

197

# THE DYNAMICS OF DIPLOMACY

Jean-Robert Leguey-Feilleux



2009

282579

LYNNE  
RIENNER  
PUBLISHERS  
BOULDER  
LONDON

0102109

Published in the United States of America in 2009 by  
Lyman Riemer Publishers, Inc.  
1800 30th Street, Boulder, Colorado 80301  
www.riemer.com

and in the United Kingdom by  
Lyman Riemer Publishers, Inc.  
3 Haverstock Street, Covent Garden, London WC2E 8LU

© 2009 by Lyman Riemer Publishers, Inc. All rights reserved

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Leguey-Feilleux, Jean-Robert, 1928-  
The dynamics of diplomacy / by Jean-Robert Leguey-Feilleux.  
p. cm.  
Includes bibliographical references and index.  
ISBN 978-1-58826-629-3 (hardcover : alk. paper) —  
ISBN 978-1-58826-605-7 (pbk. : alk. paper)  
1. Diplomacy. I. Title.  
2008-148 0008  
091—dc22

2008013907

**British Cataloguing in Publication Data**

Leguey-Feilleux, Jean-Robert, 1928-  
The dynamics of diplomacy / by Jean-Robert Leguey-Feilleux.  
London: Lyman Riemer Publishers, 2009.

Printed and bound in the United States of America

The paper used in this publication meets the requirements  
of the American National Standard for Permanence of  
Paper for Printed Library Materials Z39.48-1992.

5 4 3 2 1

*To the memory of my mother  
To my wife, Virginia  
To my children,  
Michèle  
Monique and Joe  
Suzanne  
Christy and Ken*

# Contents

## *List of Tables*

## *Acknowledgments*

xi  
xiii

## Introduction

1

The Meaning of Diplomacy as an Issue 1, Negotiation 5, Foreign Policy 8, The Art of Diplomacy 9, Analytical Framework 11, Study Questions and Discussion Topics 14, Suggested Reading 15

## Diplomacy in Historical Context

23

Prologue 23, Sumer 25, Ebla 26, Akkad 26, Sumerian Revival and the Third Dynasty of Ur 27, Babylon 27, Egypt and the Hittites 27, Assyria 28, Persia 29, Ancient India 30, Ancient China 31, Ancient Greece: Bridge to the West 32, Rome 33, Byzantine Empire 35, Medieval Europe 36, The Renaissance 37, The Age of Richelieu 40, The Nineteenth Century 42, The Interwar Period 44, World War II and the Postwar Era 45, Study Questions and Discussion Topics 47, Suggested Reading 47

## Part 1 The Forces of Change

55

### The Consequences of Interdependence

57

Diplomatic Effects 60, The Changing Significance of Sovereign States 72, Case Study: Interdependence and

the Diplomacy of the Suez Crisis 75, Study Questions and Discussion Topics 79, Suggested Reading 79

### The Impact of Technology

The CNN Factor 87, Virtual Diplomacy 89, Network Power 93, Electronic Spying 94, Case Study: The US Embassy in Moscow 95, Study Questions and Discussion Topics 96, Suggested Reading 96

### The Role of Nonstate Actors

International Organizations 101, Transnational Innovations 103, Case Study: The Role of NGOs in the Diplomacy of the Landmine Treaty 122, Study Questions and Discussion Topics 128, Suggested Reading 129

### Changes in the Diplomatic Profession

Structural Causes of Professional Transformation 139, Professional Diversity 140, Greater Need for Specialized Skills 144, Evolving Diplomatic Culture 145, Gender Issues 147, Changing Style of Interaction 152, Ideology 153, Public Diplomacy 154, Diplomatic Immunities 155, Security Consequences of Political Unrest and Terrorism 161, Case Study: The Story of Ambassador Melissa Wells 167, Study Questions and Discussion Topics 172, Suggested Reading 172

## Part 2 Modes of Diplomacy

### The Resident Mission

Representation 186, Public Diplomacy 191, Information Gathering: The Intelligence Function 194, Negotiations 197, The Consular Function 197, The Administrative Function 200, The Ceremonial and Symbolic Function 200, Provisional and Stopgap Diplomatic Arrangements 202, Embassies in Disguise 203, Case Study: Communication Problems and Their Consequences 205, Study Questions and Discussion Topics 209, Suggested Reading 209

### International Organization Diplomacy

The Multilateral Dimension 217, Institutional Structure 220, Membership 221, Function of the Organization 222, Parliamentary Procedure 223, Other Aspects of International Organization Diplomacy 229, Diplomatic Role of the International Organization Bureau 232, Channels of Diplomatic Activity 234, Peacekeeping Diplomacy 236, Case Study: Dag Hammarskjöld's Mission to Beijing 237, Study Questions and Discussion Topics 245, Suggested Reading 245

