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## Chapter 1 : Holdings : The Diplomatic persuaders : | York University Libraries

*Based on talks presented in the spring of at a series of seminars offered by the Washington Journalism Center and the American University, Washington, D.C.*

Diplomacy stands accepted as the mainstay and the core process of relations among nations. The process of establishment of relations among nations begins effectively by the establishment of diplomatic relations among nations. A new state becomes a full and active member of the family of nations only after it gets recognition by existing states. The common way in which this recognition is granted is the announcement of the decision to establish diplomatic relations. Thereafter diplomats are exchanged and relations among nations get underway. As such diplomacy is the means through which nations begin to develop their relations. Foreign policy always travels on the shoulders of diplomacy and gets operationalized in other states. The term Diplomacy is used in a variety of ways. Good words are a mask for concealment of bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or wooden iron. No doubt, diplomacy at times attempts to cloak the real goals of national interests with several ideational principles or morality or rules of international behaviour, yet it cannot be described as the art of deceit and concealment. Diplomacy is, in fact, the art of negotiations and conduct of foreign relations. It is the key instrument for implementing the foreign policy of the nation. Morgenthau On the basis of these definitions, it can be said that, Diplomacy is the mechanism for the promotion of national interest of the nation that it represents. It is done by means of negotiations and conduct of relations with other nations. Diplomacy is always guided and conditioned by the foreign policy of the nation that it represents. Diplomacy is neither the art of deceit nor mere lies or propaganda, and nor even something immoral. Diplomacy is a normal means of conducting relations. It consists of techniques and procedures for conducting relations among nations. In itself diplomacy is recognized as official machinery for the conduct of relations among nations. Diplomacy functions through a network of foreign offices, embassies, legations, consulates, and special missions all over the world. It always works according to definite and settled procedures and protocol. Diplomacy is commonly bilateral in character. However as a result of the growing importance of international conferences, international organisations, regional negotiations, it has now also developed a plural character. It is concerned with all issues and problems among nations. Diplomacy may embrace a multitude of interestsâ€”from the simplest issues to vital issues to that of war and peace. When diplomacy breaks down, the danger of war, or at least of a major crisis develops. Some writers hold that diplomacy operates only in times of peace and when war breaks out diplomacy comes to an end. However, this is not a correct view. Diplomacy continues to operate even when war breaks out. Of course, during war its nature undergoes a change; from peace diplomacy it takes the form of war diplomacy. Diplomacy works in a situation involving both cooperation and conflict. A certain degree of cooperation among nations is essential for the working of diplomacy because in its absence, diplomatic relations cannot be maintained. Similarly when there is no conflict diplomacy becomes superfluous because there is no need for negotiations. Thus existence of cooperation as well as conflict is essential for the working of diplomacy. The purpose of diplomacy is to secure the goals of national interest as defined and specified by the foreign policy of the nation. Diplomacy always works for the nation it represents. Diplomacy is backed by national power: A strong diplomacy means a diplomacy backed by a strong national power. Diplomacy uses persuasion and influence as the means for exercising power in international relations. It cannot use force and violence. However, it can issue warnings, give ultimatums, promise rewards and threaten punishment, but beyond this it cannot directly exercise force. Success in Diplomacy is measured in terms of the amount of success achieved towards the fulfillment of the goals of national interest in international relations. All these characteristics highlight the nature of Diplomacy. One can describe Diplomacy as an instrument of national interest and a tool of foreign policy. Broadly speaking, Diplomacy seeks to secure two types of primary objectives for the nation it represents. Diplomacy always works to secure the goals of national interest as defined by the foreign policy. It

