Advances in Social Sciences Research Journal – Vol. 8, No. 6
Publication Date: June 25, 2021
DOI:10.14738/assrj.86.10286.
Masumbe, P. S. (2021). A Survey of the Nexus between the Group Theory in Public Policy-Making; and Diplomacy and Diplomatic Practices; and Its Impact on International Public Administration. Advances in Social Sciences Research Journal, 8(6). 139-165.

A Survey of the Nexus between the Group Theory in Public Policy-Making; and Diplomacy and Diplomatic Practices; and Its Impact on International Public Administration

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ABSTRACT

This article seeks to discern the nexus between the group theory in public policy-making in domestic politics; and diplomacy and diplomatic practices in international relations. Apparently, diplomacy and diplomatic practices, though strands of international relations, pivot on group theory's doctrines. Herein, I argue that, there exist a nexus between the group theory, diplomacy and diplomatic practices, which fashions the character of international public administration. Given the literature dearth in this domain, I offer a framework based on Charles Lindblom's Incrementalism and the Realist Theory to show how the nexus between the group theory of domestic politics; and diplomacy and diplomatic practices impacts international public administration. The research purpose is to boost deeper theoretical and empirical understanding of public administration, since the group theory aims at causing group equilibrium amongst competing groups in domestic politics; while diplomacy promotes group's (state) interest (power) over another group's (state) interest (power) in international politics.

Keywords: Public Administration, Group Theory, Diplomacy, Diplomatic Practices

INTRODUCTION – THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

This article is about providing deep theoretical and empirical understanding of core issues in public administration, specifically those residing at the psyche of the group theory in public policy-making; and how these issues are linked to diplomacy and diplomatic practices, even as the latter are core strands of realism in international relations; and to discover if international public administration is fashioned by these issues. Its specific research problem is that, there is a nexus between the group theory of public policy-making; and diplomacy and diplomatic practices *(realpolitik*), which positively or negatively fashions the character of international public administration. The research purpose is to increase knowledge in the field, particularly on how the group theory postulated to serve the exigencies of domestic politics, also acts as the substratum for diplomacy and diplomatic practices in international relations; with the broader benefits of opening the paths for engagements into either the group theory in public policy-making or diplomacy and diplomatic practices, through research on cores issues of human development, such as, peace, peaceful co-existence of divergent peoples, stability, conflict resolution and extremisms' curtailment.

So, of what character is this nexus? What is its *modus operandi*? Is it enabling or coercive? Of-course, some people argue that, the group theory in public policy-making is wholly confined to domestic politics (Fiorina 2015, Adeline 2018); as others claim that, the group theory, occupies a domineering space in international public administration (Amucheazi 1994, Mentan 2004). These opposing views pose a research problem, which is to determine the theoretical and empirical basis of the nexus between the group theory of domestic politics; and diplomacy and diplomatic practices of international relations. Given the insufficient literature in this domain, I engage to demonstrate that, diplomacy and diplomatic practices, (intertwined in the realist philosophy, which considers the states as the principal actors in the international relations, and act in pursuit of their own national interests, especially the struggle for power over other states), basically revolve on fulfilling the exigencies of the group theory, - a theory whose aims are to mediate between competing groups in domestic politics, in what is known in the group theory's philosophy as, "group equilibrium or suppression" (Collingridge 1992, Kalmia, 2015). Thus, while the group theory aims at mediating group's equilibrium amongst competing social, economic, political and cultural groups in domestic politics; diplomacy and diplomatic practices aim at negotiating group's (state) interest (power) over another group's (state) interest (power) in international relations, in what Machiavelli (1469 – 1527) calls "*realpolitik*".

THE GROUP THEORY, ITS ORIGINS AND PHILOSOPHY IN PUBLIC POLICY-MAKING

The group theory in public policy-making constitutes the intellectual precursor to pluralism and was originated by Arthur F. Bentley in his book, The Process of Government, (1908). The theory was built upon and refined further by David Truman in his book, The Governmental Process (1951). Thus, the group theory and its offspring of pluralism, including other competitor group-based theories (such as elitism and neo-corporatism) are closely entwined, and any discussion of one necessitates discussion of the others. Specifically, this theory pushes the philosophy that, the conduct of politics revolves entirely on the sole believe that all intra and interstate politics are organised around causing group equilibrium. That is, the whole essence of national or international politics is all about mediating between social, cultural, political, economic groups for the unique purposes of causing group equilibrium – that is the balancing of the interests of one group over the interests of another group in society. Such group could include trade unionists, pharmacists, medical doctors, teachers, farmers, lawyers, students' bodies, the South West Elite Association in Cameroon, Women against Genital Mutilations, Women against Children Trafficking, and so on, all of which front as groups for lobbying to promote their common interests amongst public policy-makers.

The group theory anchors on the contention that interaction and struggle among groups are the central facts of political life. Thus, a group is defined as a collection of individuals, a state or states that may, on the basis of shared attitudes or interests make claims upon public authorities for acquiring a certain degree of quality, quantity of consumptive capacities of the common good, irrespective of similar claims laid by other groups on the same common good in society (Bentley 1908, Truman 1951) Invariably, this theory of politics sees society as constituted into various groups, all of which seek to obtain public utilities and other favours from the public authorities, through the instrumentality of public policy and decision-making processes. Group must skew the interest of other groups in favour of their; as most connected, powerful and well organised group. In addition, the theory acts as a mediator between groups' interest that is, to cause a balance, equilibrium amongst stronger and weaker groups in society in their similar zeal to obtain favours from public policy-makers.

Essentially of-course, the group theory was formulated to explain the dynamics in the conduct of politics at the national level (Emezi 2002, Likensky 2009), but in this paper, I question its nexus at the international arena, and argues that like other writes, who did not sufficiently show this nexus that, the realisation of the activities in international politics via the realist theory of international relations, and its strands of diplomacy and diplomatic practices, essentially rely on the tenets of the group theory (Ojo, 1988, Okolie 2016). Thus, the character of the group theory as the substratum of the history, nature, practice and the future of international relations is of very great importance for scholars in public policy-making and international relations.

Certainly, given the diverse and sometimes sumptuously divergent exigencies of citizens in their quest to satisfy their needs in their societies, several aspects of public policy-making actually do reflect the activities and interests of the group theory, such as fixing a balance in the allocation of resources amongst these groups. Yet other activities reflect the tenets of other public policy theories, such as the elite, institutional, process, incremental, game, and so on. Consequently, each public policy has a philosophy which public authorities might tend want to respect; or said differently, each public policy impels some constraints upon public authorities in the mobilisation, distribution and allocation of resources in society. Thus, understanding politics, only through armpits of the group theory is grossly misleading, because other theories postulate their interpretation and understanding of politics as well.

It is thus expedient for the student of public administration to grasp the tenets of other theories, as studies in public administration are engaged. Examples in the US include the AFL-CIO and minimum-wage legislation, farmers' groups and agricultural subsidies, the National Rifle Association and gun-control policies, and the National Education Association and federal aid to public schools in the United States of America, (Wildavsky & Naomi 2007, Likensky 2009:78). The group theory rests on the contention that interaction and struggle among groups are the central facts of political life. Accordingly, a group should be understood as a collection of individuals that may, on the basis of shared attitudes or interests, make claims upon other groups in society. It becomes a political interest group "when it makes a claim through or upon any of the institutions of government." According to this theory, the individual is; or states are significant in politics only as participants in or representatives of groups.

Traditionally, according to the group theory, it is through group competition that individuals seek to secure their political preferences. A central concept in group theory is that of access to the corridors of political power. To have influence and to be able to help shape governmental decisions, a group must have access, or the opportunity to express their viewpoints to decision-makers. Obviously, if a group is unable to communicate with decision-makers, if no one in government will listen, its chances of affecting policy-making are slim. Access may be a product of the group's being organised, from its having status, good leadership, or resources such as money for campaign contributions, and having a highly educated and enlightened character of membership. Social lobbying, through wining, dining, and entertaining of legislators and other public officials can be understood as an effort to create access by engendering a feeling of obligation from the public authorities – public policy and decision makers to the groups involved.

Thus, when a group wishes to discuss public policy matters with an official, it will have an opportunity to present its case or have its telephone calls returned, maybe after some

gratifications must have passed hands. In the US for instance, contributions to legislators by political action committees (PACs) are also often justified as a way of acquiring or maintaining access to public policy makers. Given this character of things, some groups obtain more access than others do. Public policy at any given time becomes reflective of the interests of those who are dominant. As groups gain and lose power and influence, public policy becomes altered in favour of the interests of those gaining influence against the interests of those losing such influence. Therefore, the role of government official in public policy formation is described by one proponent of the group theory as: "The legislature referees the group struggle, ratifies the victories of the successful coalitions, and records the terms of the surrenders, compromises, and conquests in the form of statutes" (Likensky 2009:90). Consequently, every statute made in society tends to represent compromises between groups, because the process of accommodating conflicts of group interests seems to be one of deliberation and consent.