### Special Mission and Conference Diplomacy

*Special Mission Diplomacy*, 253  
Characteristics 253, Ancient Origins and Contemporary Relevance 255, Usefulness of Special Missions 257, Modus Operandi 261, International Mediation 262, Case Study: The Yemen Crisis 267  
*Conference Diplomacy*, 274  
Current Proliferation 274, Preparatory Work 279, Conference Proceedings: Structure and Process 282, Study Questions and Discussion Topics 284, Suggested Reading 284

### Summit and Ministerial Diplomacy

*Summit Diplomacy*, 294  
Diverse Types of Summit Contact 294, Shortcomings of Summit Diplomacy 300, Functions of Summit Diplomacy 304, Preparation for Summit Diplomacy 306, Diplomacy During a Summit Meeting 311, Post-Summit Diplomacy 311, Case Study: The Nassau Summit and the Skybolt Crisis 312  
*Ministerial Diplomacy*, 316  
Characteristics 316, Functions 319, Study Questions and Discussion Topics 323, Suggested Reading 323

### Track II Diplomacy

Private Individual Initiatives 331, Case Study: Carter's International Work 332, Occasional Track II Diplomacy: The Result of Special Circumstances 334, Case Study:

85

101

139

183

185

217

253

293

331

Track II Diplomacy in the Oslo Mediation 335, Private Intervention with Unofficial Governmental Sponsorship 337, Case Study: Track II Mediation in the Dominican Crisis 338, NGO Initiatives 341, Track II Diplomacy with Problem-Solving Workshops 342, Case Study: The Georgian-Ossetian Dialogue 343, Study Questions and Discussion Topics 346, Suggested Reading 346

**Part 3 Conclusion**

**The Future of Diplomacy**

Study Questions and Discussion Topics 362, Suggested Reading 362

**353**  
**355**

List of Acronyms 367  
Bibliography 369  
Index 391  
About the Book 401

**Tables**

2.1	Important Archival Discoveries	24
2.2	Diplomacy in the Ancient World	25
3.1	UN Peacekeeping Operations in 2007	79
5.1	Conventional International Organizations, 1909–2006	102
5.2	Nongovernmental Organizations, 1909–2006	105
5.3	NGO Privileges at the UN	108
6.1	Women in the US Foreign Service, 1970 and 1989	148
6.2	Attacks and Threats Against Diplomats, 1968–1982	164
6.3	Attacks Against Diplomats, 1995–2003	164
7.1	Bilateral Permanent Representation in Foreign Capitals, 2005	164
7.2	Countries That Spent the Most for Public Relations Services in the United States, 1987	191
9.1	Total Number of International Conferences, 1840–1939	194
10.1	Visits Abroad by Presidents of the United States, 1901–2006	275
10.2	Summit Meetings Attended by US Presidents, 1990 and 2000	297
10.3	Foreign Visits by US Secretaries of State, 1945–2005	298
10.4	Pre-1945 Foreign Visits of US Secretaries of State	318
10.5	US Secretaries of State: Types of Mission Abroad, 1945–1990	318
		322

# 1 Introduction

X This book analyzes the changing character of diplomacy—the changing ways in which states and other international actors communicate, negotiate, and otherwise interact. The world has undergone dramatic change, and some traditional forms of diplomacy are losing their prominence. Our complex global society has turned to new means of interaction to address international problems, and some scholars argue that diplomacy, a critical instrument of international relations, has been discarded, subverted, or supplanted. Hans Morganthau, a prominent political scientist, repeated for more than thirty years that “diplomacy has lost its vitality, and its functions have withered away to such an extent as is without precedent in the history of the modern state system.”<sup>1</sup> Is it truly the end of diplomacy? But what is diplomacy?

■ The Meaning of Diplomacy as an Issue = forth - when he had  
from 1818 to 1831

X “Diplomacy” is a term that is often used rather loosely. A number of books on “the diplomacy” of certain countries are really about their foreign policy or, more generally, the course of their foreign relations.<sup>2</sup> Other works, on the subject of *diplomatic history*, are really about the history of foreign relations.<sup>3</sup> And then there are books on the practice of diplomacy—that is, diplomacy as a *method of political interaction at the international level*—and the techniques used to carry out political relations across international boundaries (e.g., representation and communication). This is the sense in which “diplomacy” will be used here.<sup>4</sup>

At the core of the concept of diplomacy is the idea of communicating, interacting, maintaining contact, and negotiating with states and other international actors. Diplomacy, too, is an institution.<sup>5</sup> Many of its practices, perhaps initially the result of expediency or simple practicality, were institutionalized