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always works for increasing the influence of the state over other states. It uses persuasion, promises of rewards and other such means for this purpose. Through rational negotiations, it seeks to justify the objectives of the foreign policy of the nation. It seeks to promote friendship and cooperation with other nations. The interdependence among nations is the most important and valuable fact of international living. Each nation depends upon others for economic and industrial links and trade. Diplomacy always seeks to promote the economic, commercial and cultural links of the nation with other nations. Diplomacy depends upon peaceful means, persuasive methods for promoting the interests of the nation and this is indeed an important non-political objective of Diplomacy. For securing its objectives, Diplomacy depends upon three major means: Diplomacy has to depend upon several tactics or techniques. The chances of the success of diplomacy are directly related to the ability of using appropriate means through appropriate tactics. In the main diplomacy uses six technique, which have been defined by the Hostile? A selection of a method or means is done on the basis of the time and circumstances of the situation. Any wrong decision in this respect can lead to a failure. Six Main Devices of Diplomacy: Through logical reasoning, Diplomacy seeks to convince others of the justification of the goals which it is trying to uphold or promote. Diplomacy can offer rewards for securing acceptance of desired view of a particular international dispute or issue or problem. Diplomacy can promise matching rewards and concessions for securing a particular change or maintaining a particular view in the policies of other nations. Diplomacy cannot use force or violence in promoting the national interest. However, it can use threat of use of force—ultimatums, symbolic boycotts, protest walkouts or even threat of war etc. By depriving a promised reward or concession, Diplomacy can inflict non-violent punishment on other nations. By using pressure tactics Diplomacy can force other nations to accept the desired view or policy or decision or goals that it represents. Besides these, Diplomacy also uses propaganda, cultural links, exploitation of situations, creation of particular scenes and situations, rigidity or flexibility in negotiations etc. Functions and Role of Diplomacy: In performing its tasks and securing its national objectives, Diplomacy has to undertake a number of functions. The diplomats of a nation are the symbolic representatives of the state and they represent their state and government in all official ceremonies and functions as well as in non-official, social and cultural functions held in the place of their postings. A diplomat formally represents his country in a foreign state. He is the normal agent of communication between his home office and that of the state to which he is accredited. His representation is legal and political. He can vote in the name of his government. Of course, in doing so he is totally bound by the directions of his home office and the foreign Policy of the nation. To conduct negotiations with other states is a substantive function of diplomacy. Diplomats, observe Palmer and Perkins, are by definition negotiators. They are the channels of communication which handle the transmission of messages between the foreign ministries of the parent state and the host state. Along with the nature of the message, the manner and style of delivering the message greatly influences the course of negotiations. It is mainly through negotiations that a diplomat seeks to secure agreements and compromises over various conflictual issues and problems among states. The role of diplomacy in conducting negotiations has, however, declined in our times because of the emergence of multilateral diplomacy, personal diplomacy political diplomacy, summit diplomacy and the direct communication links among the world leaders and top statesmen. The diplomats today do not play as great a role in international negotiations as used to be previously played by them. Nevertheless, they continue to be the legal and formal channels of negotiations in international relations. Reporting involves the observation of the political, economic, military and social conditions of the host country and the accurate transmission of the findings of the diplomat to his home country. The political reporting involves a report about the assessment of the roles of various political parties in the politics of the host country. It seeks to assess the friendliness or hostility of the various political groupings towards the home state, and the power potential of each party or organisation. Economic reporting involves sending of reports to the home office containing general information about the economic health and trade potential of the host country. Military reporting involves an assessment of the military might, intentions and capabilities, and the strategic importance of the host country. The level of social and cultural conflicts

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among the people of the host country and the level of social harmony and cohesion are assessed for determining the level of stability of the host country. Thus reporting is an important and valuable function of diplomacy. Diplomacy is always at work for protecting and promoting the interests of the nation and its people living abroad. A diplomat always attempts to prevent or change practices which he feels are discriminatory to the interests of his country. It is his responsibility to protect the persons, property and interests of such citizens of his country as are living in the territory of the state to which he stands posted. Through all these functions, diplomacy plays an important role in international relations. Change in the Character of Diplomacy: From Old Diplomacy to New Diplomacy:

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## Chapter 2 : Gouvernants et gouvernés; la communication politique | Search Results | IUCAT

