efficiency that is beyond reasonable doubt. In the previous paragraphs it is also recommended that incorporating and accommodating the Non-State through legal framework in recognition of their efficiency and effective role is said to be one of the appropriate responses.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

As we have seen in the historical prospective of diplomacy as a human field of practices, major events in the world affairs had had much bearing on the development of diplomacy as a field. The evolution of diplomacy had helped shape the issue, the structures and actors in the field of diplomacy at the international arena. Early on, the field started as an errand business of kings and queens with their noble men to carry messages of the dignitaries to their counterparts across, until a time when the field was developed, structured and formalized as an official business and channel of communication between governments where a resident ambassador was appointed and exchanged to manage what became known as *Bilateral Diplomacy*. In the middle of the

twenty Century, the aftermath of the World War II brought about the conference diplomacy that later labelled as “*Multilateral Diplomacy*”; this kind of diplomatic engagement brought about the collective management of the world affairs where sense of cooperation was developed and cherished and pacific means of disputes settlement was also encouraged to uphold peaceful co-existence of member state of the United Nations.

With the turn of twenty century and advent of twenty-first century, a technological development known as globalization came into international relations with rapid force that facilitated a quick proliferation of effective and well organized and well equipped private but powerful entities that play a great role in development; these entities which later on named as Non-State Actors are lacking any legal recognition in the international law despite all the efficacy and efficiency they command and enjoy, this lack of recognition hindered and/or short-chained their role and performance in the international relations.

This research titled *Public Diplomacy: The Advent of Polyilateralism* is meant to bring into legal status the role of the Non-State Actors into the international arena through recognition and by use of the concept of partnership to incorporate and accommodate the Non-State Actors into the international system as to legalize their activities under international law. The Non-State Actors through the Polyilateral Diplomacy would adequately help address some of the challenges posed by the globalization and also to see to it that the states which are the traditional actors in the international relations respond to the new mode of diplomacy so that a globalized world becomes a good place for all and governable through partnership of various actors to safeguard international peace and security for sustainable development. This is why “Polyilateral Diplomacy” is the new mode of the international engagement.

## 5.4 Recommendations

After all the discussion that this research had undertaken, it would be of paramount importance to give some recommendations that the traditional actors, and the new actors in the international relations adopt to suit the changing aspects of the world politics in terms of structures, actors and issues. Some of these recommendations are:-

1. There is a great need as of now to establish a mechanism through which the international system could fairly serve the interest of the state actors and the Non-State Actors for collective gain in that it would in turn bring about global peace and tranquillity.
2. The International system through a legal framework such as “Polylateralism” to incorporate the Non-State Actors that should fully guarantee their participations as equal partners in strategic decision making issues rather than the low politics matters only in the international stage.
3. Supranational institutions should chart the way forward for this partnership so that the member states of the regional authorities may build more and adequate mutual trust and understanding that would serve as safety assurance since the state actors are so sensitive with issue of sovereignty more than other matters at hand.
4. Conventional wisdom have it that to avoid the wrongful use of Non-State Actors’ power that would have negative impact on the international peace and security, the Non-State Actors must be brought under the legal framework of the international rule of law.(IROL)
5. With the very much felt impacts of globalization, the globalized world becomes a place of widening, deepening, speeding up and growing impact of unlimited interconnectedness which bring more fragmentations and generating powerful sources of frictions, conflicts



and peace, in this sense there must be dire need for paradigm shift in the manner everything is being perceived and approached, the shift must include rethinking relations and the resetting of international institutions so that they raise above the traditional way of power distribution and use.

6. Positive partnership is needed to help and contribute positively for maintenance of international peace and security with effective role of various actors.

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### **Appendix 1: Interview guide**

1. **What's your understanding on the Changing patterns of public diplomacy?**
2. What's your view on Polyilateralism and its application today?
3. In your own opinion explain the Impact of Non-State Actors on World Politics?
4. In your own opinion how efficient is the new diplomacy (Polyilateral Diplomacy)?
5. How Important is public diplomacy in the contemporary world?
6. What are the State responses on the emergence of non-state actors?
7. What's your view on Non-State Actors Recognition in International Law?
8. What is your closing remark on Polyilateral public diplomacy?

**Appendix 2: Questionnaire**

1. What is public diplomacy?

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2. What are the emerging issues in public diplomacy?

.....

3. Does Polylateral Diplomacy affect world politics?

Explain.....

4. Is the new diplomacy efficient? Yes [ ] No [ ]

Explain.....

5. Are Non-State Actors recognised in the International Law?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

Explain .....

.....

6. What prospect would the Polylateral diplomacy bring to the world politics?

.....

.....