*Robert Fisher*

2/1  
in 1818 - 1831

over the years, and became part of customary international law. They were codified in the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations<sup>6</sup> and in the 1963 Vienna Convention on Consular Relations.<sup>7</sup>

Diplomacy also implies a mode of behavior, a way of doing business, a certain professional style. Diplomats need to act with tact and circumspection in approaching foreign governments; they deal with matters of state that are frequently delicate. Discretion is essential. They need to work with officials who frequently have enormous egos, an acute sense of their importance, and exaggerated expectations of deference.<sup>8</sup>

Finesse is required to handle complex international issues in a foreign cultural environment, using a different language and dealing with very different modes of behavior. One needs to be cautious and highly perceptive, as misunderstandings can so easily arise and complicate further interaction.<sup>9</sup> By analogy, this type of behavior is occasionally called "diplomatic" when encountered in other walks of life or professions ("The matter was handled so diplomatically!"). As international relations change, "diplomacy" is used to refer to a larger variety of interactions, such as the international dialogue or negotiations carried out by heads of state in summit meetings (see Chapter 10).

The subject matter of diplomacy, too, has vastly expanded. For centuries, diplomacy was primarily concerned with matters of war and peace—the use of force—encompassing high politics and strategic interests. These matters are of course still prominent, and now include questions of international security, but a vast variety of other matters have been added to the diplomatic agenda, pertaining to the economy, technology, scientific developments, education, the arts, law, and so much more. There is virtually no aspect of life in society that has not, at one time or another, been on the diplomatic agenda. Interdependence and globalization have greatly contributed to this development. Many issues that once were primarily domestic, such as human rights, are now of international concern and of relevance to diplomacy.<sup>10</sup>

Diplomats need to be versatile; but in highly technical transactions (e.g., dealing with scientific issues or arms control), experts who are not members of the foreign service of their government must be brought in. The roles assigned to them secure their diplomatic status (even when their skills are less than diplomatic; but then again, the skills of diplomats have always varied considerably). It may also be noted that international relations are no longer the exclusive preserve of foreign ministers. A large variety of government departments are involved in foreign relations,<sup>11</sup> even to the point of sending their own personnel on diplomatic missions—a matter that complicates the task of coordinating a nation's foreign relations. Diplomacy is thus increasingly carried out by a variety of people who are not foreign service officers.<sup>12</sup> Through many nations, including the United States, have long resorted to political appointments (i.e., outside the foreign service career) in selecting their ambassadors—people who need to acquire diplomatic proficiency on the

job—they are not necessarily unprepared for their assignments (although some are). Many have extensive international experience and knowledge of international affairs.<sup>13</sup>

A number of contemporary participants in diplomacy are not even "agents" or "intermediaries" in the traditional diplomatic sense of carrying out orders and implementing policy. Heads of state engage in negotiations and other forms of diplomacy in summit meetings. Granted, they represent their states; but they are chief decisionmakers. Similarly, directors of international agencies (e.g., the UN Development Programme [UNDP]), who are chief executive officers and top administrators, practice diplomacy in the fulfillment of their mandates. All of these are rather different from the typical diplomatic representative, although we must remember that a typical ambassador needs administrative skill, having an embassy to run.<sup>14</sup> Career diplomats are still important, but contemporary diplomacy is now carried out by many diverse people. Their work needs to be included in the concept of diplomacy. They are instruments in the conduct of international relations; they are the essential means of international transactions of the most diverse nature.

The functions served by diplomacy are expanding, and this, too, helps to explain the broadening of the concept.<sup>15</sup> Aside from representation, communication, negotiation, observation of the political situation abroad, and reporting (functions to be discussed in Chapter 7), diplomatic personnel in our age of mass communication must engage in a good deal of public relations. On the other hand, a greater portion of international relations is bureaucratized, which creates a greater amount of administrative work for members of diplomatic missions. Embassies must serve the needs of an expanding contingent of their fellow citizens traveling and working abroad. There is also a growing amount of legal work in the interpretation and application of international regulations, the processing of legal claims, and much more. The diplomatic process in international organizations has created even more functions to be served by diplomats. Some of these functions are somewhat unconventional, such as serving in non-national capacities in certain international offices, as will be seen later.<sup>16</sup> All of these developments have brought diplomacy far from the confines of traditional embassies in national capitals. Diplomacy retains many of its basic characteristics, but it has undergone significant changes.