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Hegemony and resistance through identity formations Culture Interpretive Realism has been the dominant school of thought, in both theory and practice focusing on peace through national strength, armament, and balance of power. For Realists, order is the primary normative value and historical analysis is the soundest methodology to pursue. Liberals, by contrast, have pointed to the integrating forces of the world market as a new reality creating considerable international interdependency in the postwar period. For liberals, freedom in property ownership, politics, and trade is the primary normative value. In their studies of international relations, Liberals supplement historical analysis with a variety of quantitative and qualitative methods such as time-series, correlation analyses, and simulation games. Marxists and Neo-Marxists, although in decline politically, continue to present powerful theoretical arguments that have an appeal in the peripheries of the world. They view international relations primarily in terms of class conflict within and among nations and argue that since the 16th century, capitalism has increasingly incorporated the peripheries into a world system of domination and exploitation through imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism Wallerstein ; Schiller , The social revolutions in Russia, China, Cuba, Vietnam, and many less developed countries LDCs have attempted to break away from the fetters of the world capitalist system. But, Marxists further argue, internal contradictions, wars, and revolutionary struggles will continue to challenge the dominant capitalist system. For Marxists, equality is the primary normative value while historical materialism and dialectics are the dominant methodologies. Although the ideologies of its proponents differ, the centrality of civil society as expressed through community formations, in contrast nation-state and social classes, is what unifies this theoretical perspective. As expressed in its cultural, communal, and institutional formations, civil society thus serves as the underlying unit of analysis. In the traditional literature of international relations, this school of thought is closely linked to the institutionalist perspectives emphasizing the integration processes of world and regional systems. However, it also has manifested itself in a variety of anti-colonial, nationalist, tribalist, localist, ethnic, and religious movements focused on mobilizing the common historical memories of the peripheries in waging a cultural and political struggle against the centers. The Communitarians thus emphasize the centrality of political community as a condition for a durable peace at local, national, regional, and global levels. Community is thus the primary normative value to be pursued, while institution building for world economic, political, and cultural integration are the policy recommendation. Emanating from the poststructuralist and deconstructionist schools of thought, postmodernism is deeply imbued with linguistic analyses of knowledge and power. It therefore highlights the central importance of identity as a major principle in the globalization and localization of knowledge and power struggles and truth claims. Generally committed to radical relativism, postmodernism interprets contemporary international relations as a process of negotiation of knowledge, power, and identity through military, economic, and cultural arsenals of influence. While some tendencies in postmodernism are nihilistic, others seek out those universals in global knowledge that could unify an otherwise divided world. Although each theoretical discourse has its own unique set of assumptions and conclusions reflecting competing interests in the international community, global communication has forced them into a grudging dialogue. Table 1 confines itself to a typology of the main theoretical strands. There are many theoretical hybrids that have enriched international discourse on world order. However, it is significant to note that the axial principles of the five schools of thought together constitute the five democratic goals of order, liberty, equality, community, and identity in the modern world. Thus, the effects of global communication on the evolution of international relations theory and its underlying international system have been two-fold. On the one hand, global communication has empowered the peripheries of power to progressively engage in the international discourse on the aims and methods of the international system. In

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this way, Liberalism challenged the traditional state-centered, protectionist, mercantilist policies of the 16th to 18th centuries with its revolutionary doctrines of laissez-faire in international trade and protection of property and liberty in domestic life. However, it also incorporated much of the geopolitical Realist view of power politics in its justification of the colonial and imperial orders while increasingly emphasizing the role of IGOs in the management of the international system. However, in practice, Communist regimes often cynically followed Realist geopolitical doctrines in favor of international proletarian solidarity. Liberalism, in turn, undermined the Communist regimes by its control of the main world capital, of trade, and of news flows through appeals to democratic values. In a world system dominated by state and corporate bureaucracies, Communitarianism is the latest phase in a continuing theoretical and ideological struggle by the peripheries to put the human rights of the oppressed on the international agenda. In its preoccupation with the collective rights of community, however, Communitarianism cannot altogether ignore the Realist focus on political order, the Liberal preoccupation with individual freedom, and the Marxist concern with social equality. Postmodernism deconstructs the truth claims of all of the foregoing schools by casting doubt on their meta-narratives. But it also posits its own meta-narrative of relativism as a truth claim. Tensions among the five theoretical schools clearly reveal the tensions among the competing aims of democracy: On the other hand, global communication has also served as a channel for theoretical integration. Political leadership in international relations has increasingly come to mean moral leadership in such great debates as colonialism, development, population, environment, nuclear weapons, human rights, women and minority status, etc. Global communication has thus historically broadened and deepened the parameters of discourse from Realism to Liberalism, Marxism, Communitarianism, and now Postmodernism. Each school of thought has had to respond to the concerns of new layers of the international community as they have emerged from conditions of oppression and silence. International relations theory has thus progressively incorporated the new democratic claims for equality, self-determination, and cultural identity. For example, the slogan of "New World Order" has gone through several mutations in this century. For the Allies, it meant a reorganization of the world around the United Nations principles of collective security policed by the five permanent members of the Security Council. To the Group of 77 at the United Nations calling for a New World Economic Order in a General Assembly resolution, the new order meant a revamped international economic system to redress the terms of trade in favor of the LDCs. Following the largely fruitless North-South negotiations of the 1980s, the discourse of the new order was resurrected and coopted by President Bush. To mobilize international support for a war effort against Saddam Hussein, Bush employed the slogan at the wake of the Persian Gulf War in with maximum effect. It now meant a new international regime of "law and order" under the aegis of the United Nations supported by the unanimity of the five permanent members of the Security Council and, whenever that fails, under alliances such as NATO or ultimately superpower action. Views of the international system and its most urgent reform needs are thus as fractious as the world itself. The complexities of the world demand international relations theories that can focus on both growing gaps and interdependencies, conflicts and cooperation, violence and peace-building. They also call for policies recognizing that global communication plays a central role in problem definition and negotiation for solutions. For example, so long as the whole continent of Africa has fewer telephone lines than the city of Tokyo, global communication will continue to be largely a one-way flow. Industrial countries as a whole have over 18 times more telephone lines per people than all the developing countries UNDP Since telephones are the linchpin of the emerging global communication system, this situation exacerbates the existing communication gaps in the world. Theory building in international relations clearly requires greater multicultural dialogue in order to build bridges among the competing cultural constructions of world conflicts. The Military Arena The multiple effects of global communication are perhaps most visible in the military arena. Military technologies have become increasingly information- and communication-intensive. Historically, most communication technologies have immensely benefited in their research and development phase from military investments, but their introduction has often led to rapidly diffused civilian applications. They also have been quickly adopted by all adversaries.

