

Dirassat & Abhath
The Arabic Journal of Human
and Social Sciences



مجلة دراسات وأبحاث
المجلة العربية في العلوم الإنسانية
والاجتماعية

EISSN: 2253-0363
ISSN : 1112-9751

**The role of multi-track diplomacy in conflictre solution and peace building:
A study of actors and applications**

**دور الدبلوماسية المتعددة المسارات في حل النزاعات وبناء السلام: دراسة الفواعل
والتطبيقات.**

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تاريخ القبول: 2021-05-24

تاريخ الاستلام: 2021-01-08

Abstract:

The article discusses the role of multi-track diplomacy in resolving conflicts and building peace, as the development of diplomatic track is a strong evidence of adaptation to the various developments taking place in the international reality in the field of international conflicts and peace building, as a result of the introduction of new actors and variables, as the stakes of success in establishing a comprehensive peace stop on the extent to which the second track diplomacy is able to design an effective approach to transforming the conflict by finding an effective lever that facilitates dialogue and paves the way for entering into direct negotiations, as the success of the peace building process lies in the ability to transfer efforts from its informal nature, that is, to create a kind of interdependence between First track and second track diplomacy in order to target the peace building process and sustainable conflict resolution.

The existence of a strong and coherent relationship between the various diplomatic tracks will undoubtedly contribute to limiting international conflicts and establishing peace away from military or force-based solutions, and despite the challenges facing this approach, especially coordinating tracks with each other, which tracks are first than the other track and the influence of the nature of each dispute over choosing one path over another, but it remains an effective and positive dimension in resolving international conflicts and achieving peace.

Keywords: Multitrack diplomacy, Conflict Resolution, Peacebuilding, Crisis Management, unofficial diplomacy.

الملخص

يناقش المقال الدور الدبلوماسي المتعددة المسارات في حل النزاعات وبناء السلام، حيثما تتطور المسارات الدبلوماسية دليل قبولي على التكيف مع مخز لتفالتطور التالتيشدها الواقع الدولي في حقل النزاعات الدولية وبناء السلام وذلك نتيجة دخول فواعلوم تغيرات جديدة، إذ أن هناك نجاح في إرساء سلام مشاملي توفيق علم مد بقدرة دبلوماسية المسارات الثاني على تصميم نهج فعال للتحويل للنزاع عبر إيجاد أفاعلة فعالة تعمل على تسهيل الحوار وتمهد للذخول في المفاوضات المباشرة، حيثما أن نجاح عملية بناء السلام يكمن في القدرة على الانتقال إلى الجهد من نطاق غير رسمي، أي خلق نوع من الترابط بين دبلوماسية المسارات الأولى ودبلوماسية المسارات الثانية من أجل استهداف عملية بناء السلام وحل النزاعات بشكل مستديم.

إن وجود علاقة قوية ومتما سكة بين مختلف المسارات الدبلوماسية سيساهم بلا شك في الحد من النزاعات الدولية وإرساء السلم بعيداً عن الحلال والعسكرية أو القائمة على مفهوم القوة وغمالتحديا التيتتوا جهن هذا المقاربة خاصة بتدسيق المسارات بعضها البعض أو المسارات ه أو لمنا المسارات الأخرى تأثير طبيعة كل نزاع على اختيار مسار دون آخر إلا أنها تبقي من أبعاد فعالو إيجابيفي حل النزاعات الدولية وتحقيق السلام.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الدبلوماسية متعددة المسارات، حل النزاعات، بناء السلام، إدارة الأزمات الدبلوماسية غير الرسمية.

1. INTRODUCTION

In trying to find the best methods of resolving conflicts, and peace building a variety of types of diplomacy have been identified. Now a day's terms such as "formal diplomacy" "Track One Diplomacy", "Track Two Diplomacy" and "Multi-Track Diplomacy" are common in conflict resolution vocabulary.¹

Diplomacy in its multilayered meaning represents a formulation and implementation of foreign politics, technique of foreign politics, international negotiations and professional activity, which is being performed by the diplomats.² Diplomacy is responsible for managing the relations between countries and countries and other actors through the assistance of advice, design and realization of foreign politics, coordinating and ensuring specific and wide interests³