Resort to different forms of diplomacy has contributed to the expansion of diplomatic functions. As the global environment has changed, new forms of interaction have evolved. The resident embassy in a national capital remains a very important element in the conduct of diplomacy, although its mission and structure are changing (see Chapter 7). Multilateral diplomacy is now an essential tool of international affairs,<sup>17</sup> increasing numbers of large international conferences and elaborate international organizations have required the opening of permanent delegations at the sites of organization—a new form of resident representation (see Chapter 8).

new problems

Multilateral diplomacy entails a variety of new techniques: the formation of national blocs, diplomatic caucusing, debating, elaborate decisionmaking processes, extensive committee work, and the use of parliamentary procedures. This is a very different diplomatic environment, generating greater interaction and new modes and styles of diplomatic work (see Chapters 8-10).<sup>18</sup> International actors, including national governments, accept all of this as diplomacy. They handle it as part and parcel of their diplomatic routine: the boundaries of the concept of diplomacy are thus expanding—hardly surprising given the changing nature of our global system and the need to address new problems. Under the pressure of necessity, international actors devise new ways of working together, supplementing or modifying older diplomatic techniques. Diplomacy is likely to continue evolving, with its essential characteristics probably retained, but other modes of interaction are coming into use.

The fact that states are no longer the only actors in the international political process is diversifying diplomacy and broadening the concept. International organizations are now significant participants in international relations. Their agents are diplomats who work with the representatives of nation-states and other organizations. The Secretary-General of the United Nations and his envoys are examples of this new category of diplomats.<sup>19</sup> They do not serve the interests of any particular nation-state; they are international public servants subject only to their own organization's chain of command. Some engage in specialized lines of work—for example, many representatives of the World Bank are financial professionals, and many agents of the World Health Organization are physicians or public health administrators. It is interesting to note that the directors of these organizations are chief executive officers who participate in a considerable amount of diplomatic work.

The expanding realm of transnational relations is adding a new layer of diplomacy to international transactions.<sup>20</sup> The international actors involved are primarily nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and multinational corporations (MNCs), also called transnational corporations. Some NGOs, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), and a number of environmental organizations are extremely active in international relations. They want to influence the decisions of other international actors, and thus send representatives of their own to engage those actors (see Chapter 5).

Recently, a number of international organizations (the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], the World Health Organization [WHO], the UN Children's Fund [UNICEF]) have found it effective to work with NGOs to implement some of their programs without having to work through governmental bureaucracies (and thus avoid red tape and corruption). NGO representatives are invited to participate in project planning, supervision of project implementation in the field, and various forms of consultation and cooperative missions. This amounts to significant institutional interaction. Some governments work with NGOs in similar fashion.<sup>21</sup>

18 H

MNC

Many multinational corporations seek to influence the governments of the countries in which they operate in order to obtain a variety of concessions (tax breaks, permissive legislation, exemptions from sundry environmental or other restrictions) to enhance their earning capacity, and to this end use some of their officers to maintain contact with government officials who may serve their purposes. Some MNC agents are posted in national capitals just for this purpose. In some countries, these MNC agents compete with the diplomatic representation of foreign governments (e.g., to obtain multimillion-dollar contracts—defense procurement is a huge field for this kind of activity). These can be very high-stakes negotiations.<sup>22</sup>

Thus the concept of diplomacy is now much broader. Later chapters will examine how this expansion is affecting international relations. But it must be understood here that it is the international actors themselves—the entities involved in international politics—that have caused this definitional broadening, by accepting the new modes of interaction as diplomacy. The advantages and limitations of these new modes will be discussed later in this volume.<sup>23</sup>

■ Negotiation

Negotiation is widely regarded as one of the major functions of diplomacy. In fact, diplomacy is frequently equated with negotiation.<sup>24</sup> It must be observed, however, that many diplomats are rarely called upon to negotiate anything; their work (e.g., in an embassy) simply entails other duties.<sup>25</sup> Diplomacy serves a large variety of functions, and negotiation, albeit important, is only one of them. It is nonetheless true that global society today is generating an increasingly large volume of negotiation, in part the result of complex interdependence. Each form of diplomacy examined in Part 2 of this volume brings its own method to the multilateral, taking place within a growing number of international conferences and international organizations (see Chapters 8 and 9). Resident missions in national capitals are now frequently asked to take up with their host governments certain aspects of multilateral negotiations presently conducted elsewhere. For example, through its embassy in a particular country, a government may seek to obtain greater cooperation from that state's representative who is currently involved in multilateral negotiations in a UN conference (i.e., the embassy will try to persuade the host government to issue instructions to its representative to be more cooperative). This embassy's intervention with the foreign government supplements the negotiations taking place in the multilateral forum. This is called "parallel diplomacy."<sup>2</sup>

Some of these negotiations are used to conclude an increasingly larger number of treaties.<sup>26</sup> An even more extensive volume of negotiations, although less structured, takes place in the day-to-day decisionmaking process of the

11 11