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Table 2 provides a schematic view of the most important communication technologies and world orders. As Innis has persuasively argued, world political systems closely correlate with world communication systems. Without reliable command, communication, and control, power centers cannot effectively manage their peripheries. However, every communication system also empowers the peripheries. Print, for example, facilitated the political and cultural hegemony of the West from 15th century onwards, but its spread also gave rise to increasingly potent resistance via nationalist movements throughout the world. In the military arena, the "double sword" feature of communication technologies has led to the paradox of "more is less": More security has meant less security. A few examples illustrate the point. Nuclear weapons have been assumed to be a powerful deterrent force. However, their proliferation has created a greater probability of accidental or intentional nuclear war. Remote sensing by satellites has created a global surveillance system at the disposal of the superpowers. But commercialization of such information is now leading to its availability to those adversaries who can afford the price. In warfare, technology is having two contradictory consequences. The conduct of war and resistance against domination are both becoming increasingly robotized and globalized. This is so because the technology is at once global and local as well as both powerful and vulnerable. Terrorism, as the weapon of the weak, has thus been on the ascendancy locally and globally--on the West Bank as well as at the New York World Trade Center, in the Armenia-Azerbaijan region as well as at Turkish and Armenian embassies around the world, at the Oklahoma City Federal Building as well as in Washington, DC. The idea that stockpiling weapons of mass destruction can gain commensurately higher levels of security for those who possess them is thus proving to be problematical. The policy implications of this phenomenon for the pursuits of power and peace are far reaching but, for reasons of space, cannot be addressed here.

The Diplomatic Arena In addition to traditional intergovernmental diplomacy, global communication seems to have generated three new types of diplomacy, which may be labeled public, people, and virtual diplomacy. Public diplomacy has thus assumed an increasing importance in the conduct of foreign policy. Realists such as former Ambassador George Kennan and former U. Secretary of State James Schlesinger have, in fact, decried this tendency as tantamount to emotionalism in the policy process. Kennedy once summed it up: Public diplomacy, however, complements rather than supplants traditional diplomacy. However, the debate over the role of the media in international relations cannot be settled by a few case studies. In their coverage of international affairs, the media-- particularly commercial television--tend to dichotomize, dramatize, and demonize. In this process, the media follows a pattern of story-telling that has been well-established in the American Westerns with enormous success at the box office, i. Given government license to cover a given story, the media may legitimate prevailing policies, or accelerate, impede, or prioritize them. This is often known as the agenda-setting function of the media; the media focuses us more on what to think about than tells us what to think. In the case of the Vietnam War, the first television war in history, the media initially legitimized and accelerated U. However, as the body bags came home and the atrocities of the war were televised into American homes, the media gradually turned against government policies, to a certain degree impeded them, and finally contributed to a change of priorities from war to peacemaking. In the case of the Gulf War, the first government-managed television war in history, about 80 percent of the American public receiving its news from television supported the war effort. Television coverage of the plight of the Iraqi Kurds and Shiites in the aftermath of the war may have accelerated the U. The media may be thus viewed as neither powerful nor powerless but power-linked. Public diplomacy is seen as an auxiliary instrument to traditional diplomacy. The use of television as a channel for sending messages to the opposite side by the leaders of the U. None of these examples can conclusively suggest that, in their making of foreign policy, states have become hostages to the media. However, the examples suggest that governments are increasingly aware of the potential benefits and risks of media. In contrast to public diplomacy, which is essentially top-down, people diplomacy is a bottom-up process. Improving global transportation and telecommunications have increasingly made it possible for ordinary citizens to engage in a game that has been historically reserved for foreign policy "experts. Numerous other individuals and groups are also engaged in such efforts. The best

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known of such groups is Amnesty International, an organization devoted to the freedom and humane treatment of political prisoners around the world.

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