Thus, while practicing public administration, "...the group theory sees public policy as the product of rigorous groups' struggles from the organised masses, eager to reap their shares from a country's national cake" (Parsons 1995). Thus, a group can be a political interest group, which can make; or usually makes demands or influences the demands on government's institution. At the psyche of the group theory is the recognition that, "...politics is understood best as the actions of groups struggle" (Parsons 1995:367). Accordingly, the pressures exercised by organised interest groups upon public authorities, greatly influence the activities and actions of government. So as groups pursue their varied competing interests, they become the basis of public policy and the essence of politics; in domestic or international public administration.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND ITS LINKAGE TO THE GROUP THEORY

Cuing from the above, public administration by its historical nature operates within the realms of realism, even if realism was conceived to serve international politics, although public administration is perhaps mistakenly considered as a domestic arena of politics. In its empirical character, public administration is a description and philosophy of human events wisely designed to facilitate the social, political and administrative well-being of mankind's livelihood, under the guidance of public authorities, operating at the summit of society - the state, which alone possesses the monopoly of sovereignty over all other institutions within a given state. Public administration is the eye, the brain, the engine, the source and the entry point into all human activities in society domestically or internationally. Reasoned otherwise, given its specific responsibilities in societies, represented by various governments, public administration is inextricably linked to those bureaucratic structures, which are assigned the responsibilities of formulating (legislature/executive), implementing (executive, including foreign affairs) and evaluating and adjudicating (judiciary) the laws of the state, policies, decisions, and acting as mediator in intra- and inter-states' conflictual or non-conflictual relations, such as of negotiating, dialoguing, using hard or soft power amongst actors, as well as ensuring the respect of rules and regulations, and above all, facilitating or destroying the well-being of citizens in the societies.

Irrefutably, as Laswell (1960), Dror (1968), Riggs, (1984), Adamolekun (2000), Collins (2000) assert, public administration is in theory and practice universal. It is this universality of public administration that validates our thesis that, there exists solid nexus between the group theory of politics at the domestic level, and diplomacy and diplomatic practices, conducted at the

international level. Certainly, the responsibilities which accompany these conducts are operated by public administrators – diplomats and symbol specialists – politicians) who symbolise the group theory of politics, within its operational sphere. Consequently, the group theory at domestic politics is by extension, the same theory with the name changed to realism and applied in international politics, and actualised through diplomacy and diplomatic practices (Bentley 1908, Dahl 1961, Hoshinski 2011, Pensbroke 2017).

Within this status, the group theory of politics is replicated at the international level, as realism, although with different actors and environments. Accordingly, at the domestic, just as in the international level, a group (state) should consists of the following attributes: good leadership, good reputation, solid intellectual resources, reliable information sources, concrete organisational potentialities and disciplined characteristics, social skills and a positive rapport with policy and decision makers or public authorities. In the group theory, public policy essentially reflects the interest of the dominant group, as disadvantaged groups, such as the poor, minority and physically challenged are sometimes not represented, given their inability to properly articulate and aggregate their common focus or purpose (Ibeano 1993, Nnaedozie 1993:43).

On the other hand, diplomacy and diplomatic practices signify an integral part of public administration and politics, but acting in the same spirit like the group theory of politics at the international level (Ibeano 1993:90). Diplomacy and diplomatic practices deal with the actualisation of established methods of actualising foreign policies goals, decisions and behaviours of statesmen, groups of statesmen or an entire country. Diplomacy and diplomatic practices involve interacting with peoples and institutions, through dialogue, negotiations, amicability, or sometimes unfriendliness, intimidations, threats and other measures devoid of physical warfare (Birch, 2020, Gouty 2021). Understandably, modern diplomatic practices are a product of the post-renaissance European state system – the Westphalian 1642 Treaty, which ended the Thirty Years between the Spiritual and the Temporal in Europe (Nnoli, 1981, Ake 1996), thus, public administration has long been crammed into both national and international politics and administration in different categories, some of which are enabling and coercive.

The *Modus Operandi* of the Group Theory within Diplomacy and Diplomatic Practices: Enabling or Coercive?

(a) The Group Theory and Its Enabling Modus Operandi

The group theory has as it *modus operandi* either the 'enabling' or 'coercive' character in public administration. As Swanson (2017) observes, "...the enabling or encouraging category of group theory promotes a work environment, where groups of employees are encouraged to enhance their skills and to take part in the improvement of working relations, their administrative behaviours, standards of communication and procedures for achieving set objectives of the organisation or the state." Placing this category of bureaucracy in domestic and international public administration, especially in diplomatic and diplomatic practices, demonstrates that, public administrations operates in environments devoid of undemocratic practices, environments where work ethics are facilitated by public authorities over the masses.

In such environments, first-time work errors are not reciprocated with sanctions, but with teaching and advising. In diplomacy and diplomatic practices, negotiations, dialogue and

friendliness are first sought as means of resolving issues; instead of engaging directly into intimidations and threats as means of resolving issues. Paradoxically, all these instruments are equally at the disposal of the group theory of politics at the domestic level. Invariably, by using the enabling character of bureaucracy, diplomats are completely linked to the exigencies of the group theory – that is mediating for group equilibrium. So they use the doctrine of causing a balance of behaviours to elicit the acceptance of their positions from the other state.

In what is known as internal transparency as an important criterion in the enabling bureaucracy, citizens are provided with maximum visibility of the process or tool they are using to facilitate livelihood in society. This helps in up skilling and in handling unforeseen contingencies. Furthermore, in the enabling bureaucracy, global transparency is the expanded version of internal transparency. In this environment, people have total reflectiveness, freedom and liberty to exercise their day-to-day activities without any molestation from public agents or the hierarchies of the organisations they serve and the processes they gear towards. Thus, every any citizen is provided complete idea about the scopes and opportunities present in the organisation or the state, so that he or she can work towards utilising such opportunities.

(b) The Group Theory and Its Coercive Modus Operandi

The group theory also operates in a coercive or repressive bureaucracy, as it uses autocracy attributes in the governing processes. In such an environment, state authorities and officials often deskill the citizens and take away the flexibility of rules and regulations. Transparency is often non-existent and any deviations from standardised processes are met with harsh repression of toeing the line, in what Shedrine (2020) calls "...obeying the tenets of political correctness". Political correctness, thus, signifies the obeisance without questioning; the ruler's mindset, as the epitome of public policy orientations; which largely serve the intentions of the penultimate public policy-maker. In coercive bureaucracy, public administration activities revolve on taking and implementing instructions from the ruler with no alterations. It includes fulfilling the ruler's ambition, legitimate or not. Paradoxically, this is the modus operandi of the group theory, which prevails in most nascent African countries, where dictatorship is in vogue. Under this regime, this character of group theory is usually catapulted into diplomacy and diplomatic practices in international relations. Herein any contrary opinion during negotiations in diplomatic practices, be it from the masses or enlightened individuals must not be tolerated (Hack 2017, Awasum 2019, Shedrine (2020:12). Invariably, the rise of such group theory's attributes is a hallmark of totalitarian governments, where the overbearing use of state power by one person with strict control over the citizens is the political culture. The governments in countries with military rules, even most civilian rules with one party dictatorship or even muzzled multi-party system, often display group theory in this mode.

DIPLOMACY, DIPLOMATIC PRACTICES AND THE GROUP THEORY IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION: A BRIEF SURVEY

Historically, diplomacy and diplomatic practices are the extension of public administration activities at the international levels, which have signified the wholesome embrace of dialogue and the mutual negotiations in the conduct of official, usually bilateral – that is actions amidst international organisations and/or persons, but usually on behalf of promoting relations between; and interests of sovereign states. By the 20th century, the diplomatic practices pioneered in Europe had been adopted throughout the world, thus expanding diplomacy to cover summit meetings and other international conferences, parliamentary diplomacies, the

international activities of supranational and subnational entities, unofficial diplomacies by non-governmental elements, and the work of international civil servants. It has also included the negotiations on peace-keeping operations, human rights enforcement, brokering trade agreements, renewing international friendships, stopping wars, and so on. For instance, when in 2002, the International Court of Justice, passed the landmark judgement between Nigeria and Cameroon, which ended the several decades of mutual suspicion and strained relations, given the timely diplomacy played by the then UN Secretary General Kofi Atah Annan, resulting to the retroceding of the Bakassi Peninsula to Cameroon's sovereignty, demonstrated real diplomacy in action (Asobie 2005, Akinyemi, 2009, Jega, 2018).

Generically, the term *diplomacy* is derived via the French, from the ancient Greek *diplōma*, composed of *diplo*, meaning "folded in two," and the suffix *-ma*, meaning "an object" (Minsk 1999, 2019, Cohen 2020). The folded document conferred a privilege, often a permit to travel on the bearer, and the term came to denote documents through which princes granted such favours. Later, it became applied to all solemn documents issued by chancelleries, especially those containing agreements between sovereigns. Diplomacy later became identified with international relations, and the direct tie to documents lapsed, except in diplomacy, which is the science of authenticating old official documents. In the 18th century the French term *diplomate* ("diplomat" or "diplomatist") came to refer to a person authorised to negotiate on behalf of a state.