2. First Subtitle

Conceptual framework for Multi-Track diplomacy and semantic concepts

First/The concept of Multi-Track diplomacy-Multi-

Track Diplomacy is a conceptual way to view the process of international peace making as a living system. It looks at the web of interconnected acti-

vities, individuals, institutions, and communities that operate together for a common goal: a world at peace. The term "track-one diplomacy" refers to official governmental diplomacy, or "a technique of state action, which is essentially a process whereby communication from one government goes directly to the decision-making apparatus of another".⁴ Multi-track diplomacy is a concept developed and put into practice by Louise Diamond and myself, co-founders of the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy. The concept is an expansion of the original distinction made by Joseph Montville in 1982, between track one (official, governmental action) and track two (unofficial, non-governmental action) approaches to conflict resolution.⁵ John MacDonald describes multi-track diplomacy as non-stated diplomacy, which is those contacts and informal activities that occur between ordinary citizens or between a group of individuals or between non-state actors.⁶ Graham Evan and Geoffrey Newham know it: "This word is often used in error as a synonym for foreign policy. While the latter can be described as the substance of the state's relationship with others, its goals and positions, diplomacy is those tools that are used to enforce these matters. It is concerned with dialogue and negotiation

¹Nicholson, Harold. *Diplomacy*. Washington: Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Georgetown University 1988, pp. 3-5.

²Vukadinovic, Radovan. *Diplomacija. Strategija političnih pogajanja* (Diplomacy. Strategy of Political Negotiations). Ljubljana: Arab Consulting, 1994, p. 109

³Barston, R.P.: *Modern Diplomacy*. London, New York: Longman Barston, 1988, p. 1.

⁴Said, A.S., Lerche, Jr., C.O. & Lerche III, C.O.. *Concepts of international politics in global perspective*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1995, p. 69.

⁵McDonald, John W.. "Multi-Track Diplomacy." *Beyond Intractability*. Eds. Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess. Conflict Information Consortium, University of Colorado, Boulder. Posted: September 2003 <http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/multi-track-diplomacy>.

⁶John W. McDonald. *Multi-Track Diplomacy*. September 2003, p. 3.

s, it is not just a tool. The state is also an institution of the state system".⁷

According to Martin Griffiths and Terry Okalagan: "It is the whole process by which states establish their foreign relations, it is the means of all states to cooperate, and the means of adversaries to resolve disputes without resorting to force."⁸ Through different forms (paths) of non-governmental diplomacy and make better use of it. Sherrill Brown notes that "the accelerating development of information and communication technology globally is accompanied by a parallel spread of diplomatic practice among non-state actors who have access to and desire to access these technologies, and the creation of global circles around specific issues that are based on perceived shared values."⁹ It means creating networks of multi-level dialogue on issues of peace, justice, environment and development that include local, regional and global actors.¹⁰ Various texts offer some varied categories of track-one diplomacy. The Institute of World Affairs outlines the following types of track-one diplomatic activities:¹¹

- Informal consultations
- "Good offices"
- Special envoys
- Mediation
- Negotiations
- International condemnations
- Fact-finding missions
- Diplomatic and economic sanctions

⁷Graham Evans and Geoffrey Newnham, *The Penguin Dictionary of International Relations*, Gulf Research Center, 1997, p. 126.

⁸Martin Griffiths and Terry O'Callaghan, *Basic Concepts in International Relations*, Gulf Center for Research and Studies, First Edition, Dubai-UAE, 2008, p. 203.

⁹Harold Saunders, *A Public Peace Process: Sustained Dialogue to Transform Racial and Ethnic Conflicts*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999, p. 79.

¹⁰Daniel Wehrens, *Multi-Track Diplomacy and Human Security*, *ibid*, p. 84.

¹¹*Approaches to International Conflict Resolution*. (2001). Institute of World Affairs. Retrieved March 25, 2004, from: <http://www.iwa.org/index.html>

Second/Conflict Resolution:

But the perspective on conflict resolution has expanded traditional diplomacy and conflict management, which is often mainly related to ending existing violence or establishing agreements to avoid a return to violence. These second level of diplomacy or multi-track diplomacy tries to prevent and avoid conflicts and focuses on new topics such as (Human rights issues, development, regulation of human and material resources, avoiding extremism and religious violence, and ensuring freedoms) and aims to rebuild the relationship between the conflicting parties to build trust and thus hope to prevent more conflicts and bring about more sustainable change.

Third/Peacebuilding: Application of the Systems Approach to Peace:¹²

In order to understand the systems approach to peace, one must understand the concepts of peacebuilding and standard procedures. Within peacebuilding, there exist three main categories of activities. These distinct approaches include:

1. Political peacebuilding, which is accomplished through track-one diplomacy and may consist of political rebuilding.
2. Economic and institutional peacebuilding, which is also a function of track-one diplomacy. It involves the rebuilding of infrastructure and international institutions.
3. Social peacebuilding, a component often unacknowledged by traditional peacebuilding actors. Social peacebuilding is approaching peace through humane element. This means dealing with the emotions of conflict and preparing a framework for de-escalation and violence prevention.