"Diplomacy, which is a strong strand of international public administration, is often confused with foreign policy, but the terms are not synonymous, that is they are not identical both in their nature and character. Diplomacy is the chief, but not the only, instrument of foreign policy, which is set by political leaders, though diplomats (in addition to military and intelligence officers) may advise them" (Rourke 2001). So foreign policy establishes goals, prescribes strategies, and sets the broad tactics to be used in their accomplishment. It may employ secret agents, subversion, war, or other forms of violence as well as diplomacy to achieve its objectives. Diplomacy is the major standby for the use of force or underhanded means in statecraft; it is how full state power is applied to the peaceful tuning of differences between states. It may be coercive, that is, backed by the threat to apply punitive measures or to use force; but is overtly nonviolent. Its primary tools are international dialogue and negotiation, primarily conducted by accredited envoys (a term derived from the French *envoyé*, meaning "one who is sent") and other political leaders. Unlike foreign policy, which generally is enunciated publicly, most diplomacy is conducted in confidence, though both in real facts, they are progress and their results are almost always made public in contemporary international relations.

The purpose of foreign policy is to further a state's interests, which are derived from geography, history, economics, and the distribution of international power, such distribution could equal or lopsided, depending upon which states and peoples concerned, and which interest is to be safeguarded. Safeguarding national independence, security, and integrity, territorial, political, economic, and moral is viewed as a country's primary obligation, followed by preserving a wide freedom of action for the state. The political leaders, traditionally of sovereign states, who devise foreign policy, pursue what they perceive to be the national interest, adjusting national policies to changes in external conditions and technology. Primary responsibility for supervising the execution of policy may lie with the head of state or government, a cabinet or a

nominally nongovernmental collective leadership, the staff of the country's leader, or a minister who presides over the foreign ministry, directs policy execution, supervises the ministry's officials, and instructs the country's diplomats abroad.

Diplomacy's chief purpose is to strengthen the state, nation, or organisation it serves in relation to others by advancing the interests in its charge. To this end, diplomatic activities endeavour to maximise a group's advantages without the risk and expense of using force and preferably without causing resentment. It habitually, but not invariably, strives to preserve peace; diplomacy is strongly inclined toward negotiation to achieve agreements and resolve issues between states. Even in times of peace, diplomacy may involve coercive threats of economic or other punitive measures or demonstrations of the capability to impose unilateral solutions to disputes by the application of military power. However, diplomacy normally seeks to develop goodwill toward the state it represents, nurturing relations with foreign states and peoples that will ensure their cooperation or failing that their neutrality. When diplomacy fails, war may ensue; however, diplomacy is useful even during war. It conducts the passages from protest to menace, dialogue to negotiation, ultimatum to reprisal, and war to peace and reconciliation with other states. Diplomacy builds and tends the coalitions that deter or make war. It disrupts the alliances of enemies and sustains the passivity of potentially hostile powers. It contrives war's termination, and it forms, strengthens, and sustains the peace that follows conflict (Rourke 2001:54, Teddy 2012). Over the long term, thus, diplomacy strives to build an international order collective to the nonviolent resolution of disputes and expanded cooperation between states.

"Diplomats are the primary but far from the only practitioners of diplomacy and diplomatic practices in the world. Within the framework of the group theory, the employ the two-level game theory as well. Herein, the in order they arrive at satisfactory international agreements, a country's diplomat actually has to deal with at first level the other country' negotiators and at the second level, with the legislators, interest groups, and other domestic forces at home" (Anyaoku 2001). Certainly, they are specialists who carry messages and negotiate adjustments in relations and the resolution of quarrels between states and peoples. Actually, these people use weapons which are carefully selected and applied in form of 'words' with little or no semantical confusions, backed by the character of political and economic power of the state or organisation they represent. In this game, realism is the driving force. Realism became and remains one of the dominant schools of thought in international relations theory, theoretically formalising the *Realpolitik* statesmanship of early modern Europe. Although a highly diverse body of thought, it is unified by the belief that world politics is always and necessarily a field of conflict among actors pursuing power, and while relying on the tenets of the group, realism pursues equilibrium or something beyond that amongst actors pursuing power in the field of conflict.

Habitually, in the pursuant of realist thought, diplomats help their leaders to understand the attitudes and actions of foreigners and to develop strategies that will shape the behaviours of these foreigners, especially foreign governments. The wise use of diplomats and diplomatic practices is a key to successful foreign policy. Historically, world diplomacy has enjoyed the wisdom of key people such as: Thucydides, Aristotle, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, Otto von Bismarck, Niccolò Machiavelli, John Quincy Adams, John Adams, Peter Paul Rubens, Klemens von Mitternich, Saint John XXIII, Charles-Maurice de Telleyrand, Koffi Annan, Bolaji

Akinyemi, Edward Baker, David Ben Gurion, Prince de Benevent, and host of other statesmen and women. These people engaged into issues dealing with the conduct of public administration in realising international relations, diplomatic immunities, extra-territoriality, public diplomacy, Foreign Service, mediation, legate, Charge d'Affaires, and so on.

The view in late medieval Europe that the first diplomats were angels, or messengers from heaven to earth, is perhaps fanciful, but some elements of diplomacy predate recorded history. Early societies had some attributes of states, and the first international law arose from intertribal relations. Tribes negotiated marriages and regulations on trade and hunting. Messengers and envoys were accredited, sacred, and inviolable; they usually carried some emblem, such as a message stick, and were received with elaborate ceremonies. Women often were used as envoys because of their perceived mysterious sanctity and their use of "sexual wiles"; it is believed that women regularly were entrusted with the vitally important task of negotiating peace in primitive cultures (Collins 2016, Gerbera 2016).

However, relevant data regarding the diplomacy of early peoples is based on sparse evidence. There are traces of Egyptian diplomacy dating to the 14th century BCE, but none has been found in Western Africa before the 9th century CE. The inscriptions on the walls of abandoned Mayan cities indicate that exchanges of envoys were frequent, though almost nothing is known of the substance or style of Mayan and other pre-Columbian Central American diplomacy. In South America, for instance, the dispatch of envoys by the expanding Inca Empire appears to have been a prelude to conquest, rather than an exercise in bargaining between sovereigns, and invariably, all these were activities in public administration, which were little recognised as such. The greatest knowledge of early diplomacy comes from the Middle East, the Mediterranean, China, and India. Records of treaties between Mesopotamian city-states date from about 285 BCE. Thereafter, Akkadian (Babylonian) became the first diplomatic language, serving as the international tongue of the Middle East until it was replaced by Aramaic (Colton, et al. 2000, Bash 2014). A diplomatic correspondence from the 14th century BCE existed between the Egyptian court and a Hittite King on cuneiform tablets in Akkadian the language of neither. The oldest Treaties, of which full texts survive, from about 1280 BCE, were between Ramses II of Egypt and Hittite leaders. There is significant evidence of Assyrian diplomacy in the 7th century and, chiefly in the Bible, of the relations of Jewish tribes with each other and other peoples.

THE GROUP THEORY, CHINESE DIPLOMACY AND DIPLOMATIC PRACTICES

As Colton et al. (2000:12) posits, "The first records of Chinese and Indian diplomacy date from the 1st millennium BCE. By the 8th century BCE the Chinese had leagues, missions, and an organized system of polite discourse between their many "warring states" including resident envoys who served as hostages to the good behaviours of those who sent them. The sophistication of this tradition, which emphasised the practical virtues of ethical behaviours in relations between states, no doubt in reaction to actual amorality, is well documented in the Chinese classics. Its essence is perhaps best captured by the advice of Zhuangzi to "diplomats" at the beginning of the 3rd century BCE.

He advised them that, "...if relations between states are close, they may establish mutual trust through daily interaction; but if relations are distant, mutual confidence can only be established by exchanges of messages." Such messages must be conveyed by messengers [diplomats], and

their contents may be either pleasing to both sides or likely to engender anger between them. Faithfully conveying such messages is the most difficult task under the heavens, for if the words are such as to evoke a positive response on both sides, there will be the temptation to exaggerate them with flattery and, if they are unpleasant, there will be a tendency to make them even more biting. In either case, the truth will be lost. If truth is lost, mutual trust will also be lost. If mutual trust is lost, the messenger himself may be imperiled. Therefore, I say to you that it is a wise rule: always to speak the truth and never to embellish it. In this way, you will avoid much harm to yourselves."

This tradition of equal diplomatic dealings between contending states within China was ended by the country's unification under the Qin Emperor in 221B CE and the consolidation of unity under the Han Dynasty in 206 BCE. Under the Han and succeeding dynasties, China emerged as the largest, most populous, technologically most-advanced, and best-governed society in the world. The arguments of earlier Chinese philosophers, such as Mencius, prevailed; the best way for a state to exercise influence abroad, they had said, was to develop a moral society worthy of emulation by admiring foreigners and to wait confidently for them to come to China to learn. Once each succeeding Chinese dynasty had consolidated its rule at home and established its borders with the non-Chinese world, its foreign relations with the outside world were typically limited to the defense of China's borders against foreign attacks or incursions, the reception of emissaries from neighbouring states seeking to ingratiate themselves and to trade with the Chinese state, and the control of foreign merchants in specific ports designated for Foreign trade.

With rare exceptions for example official missions to study and collect Buddhist scriptures in India in the 5th and 7th centuries and the famous voyages of discovery of the Ming admiral Sheng He in the early 15th century, Chinese leaders and diplomats waited at home for foreigners to pay their respects rather than venturing abroad themselves. This "tributary system" lasted until European colonialism overwhelmed it and introduced to Asia the European concepts of sovereignty spheres of influence and other diplomatic norms, traditions, and practices.

CHINA AND COVID-19 VACCINE DIPLOMACY

In a world where COVID-19 vaccines will likely determine who can travel and which economies can safely re-open up, China realised early that, jabs will hold greater soft power than Hollywood motion pictures for the foreseeable future, which are all smart ways to make money. So China raced to develop vaccines which it exported to Africa, the Middle East, South America and parts of Asia. Consequently, this has led to international suspicion among nations, as the "vaccine nationalism infecting U.S. and European policies means poorer nations often have nowhere to lay their trusts (Hen 2020, Jacks, 2020).

THE GROUP THEORY, INDIA'S DIPLOMACY AND DIPLOMATIC PRACTICES

Ancient India was home to an equally sophisticated but very different diplomatic tradition. This tradition was systematized and described in the Artha-shastra (one of the oldest books in secular Sanskrit literature) by Kautilya a clever and reputedly unscrupulous scholar-statesman who helped the young Chandragupta to overthrow Macedonian rule in northern India and to establish the Mauryan Dynasty at the end of the 4th century bce. The ruthlessly realistic state system codified in the Artha-shastra insisted that foreign relations be determined by self-

interest rather than by ethical considerations. It graded state power with respect to five factors and emphasised espionage, diplomatic maneuver, and contention by 12 categories of states within a complex geopolitical matrix.

As Jacks, (2020:45) opines,
"it also postulated four expedients of statecraft (conciliation, seduction, subversion, and coercion) and six forms of state policy - peace, war, nonalignment, alliances, shows of force, and double-dealing. To execute policies derived from these strategic geometries, ancient India fielded three categories of diplomats (plenipotentiaries envoys entrusted with a single issue or mission, and royal messengers); a type of consular agent (similar to the Greek *proxenos*), who was charged with managing commercial relations and transactions; and two kinds of spies (those charged with the collection of intelligence and those entrusted with subversion and other forms of covert action)."

Detailed rules regulated diplomatic immunities and privileges, the inauguration and termination of diplomatic missions, and the selection and duties of envoys. Thus, Kautilya describes the "duties of an envoy" as "sending information to his king, ensuring maintenance of the terms of a treaty, upholding his king's honour, acquiring allies, instigating dissension among the friends of his enemy, conveying secret agents and troops [into enemy territory], suborning the kinsmen of the enemy to his own king's side, acquiring clandestinely gems and other valuable material for his own king, ascertaining secret information and showing valour in liberating hostages [held by the enemy]." He further stipulates that no envoys should ever be harmed, and, even if they deliver an "unpleasant" message, they should not be detained.

The region within which this system according to Hen (2020; 89) "...operated was separated from its neighbours by deserts, seas, and the Himalayas. India had very little political connection to the affairs of other regions of the world until Alexander the Great conquered its northern regions in 326 BCE." Thus, the subsequent establishment of the native Mauryan Empire ushered in a new era in Indian diplomatic history marked India's efforts to extend both Indian religious doctrines (for instance Buddhism) and political influence beyond South Asia.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, DIPLOMACY AND DIPLOMATIC PRACTICES AND THE GREEKS

The tradition that ultimately inspired the birth of modern diplomacy in post-Renaissance Europe and that led to the present world system of international relations began in ancient Greece. The earliest evidence of Greek diplomacy can be found in its literature notably in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Otherwise, the first traces of interstate relations concern the Olympic Games of 776 BCE.. In the 6th century BCE the amphictyonic leagues maintained interstate assemblies with extraterritorial rights and permanent secretariats. Sparta was actively forming alliances in the mid-6th century BCE, and by 500 BCE it had created the Peloponnesian League. In the 5th century BCE, Athens led the Delian League during the Greco-Persian Wars. Greek diplomacy took many forms. Heralds, references to whom can be found in prehistory, were the first diplomats and were protected by the gods with an immunity that other envoys lacked. Their protector was Hermes, the messenger of the gods, who became associated with all diplomacy.

The herald of Zeus, Hermes was noted for persuasiveness and eloquence but also for knavery, shiftiness, and dishonesty, imparting to diplomacy a reputation that its practitioners still try to live down. Because heralds were inviolable, they were the favoured channels of contact in wartime. They preceded envoys to arrange for safe passage. Whereas heralds traveled alone, envoys journeyed in small groups, to ensure each other's loyalty. They usually were at least 50 years old and were politically prominent figures. Because they were expected to sway foreign assemblies, envoys were chosen for their oratorical skills. Although such missions were frequent, Greek diplomacy was episodic rather than continuous. Unlike modern ambassadors, heralds and envoys were short-term visitors in the city-states whose policies they sought to influence. In marked contrast to diplomatic relations, commercial and other apolitical relations between city-states were conducted on a continuous basis. Greek consular agents, or *proxeni,* were citizens of the city in which they resided, not of the city-state that employed them.

Like envoys, they had a secondary task of gathering information, but their primary responsibility was trade. Although *proxeni* initially represented one Greek city-state in another, eventually they became far-flung; in his famed work *History*, Herodotus indicates that there were Greek consuls in Egypt in about 550 BCE. The Greeks developed archives, a diplomatic vocabulary, principles of international conduct that anticipated international law, and many other elements of modern diplomacy. Their envoys and entourages enjoyed diplomatic immunity for their official correspondence and personal property. Truces, neutrality, commercial conventions, conferences, treaties, and alliances were common. In one 25-year period of the 4th century BCE, for example, there were eight Greco-Persian congresses, where even the smallest states had the right to be heard.

THE GROUP THEORY, ROMAN AND DIPLOMACY AND DIPLOMATIC PRACTICES

According to Hen (2020:123) "Rome inherited what the Greeks devised, and adapted it to the tasks of imperial public administration. As Rome expanded, it often negotiated with representatives of conquered areas, to which it granted partial self- government by way of treaties." Therefore, treaties were made with other states under Greek international law. During the Roman Republic the Senate conducted foreign policy, though a department for foreign affairs was established. Later, under the Empire, the Emperor was the ultimate decision maker in foreign affairs. Envoys were received with ceremony and magnificence, and they and their aides were granted immunity. Roman envoys were sent abroad with written instructions from their government. Sometimes a messenger, or *nuntius*, was sent, usually to towns. For larger responsibilities a *legatio* (embassy) of 10 or 12 *legati* (ambassadors) was organized under a president. The *legati*, who were leading citizens chosen for their skill at oratory, were inviolable.

Rome also created sophisticated archives, which were staffed by trained archivists. Paleographic techniques were developed to decipher and authenticate ancient documents. Other archivists specialized in diplomatic precedents and procedures, which became formalised. For centuries these archive-based activities were the major preoccupation of diplomacy in and around the Roman Empire. Roman law, which stressed the sanctity of contracts, became the basis of treaties. Late in the Republican era, the laws applied by the Romans to foreigners and to foreign envoys were merged with the Greek concept of natural law, an ideal code applying to all people, to create a "law of nations." The sanctity of treaties and the law of nations were absorbed by the Roman Catholic Church and preserved in the centuries

after the Western Roman Empire collapsed, and a foundation was thus provided for the more-sophisticated doctrines of international law that began to emerge along with the European nation-state a millennium later.

THE GROUP THEORY, DIPLOMACY AND DIPLOMATIC PRACTICES AND THE MIDDLE AGES

When the Western Empire disintegrated in the 5th century CE, most of its diplomatic traditions disappeared. However, even as monarchs negotiated directly with nearby rulers or at a distance through envoys from the 5th through the 9th century, the papacy continued to use *legati*. Both forms of diplomacy intensified in the next three centuries. Moreover, the eastern half of the Roman Empire continued for nearly 1,000 years as the Byzantine Empire. Its court at Constantinople, to which the papacy sent envoys from the mid-5th century, had a department of foreign affairs and a bureau to deal with foreign envoys. Aiming to awe and intimidate foreign envoys, Byzantium's rulers marked the arrival of diplomats with spectacular ceremonies calculated to suggest greater power than the empire actually possessed.

THE GROUP THEORY, DIPLOMACY AND DIPLOMATIC PRACTICES: THE ROLE OF THE ISLAM

Inspired by their religious faith, followers of Islam in Arabia conquered significant territory beginning in the 7th century, first by taking Byzantium's southern and North African provinces and then by uniting Arabs, Persians, and ultimately Turks and other Central Asian peoples in centuries of occasionally bloody conflict with the Christian Byzantines. The community of Islam aspired to a single human society in which secular institutions such as the state would have no significant role. In such a society there would be political interaction but no requirement for diplomatic missions between one independent ruler and another. Theoretically, since non-Muslim states eventually would accept the message of Islam, the need for diplomatic exchanges between them and the Islamic community also would be purely temporary. In practice, however, diplomatic missions, both to other Muslim states and to non-Muslim states, existed from the time of Muhammad, and early Islamic rulers and jurists developed an elaborate set of protections and rules to facilitate the exchange of emissaries. As Muslims came to dominate vast territories in Africa, Asia, and Europe the experience of contention with Byzantium shaped Islamic diplomatic tradition along Byzantine lines.

THE GROUP THEORY, DIPLOMACY AND DIPLOMATIC PRACTICES AND THE BYZANTINES

Byzantine produced the first professional diplomats. They were issued written instructions and were enjoined to be polite, to entertain as lavishly as funds permitted, and to sell Byzantine wares to lower their costs and encourage trade. From the 12th century their role as gatherers of information about conditions in their host states became increasingly vital to the survival of the Byzantine state. As its strength waned, timely intelligence from Byzantine diplomats enabled the emperors to play foreign nations off against each other. Byzantium's use of diplomats as licensed spies and its employment of the information they gathered to devise skillful and subtle policies to compensate for a lack of real power inspired neighbouring peoples (e.g., Arabs, Persians, and Turks) as well as others farther away in Rome and the Italian city-states. After the Byzantine Empire's collapse, major elements of its diplomatic tradition lived on in the Ottoman Empire and in Renaissance Italy.

THE GROUP THEORY, DIPLOMACY AND DIPLOMATIC PRACTICES AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

As Byzantine crumbled, the West revived. Indeed, even in its period of greatest weakness, the Roman Catholic Church conducted an active diplomacy, especially at Constantinople and in its 13th-century struggle against the Holy Roman emperors. Popes served as arbiters, and papal legates served as peacemakers. The prestige of the church was such that, at every court, papal emissaries took precedence over secular envoys, a tradition that continues in countries where Roman Catholicism is the official religion. The Roman emphasis on the sanctity of legates became part of canon law, and church lawyers developed increasingly elaborate rules governing the status, privileges, and conduct of papal envoys, rules that were adapted later for secular use. Still later, rules devised for late medieval church councils provided guidelines for modern international conferences. From the 6th century, both legates and (lesser-ranking) *nuncii* (messengers) carried letters of credence to assure the rulers to whom they were accredited of the extent of their authority as agents of the Pope, a practice later adopted for lay envoys. A *nuncius* (English: nuncio) was a messenger who represented and acted legally on behalf of the Pope; *nuncii* could negotiate draft agreements but could not commit the Pope without referral.

As time passed on, the terms *legate* and *nuncius* came to be used for the diplomatic representatives of secular rulers as well as the Pope. By the 12th century the secular use of *nuncii* as diplomatic agents was commonplace. When diplomacy was confined to nearby states and meetings of rulers were easily arranged, a visiting messenger such as the *nuncius* sufficed. However, as trade revived, negotiations at a distance became increasingly common. Envoys no longer could refer the details of negotiations to their masters on a timely basis. They therefore needed the discretionary authority to decide matters on their own. To meet this need, in the 12th century the concept of a procurator with *plena potens* (full powers) was revived from Roman Civil Law. This plenipotentiary could negotiate and conclude an agreement, but, unlike a *nuncius*, he could not represent his principal ceremonially. As a result, one emissary was often given both offices.

THE GROUP THEORY, DIPLOMACY AND DIPLOMATIC PRACTICES: THE FACTOR FROM VENICE

At the end of the 12th century, the term *ambassador* appeared, initially in Italy. Derived from the Medieval Latin *ambactiare*, meaning "to go on a mission," the term was used to describe various envoys, some of whom were not agents of sovereigns. Common in both Italy and France in the 13th century, it first appeared in English in 1374 in Troilus and Criseyde by Geoffrey Chaucer. By the late 15th century, the envoys of secular rulers were commonly called ambassadors, though the papacy continued to send legates and *nuncii*. Each ambassador carried a letter of credence, though he could not commit his principal unless granted plenipotentiary authority.

The Crusades and the revival of trade increased Europe's contact with the eastern Mediterranean and West Asia. Venice's location afforded that, leading Italian city-state early ties with Constantinople, from which it absorbed major elements of the Byzantine diplomatic system. On the basis of Byzantine precedents, Venice gave its envoys written instructions, a practice otherwise unknown in the West, and established a systematic archive. The Venetian archives contain a registry of all diplomatic documents from 883. Venice later developed an

extensive diplomacy on the Byzantine model, which emphasized the reporting of conditions in the host country. Initially, returning Venetian envoys presented their *relazione* (final report) orally, but, beginning in the 15th century, such reports were presented in writing. Other Italian city-states, followed by France and Spain, copied Venetian diplomatic methods and style.

THE GROUP THEORY AND ITALIAN DIPLOMACY AND DIPLOMATIC PRACTICES

As Jacks (2020:58) observes,

"...it is unclear which Italian city-state had the first permanent envoy. In the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance period, most embassies were temporary, lasting from three months to two years. As early as the late 14th and early 15th centuries, however, Venice, and Milan, and Mantua sent resident envoys to each other, to the Popes, and to the Holy Roman Emperors. At this time, envoys generally did not travel with their wives (who were assumed to be indiscreet), but their missions usually employed cooks for purposes of hospitality and to avoid being poisoned. Resident embassies became the norm in Italy in the late 15th century, and after 1500 the practice spread northward."

A permanent Milanese envoy to the French court of Louis XI arrived in 1463 and was later joined by a Venetian representative. Ambassadors served a variety of roles, including reporting events to their government and negotiating with their hosts. In addition, they absorbed the role of commercial consuls, who were not then diplomatic agents. Italy's early economic revival, geographic location, and small size fostered the creation of a European state system in microcosm. As the peninsula was fully organized into states, wars were frequent, and the maintenance of equilibrium (balance of power) necessitated constant diplomatic interaction. Whereas meetings of rulers aroused expectations and were considered risky, unobtrusive diplomacy by resident envoys was deemed safer and more effective. Thus, the system of permanent agents took root, with members of the upper middle class or younger sons of great families serving as envoys. Consequently, Rome became the centre of Italian diplomacy and of intrigue, information gathering, and spying. Popes received Ambassadors but did not send them. The papal court had the first organized diplomatic corps: the Popes addressed the envoys jointly, seated them as a group for ceremonies, and established rules for their collective governance.

As Colton et al., (2000) posit, "...resident missions became the norm, ceremonial and social occasions came to dominate the relations between diplomats and their hosts, especially because the dignity of the Sovereign as being represented was at stake. Papal envoys took precedence over those of temporal rulers. "But beyond that, there was little agreement on the relative status of envoys, and there was frequent strife. Thus, Pope Julius II established a list of precedence in 1504, in a bid to solve the issue, but this did not solve the problem. Spain did not see itself being in the inferior position to France, so it refused to accept any form of inferiority to France. Thereafter, power fluctuated among the states, as Papal power declined and the Protestant revolt complicated matters not least regarding the Pope's own position. By the 16th century the title of Ambassador was being used only for envoys of crowned heads and the Republic of Venice. Latin remained the international language of diplomacy (Keoghan 1996, Kensisko 2010).

In the pure application of the tenets of the group theory at the international level, the French invasion of Italian states in 1494 occurred, and this challenged the Italian states with

intervention by a power greater than any within their own state system, with the intention of causing disequilibrium in the balance of power in the region. They were driven to substitute subtle diplomacy and expedient, if short-lived, compromise for the force they lacked. This tendency, plus their enthusiasm for diplomatic nuances and the 16th-century writings of Niccolo Machiavelli gave Italian diplomacy a reputation for being devious. But it was no more so than that of other states, and Machiavelli, himself a Florentine diplomat, argued that an envoy needed integrity reliability, and honesty, along with tact and skill in the use of occasional equivocation and selective abridgment of aspects of the truth unfavourable to his cause views seconded since by virtually every authority.

In the words of Colton et al, (2000:458)
"...the 16th-century wars in Italy saw the emergence of strong states north of the Alps and the Protestant revolt ended the Italian Renaissance but spread the Italian system of diplomacy. Henry VII of England was among the first to adopt the Italian diplomatic system, and he initially even used Italian envoys. By the 1520s Thomas Cardinal Wolsey, Henry VIII's Chancellor, had created an English diplomatic service. Under Francis I, France adopted the Italian system in the 1520s and had a corps of resident envoys by the 1530s, when the title of "envoy extraordinary" gained currency, originally for special ceremonial missions."

As Kenny (2013) notes, "...in the 16th and early 17th centuries, neatly and well organised bureaucratic organization, in the manner we have them today scarcely existed. Courtiers initially filled this role, but, by the middle of the 16th century, Royal Secretaries had taken charge of Foreign Affairs amid their other duties. Envoys remained personal emissaries of one ruler to another. Because they were highly trusted and communications were slow, Ambassadors enjoyed considerable freedom of action. Their task was complicated by the ongoing religious wars, which generated distrust, narrowed contacts, and jeopardised the reporting to their expeditors, in fact a diplomatic duty that was very essential if continuity of service by the envoy was to be guaranteed.

The religious wars of the early 17th century were an Austro-French power struggle, all of which were to fulfill the tenets of the group theory of balancing power. During the Thirty Years' War, innovations occurred in the theory and practice of international relations. In 1625 the Dutch Jurist Hugo Grotius published *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (On the Law of War and Peace), in which the laws of war were most numerous. Grotius deplored the strife of the era, which had undermined the traditional props of customary and canon law. In an effort to convert the law of nations into a law among nations and to provide it with a new secular rationale acceptable to both sides in the religious quarrel, Grotius fell back on the classical view of natural law and the rule of reason. His book considered the first definitive work of international law despite its debt to earlier scholars, enunciated the concepts of state sovereignty and the equality of sovereign states, both basic to the modern diplomatic system.

THE GROUP THEORY, CARDINAL RICHELIEU, DIPLOMATIC PRACTICES AND THE EMERGENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTRIES AND EMBASSIES

As Kenny (2013:47) states, "...the first modern foreign ministry was established in 1626 in France by Cardinal Richelieu. Richelieu saw diplomacy as a continuous process of negotiation, arguing that a diplomat should have one master and one policy. He created the Ministry of External Affairs to centralise policy and to ensure his control of envoys as he pursued the *raison*

d'état (national interest), otherwise called in domestic politics as the group theory of politics." Thus, Richelieu completely rejected the view that, public policy should be based on dynastic mindsets or sentimental concerns or a ruler's wishes no matter how knowledgeable the ruler believes he or she is. He rather believed that, the state transcended the crown; land, prince and people, and that, the state's interests and needs are entirely independent of all these elements.

He asserted that the art or science of government lay in recognising these interests and acting according to them, regardless of ethical or religious considerations. In this regard, Richelieu enunciated the basic principles that leaders throughout the world now accept as axioms of statecraft in the art or science of public administration. Richelieu's practice of *raison d'état* or the group theory of politics, led him to ally the Roman Catholic France with the Protestant powers (equally pursuing *raison d'état*) in the Thirty Years' War against France's great rival, Austria. He largely succeeded, for the Peace Treaty of Westphalia of 1648 weakened Austria and enhanced French power. The four years of meetings before its signature were the first great international congresses of modern history. Princes attended, but diplomats did most of the work in secret meetings, especially because by this time there was a corps of experienced diplomats who were mutually well acquainted.

However, the task of the diplomats was complicated by the need for two simultaneous congresses, because the problem of precedence was otherwise insoluble. The 1648 Treaty of Westphalia did not solve precedence disputes, which reflected rivalry between states war between France and Spain, which continued from 1648 to 1659, was partly about this issue. Shortly thereafter, in 1661, there was a diplomatic dispute in London concerning whether the French Ambassador's carriage would precede that of his Spanish rival. War was narrowly averted, but questions of precedence continued to bedevil European diplomacy. As larger states emerged after the Thirty Years' War, a network of embassies and legations crisscrossed Europe.

To communicate securely with its installations, England established the first modern courier service in 1641, and several states used ciphers. A wide variety of people had been employed as ambassadors, ministers, or residents (a more economical envoy usually reserved for lesser tasks). The glittering court of Louis XIV late in the 17th century transformed this situation dramatically. Because a king's honour at such a court required that his emissaries be well-born, aristocratic envoys became common, not least because of the expense involved. Also, as kings became better established, nobles were more willing to serve them. Thus, diplomacy became a profession dominated by the aristocracy. Another result of Louis XIV's preeminence was that French became the language of diplomacy, superseding Latin. French continued as the lingua franca of diplomacy until the 20th century. Therefore, Louis XIV personally directed French foreign policy and read the dispatches of his Ambassadors himself. The foreign minister belonged to the Council of State and directed a small ministry and a sizable diplomatic corps under the king's supervision. Envoys were assigned for three or four years and given letters of credence instructions, and ciphers for secret correspondence. Because Ambassadors chose and paid for their own staff, they were required to have great wealth. Consequently, Louis XIV's regular wars concluded in peace congresses, which were attended by diplomats, and in order to counter the cost of the king's wars, the French foreign minister stressed commerce and commercial diplomacy.

Some states regularized the position of Consuls as state officials, though they were not considered diplomats. The French system was imitated in the 18th century as other major states established foreign ministries. The ambassadors they sent forth were true plenipotentiaries, able to conclude treaties on their own authority. The title of ambassador was used only for the envoys of kings (and for those from Venice. The diplomacy of the time recognized the existence of great powers by according special rank and responsibility to the representatives of these countries. New among these was, Russia, which entered European diplomacy in the 18th century. Its diplomatic tradition married elements derived directly from Byzantine to the now essentially mature diplomatic system that had arisen in Western Europe. At the century's end an independent power of the second rank appeared outside Europe: the United States. The founders of American diplomacy—people such as Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson accepted the norms of European diplomacy but declined to wear court dress or to adopt usages they considered not being a republican. To this day, U.S. ambassadors, unlike those of other countries, are addressed not as "Your Excellency" but simply as "Mr. Ambassador" (Kenny 2013:78, Ankie 2007).

According to Colton et al, (2000:368), "By the 18th century, diplomacy had begun to generate a sizable literature, written mostly by its practitioners. Most of these authors argued that to be effective, ambassadors needed to exercise intelligence, trustworthiness, humaneness, foresight, courage, a sense of humour, and sternness (if only to compensate for the not-infrequent lack of these qualities in the national leaders in whose names they acted). One of the earliest such writers, the Dutch diplomat Abraham de Wicquefort, in 1679 termed an envoy "an honourable spy" and "a messenger of peace" who should be charming, silent, and indirect, though, he asserted, deceit was invariably counterproductive.

The French diplomat Francoise de Callières, who wrote a manual of diplomacy in 1716 that is still read and regarded by diplomats as a classic, argued in favour of the professionalization of diplomacy, declaring that "even in those cases where success has attended the efforts of an amateur diplomatist, the example must be regarded as an exception, for it is a commonplace of human experience that skilled work requires a skilled workman." Accordingly, by 1737 another French diplomat-theorist, Antoine Pecquet, had declared diplomacy to be a sacred calling requiring discretion, patience, accurate reporting, and absolute honesty, themes that have been repeated through succeeding centuries. Invariably, these are themes that give the group theory of politics in national political and economic landscapes it quintessence (Laswell, 1957, Powell 2010, Ulrich 2015, Ankie 2007:76).

THE GROUP THEORY AND BALANCE OF POWER IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Through the many wars and peace congresses of the 18th century, European diplomacy and diplomatic practices strove to maintain a balance (ironically a central philosophy in the group theory of domestic politics) between five great powers or group equilibrium between Britain, France, Austria, Russia and Prussia. At the end of the century however, with the French Revolution, France's efforts to export it, and the attempts of Napoleon I to conquer Europe, first unbalanced; and then overthrew the continent's state system failed. After Napoleon's defeat, the Congress of Vienna was convened 1814–15 to set new boundaries, re-create the balance of power and guard against future French hegemony. It also dealt with international problems internationally, taking up issues such as rivers, the slave trade, and the rules of diplomacy and diplomatic practices. The Final Act of Vienna of 1815, as amended at the Congress of Ax-la-

Chappelle (Aachen) in 1818, established four classes of heads of diplomatic missions, precedence within each class being determined by the date of presentation of credentials and a system for signing treaties in French alphabetical order by country name. That is how the end of the battles over the concept of precedence emerged. Unwritten rules also were established, because, at Vienna, for example, a distinction was made between great powers and "powers with limited interests. Only great powers exchanged Ambassadors.

For instance, until 1893 the United States had no Ambassadors; like those of other lesser states, its envoys were only ministers" (Colton et al, 2000:567 Ulrich 2015:48).

More unwritten rules were soon developed. Napoleon's return and second defeat required a new peace Treaty with France at Paris in November 1815. On that occasion the four great victors (Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia) formally signed the Quadruple Alliance, which called for periodic meetings of the signatories to consult on common interests, to ensure the "repose and prosperity of the Nations," and to maintain the peace of Europe. This clause, which created a Concert of Europe, entailed cooperation and restraint as well as a tacit code: the great powers would make all important decisions; internal changes in any member of the concert had to be sanctioned by the great powers; the great powers were not to challenge each other; and the concert would decide all disputes. The concert thus constituted a rudimentary system of international governance by a consortium of great powers.

Originally, the meetings of the Concert were attended only by rulers, chancellors, and foreign ministers. The first meeting, which was held at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, resulted in the admittance of France to the Concert and the secret renewal of the Quadruple Alliance against it. The meeting also refined diplomatic rules and tackled other international questions. Aix was the first international congress held in peacetime and the first to attract coverage by the press, relations with whom were conducted by the Secretary-General of the congress. Thus was born the public relations aspect of diplomacy and the press communiqué. Thereafter, congresses met in response to crises. Owing to disputes between the powers, after 1822 the meetings ceased, though the Concert of Europe itself continued unobtrusively. Beginning in 1816 an ambassadorial conference was established in Paris to address issues arising from the 1815 treaty with France. Other conferences of ambassadors followed usually in London, Vienna, or Paris to address specific international problems and to sanction change when it seemed advisable or unavoidable.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, CONFERENCE DIPLOMACY, DIPLOMATIC PRACTICES AND DEMOCRATISATION

After three decades, Europe reverted to conference diplomacy at the foreign ministerial level. The Congress of Paris of 1856 not only ended the Crimean War but also resulted in the codification of a significant amount of international law. As European powers extended their sway throughout the world, colonies and spheres of influence in areas remote from Europe came increasingly to preoccupy their diplomacy. The conference in Berlin in 1878 and 1884–85 prevented conflagrations over the so-called "Eastern" and "African" questions euphemisms, respectively, for intervention on behalf of Christian interests in the decaying Ottoman Empire and the carving up of Africa into European-ruled colonies. Furthermore, multilateral diplomacy was institutionalised. The Paris Congress created an International Commission of the Danube to match Vienna's 1815 Commission of the Rhine and established the Universal Telegraph

Union, later the International Telecommunication Union. In 1874 the General Postal Union, later the Universal Postal Union was established. Afterward, specialised agencies like these proliferated. The peace conferences at The Hague (1899–1907), which resulted in conventions aimed at codifying the laws of war and encouraging disarmament, were harbingers of the future.

During the 19th century the world underwent a series of political transformations, and diplomacy changed with it. In Europe power shifted from royal courts to cabinets. Kings were replaced by ministers at international meetings, and foreign policy became a matter of increasingly democratized politics. This, the mass literacy and the advent of inexpensive newspaper, made foreign policy, diplomacy and diplomatic practices to become issues and concerns of public opinion. Domestic politics - the application of the group theory of politics, thus became increasing influential in European countries' foreign policy-making. Meanwhile, European culture and its diplomatic norms spread throughout the world. Most Latin American colonies became independent, which increased the number of sovereign states. With their European heritage, Latin American countries adopted the existing system without question, as the United States had done earlier. The British Empire, through the East India Company, worried away at the Mughal Dynasty and India's many independent states and principalities; latter became united as a subcontinent for the first time under a single sovereignty. In the middle of the 19th century, an American naval flotilla forced Japan to open its society to the rest of the world. Afterward, Japan embarked on a rapid programme of modernisation based on the wholesale adoption of Western norms of political and economic behaviours, including European notions of sovereignty and diplomatic practice (Colton 2000:417).

THE GROUP THEORY AND THE ENTRENCHMENT OF EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY AND DIPLOMATIC PRACTICES

In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, European emissaries to China faced demands to prostrate themselves before the Chinese Emperor in order to be formally received by him in Beijing, a humiliating practice that Europeans had not encounter since the era of Byzantine. As plenipotentiary representatives of foreign sovereigns, they viewed it as completely inconsistent with the Westphalian concept of sovereign equality. The Chinese, for their part, neither understanding nor accepting diplomatic concepts and practices elaborated in Europe were vexed and insulted by the incivility of Western representatives unwilling to respect the long-established ceremonial requirements of the Chinese court. In the ensuing argument between Western and Chinese concepts of diplomatic protocol, Europeans prevailed by force of arms. In 1860 British and French forces sacked and pillaged the Emperor's summer Palace and some areas around Beijing. They refused to withdraw until the Chinese court had agreed to receive ambassadors on terms consistent with Western practices and to make other concessions. This was one of several Western military interventions – actions in group theory, undertaken to force Chinese acceptance of Western-dictated terms of engagement with the outside world.

Western diplomacy beyond Europe initially was conducted at a leisurely pace, given the vastly greater distances and times required for communication. For non-European countries such as the United States, his was an unavoidable reality, but, for the European great powers, it was a novelty. Fortunately, the dispatch of far-flung legations developed almost simultaneously with advances in transportation and communications, which made frequent contact possible. The railway, the telegraph, the steamship, and undersea cable sped the transmittal of instructions

and information. Although the days of Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh who as British foreign secretary negotiated for months at the Congress of Vienna almost without communication with the cabinet in London—were over, the Ambassador's role was more changed than reduced. Lacking instructions and fearing mistakes, earlier emissaries had often done nothing. Similarly, capitals often felt poorly informed about developments of interest to them. At the dawn of the 19th century, U.S. President Thomas Jefferson famously instructed his secretary of state: "We have heard nothing from our ambassador in Spain for two years. If we do not hear from him this year, let us write him a letter."

Improvements in technology now made referral to capitals possible and ensured that capitals heard from their envoys abroad, even in the most distant places, on a more frequent and timely basis. Cabinets consulted the ambassadors as their "man on the spot" who knew and understood the local conditions, politics, and leaders. Speedier communication, more involvement in commercial diplomacy as trade became crucial to prosperity, and, especially, the advent of typewriters and mimeograph machines all contributed to a significant increase in the number of diplomatic reports. Yet diplomacy remained a relatively gilded and leisurely profession, one that the British author Harold Nicolson was able to take up shortly before WWI in order to give himself time to write books. Before 1914 there were 14 missions in Washington, D.C.; by the beginning of the 21st century, the number of missions had increased more than 12-fold. Diplomats were gentlemen who knew each other and shared similar education, but different ideologies and cultures. They saw themselves as elite and carefully upheld the fiction that they still were personal envoys of one monarch to another (Colton et al 2000:413).

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION: WW1, DIPLOMACY AND DIPLOMATIC PRACTICES

In the backdrop of strengthening public administration, the WW1 prompted the acceleration of many changes in diplomacy and diplomatic practices in the world. Sparked by the incidences of WW1, the Russian Revolution of 1917 organised by Vladimir Lenin under the banner of the Bolshevik, produced a great power regime that rejected the views of the Western world and that used political language including the terms *democracy*, *propaganda,* and *subversion*, in new ways. The communist government of the new Soviet Union abolished diplomatic ranks and published the secret treaties it found in the Czarist archives.

In so doing it sought not only to contrive a dramatic contrast to the aristocratic traditions of European diplomacy but also to discredit the cozy dealings between rulers that had so often taken place without regard to the interests or views of those they ruled or affected. Without delay the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs (known by its Russian acronym, the (*Narkomindel*) organised a press bureau and a bureau for international revolutionary propaganda As Russia entered peace negotiations with Germany, it substituted propaganda for the power it lacked, appealing openly to the urban workers of other states to exert pressure on their governments. It also established the Communist International (also called the Third International as a nominally independent entity that meddled in the politics of capitalist countries in ways no embassy outfits could do.

THE GROUP THEORY, THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE REVIVAL OF CONFERENCE DIPLOMACY

In its quest to create group equilibrium, and despite the risks and inherent complexity, conference diplomacy was revived during WWI and continued afterwards, especially during

the 1920s. Following the armistice that ended the war, the Paris Peace Conference took place amid much publicity, which was intensified by the newsreels made of the event. United States President Woodrow Wilson had enunciated his Peace Programme in January 1918, including open covenants of peace acquiescently arrived at as a major goal for diplomacy in the post-WW I period. "Hundreds of journalists went to the conference only to discover that all but the plenary sessions were closed. Wilson had intended that the results of diplomatic negotiations be made public, with treaties published and approved by legislatures. He largely achieved this goal, as the Covenant of the League of Nations, one of the key Treaties set out for signature at Versailles at the end of the Paris Conference required that, Treaties be registered at the League before they became binding" (Hen 2020:47).

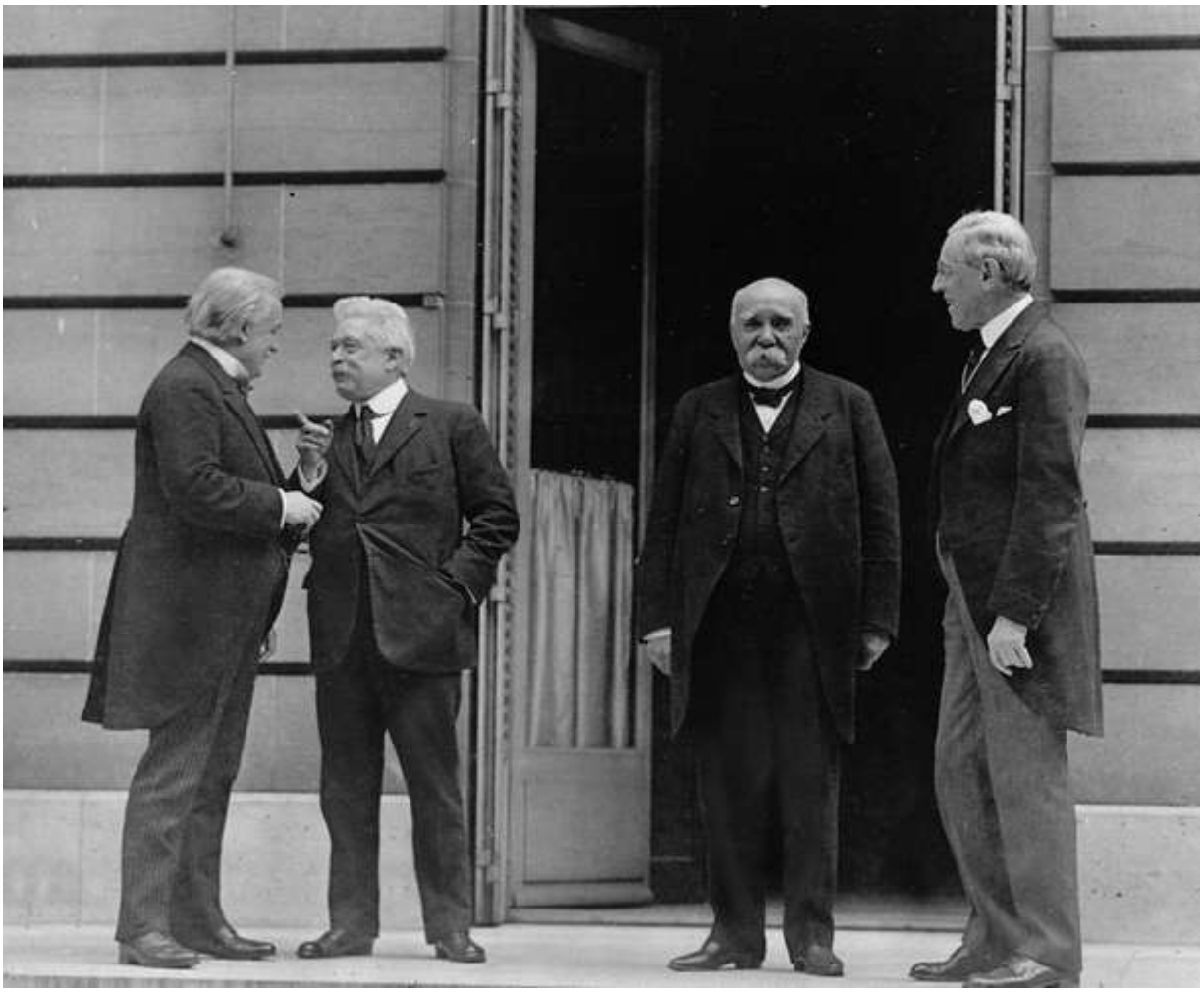

Fig 1: The Group Theory of Domestic Politics and the Diplomacy and Diplomatic Practices in International Relations in Action
From left to right: Britain's David Lloyd George, Italy's Vittorio Orlando, France's Georges Clemenceau, and Woodrow Wilson from the United States at Versailles Peace Conference in 1917.
Source: The National Archives, Washington, D.C. Retrieved from https://cdn.britanica.com/48/71448-050-4C5EB186/ on 2nd April, 2021 at 40.3 pm in Yaoundé, Cameroon.

As Colton et al., (2000:590) observe, "...despite the presence of a Latin American bloc and a few independent or quasi-independent states of Africa and Asia, the League of Nations was essentially a European club." Accordingly, such diplomats became orators again in the halls of Geneva, but the topics of parliamentary diplomacy were often trivial. Decisions taken in public were rehearsed in secret sessions. On important matters Foreign Ministers attending the League's Councils, met privately in hotel rooms. In 1923 the League revealed its impotence by dodging action in the Corfu crisis, in which Italian troops occupied the Greek Island following the murder of an Italian general on Greek soil. In later years the League failed to improve its record in dealing with international crises. Thus, the League of Nations, which should have spearheaded the application of the group theory failed in many respects.

As Hague, Rod, and Harrop (1978) state, "...the weakness of the League of Nations was aggravated by the absence of the United States, whose Senate refused to ratify the Peace Treaties by which the League was created." Thus, the Senate's inaction raised questions about the country's reliability, the basis of effective diplomacy, as they drew attention to the blurring of the line between foreign and domestic policy and, in the view of some, the irresponsibility of democratic electorates. The public conceived of diplomacy as a kind of athletic contest, cheering its side and booing the opponents, seeking great victories and humiliation of the foe, and fixing on the next score and not on the long term. This kind of attitude certainly rendered, good diplomacy, which was based on the compromise, mutual advantage, understanding and lasting interests extremely difficult.

THE GROUP THEORY DIPLOMACY AND DIPLOMATIC PRACTICES IN SUMMIT DIPLOMACY

After a calm, the tensions of the 1930s revived conference diplomacy, which continued during World War II. Thereafter, summit meetings between heads of government became the norm as technology again quickened the tempo of diplomacy. In the 1930s statesmen began to telephone each other, a practice that was epitomized in the 1960s by the Soviet-American "hot line." Similarly, the flights of British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain to Germany in 1938, which resulted in the Munich Agreement that allowed Germany to annex the Sudetenland in western Czechoslovakia, started a trend in diplomacy. With airplanes at their disposal, leaders met often in the postwar world. In the words of Kojo Debrah, (1989) "Radio enables people to hear all evil, television enables them to see all evil, and the jet plane enables them to go off and do all evil."



Fig 3: Benito Mussolini, Adolf Hitler, and Neville Chamberlain (From left) Italian leader Benito Mussolini, German Chancellor Adolf Hitler, a German interpreter, and British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain meeting in Munich, Germany, September 29, 1938.
Sources: https://cdn.britannica.com/57/131357-050-429252D4 ***German Federal Archives (Bundesarchiv), Bild 146-1970-052-24. Retrieved on 6th April 2021 at 4.12 am, Yaoundé, Cameroon***

THE GROUP THEORY, DIPLOMACY, DIPLOMATIC PRACTICES, DECOLONISATION AND THE COLD WAR

The group theory has continued to influence international public administration in several respects. For instance, at the end of the World War II, the world was imaginary divided into two tight blocs; one controlled by the United States and one by the Soviet Union with a fragile nonaligned movement (mostly of newly independent countries) lying precariously in between. The Cold War took place under the threat of nuclear devastation and gave rise to two major alliances, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, led by the United States, and the Warsaw Pact led by the Soviet Union, along with a conventional and nuclear arms race endless disarmament negotiations, much conference diplomacy, many summits, and periodic, crisis management a form of negotiation aimed at living with a problem, not solving it. As a result, a premium was placed on the diplomatic art of continuing to talk until a crisis ceased to boil. Actually, WWI produced a few new states as eastern European empires crumbled. Ostensibly, World War II sounded the death knell for global empires. The immediate postwar period saw the emergence into full independence of several great civilisations, which imperialism had placed under various European tutelages. These re-born countries had taken to heart, the doctrines of European diplomacy. Within the philosophy of the group theory, the zeal of new converts, they were, in many ways, more insistent on the concepts of sovereignty, territorial integrity, and non-interference in internal affairs than their former colonial masters now were.

CONCLUSION

This article sought to determine the nexus between the group theory in public policy-making and diplomacy and diplomatic practices; with the research purposes of discerning their impact on international public administration and to increase knowledge in the field. It contended that, diplomacy and diplomatic practices, though strands of international relations; pivot on the philosophy of the group theory in domestic politics. Therefore, a nexus exist between the group theory, and diplomacy and diplomatic practices, which fashions diplomacy and diplomatic practices in international public administration.

From the theoretical and empirical literature reviewed, I discerned that, international public administration's performance is bolstered through the group theory in public policy-making, because, this policy mediates groups' equilibrium amongst competing social, economic and politico-cultural groups in domestic politics; just as diplomacy mediates group's – state's interest (power) over another group's - state's interest (power) in international politics. Consequently, I recommend that, public administration's freshmen and scholars must not ignore this nexus and its impact on international public administration. Accordingly, the multiplicity of public administration activities, incarnated by domestic and foreign service tasks, embroiled in diplomatic practices, reflect a world that does not only seek public policy theories that divide public administrative activities, but theories that join these activities, with more interdependent, although fragmented states, peoples and societies.

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