¹²McDonald, John W.. "Multi-Track Diplomacy, *opi.cit*

This framework for prevention is established by supporting community leaders with skills and tools by which prevention of violence and prevention of escalation are possible. Social peace building also means working with the heart, which is fundamental to the work that we do at the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy.

Multitrack diplomacy and international conflict resolution and peacebuilding

First: multi-track diplomacy and human security:

Diplomacy and human security are two unlikely approaches to compare; their basic philosophies and practices seem absolute contradictory. Diplomacy is the formal instrument and craft of interstate relations and human security, the fill-in concept when states fail or are inadequate in protecting their citizens. It seems that the latter comes in when the former fails. Diplomacy and human security do not seem to have much in common. The common belief is that the protection of human rights and security concerns are more opposing philosophies than partners in the prevention, managing and resolution of conflicts. However, this simple opinion, while holding some truth, might be premature. When taking a second look, one can find quite some striking similarities and discover that these concepts are more complementary than an exclusive in dealing with conflicts.¹³

Diplomacy Tracks

Track One Diplomacy - Track One Diplomacy or Official Diplomacy has a long history whose roots lie in the remote history of humankind. The most important feature that distinguishes Track One diplomacy from all other forms of diplomacy is its formal application at

the state-to-state level. It follows a certain protocol to which every state is a signatory. Track One Diplomacy is usually considered to be the primary peace-making tool of a state's foreign policy. It is carried out by diplomats, high-ranking government officials, and heads of state and is aimed at influencing the structures of political power.

Track I is what springs to mind when Diplomacy is talked of in the media, i.e. mutually recognised individuals representing and practicing the official foreign policy from States which are signatories to the Westphalia States sovereignty system and thus a certain protocol regarding formal governmental contact.

As well as States, other recognized track one actors are the Vatican, the Arab League, the United Nations, the African Union, the OAS and a host of other political and regional groupings like the EU. However, politics is unforgiving and mistakes not tolerated by the electorate creating a need for others to take the fall when inevitably such failures do occur.¹⁴

Strengths of Track One Diplomacy - Track One Diplomacy was developed as a foreign policy tool to specifically improve relations among nations. Although the strengths of Track One Diplomacy are numerous, the most widely cited in the literature are four. First, Track One Diplomacy has the ability to use political power to influence the direction of negotiations and outcomes.

Weaknesses of Track One Diplomacy - Regardless of Track One's strengths outlined above,

¹³Daniel Wehrenfennig, Multi-track diplomacy and human security, HUMAN SECURITY JOURNAL, Volume 7, Summer 2008, p. 80.

¹⁴Barrington Roy Schiller, What is a track 1.5 diplomat?, December 25, 2020, set: <https://diplomatomagazine.eu/2019/08/03/what-is-a-track-1-5-diplomat/>

ove, Track One Diplomacy has several identifying weaknesses. The first weakness of Track One Diplomacy is that its conflict resolution approaches are corrupted by power. State power can be able to create durable peace, rather than a facilitative tool. Power can suppress underlying issues of weaker parties, thereby undermining the sustainability of a peace agreement.¹⁵ Second, diplomatic missions, an asset to Track One Diplomacy, are normally closed down at the peak of conflicts between countries "thereby reducing communication when it is needed most".¹⁶ Third, officials cannot, of course, speak against their country and, as a result, may either be too rigid or delay negotiations. Through consultations with their leaders at home (Volkan, 1991; Sanders, 1991). Fourth, Track One Diplomacy is affected by electoral cycles.¹⁷

Track Two Diplomacy-

"Track Two diplomacy" includes: non-governmental diplomacy, and the communication and informal activities that take place between non-state actors. It is described as "transformative", a site that seeks to change the mutual perceptions of the parties to the conflict, and stimulate a shift from relying on force in managing conflict to searching for ways of cooperation and reconciliation of interests and compromises.

NINE TRACKS IN THE MULTI-TRACK SYSTEM

¹⁵ Louise Diamond and John W. McDonald, *op. cit.* p. 45.

¹⁶ Ziegler, W.D. *War, Peace, and International Politics.* (3rd Ed.). Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1984, p. 27

¹⁷ Volkan, D. V. *Official and Unofficial Diplomacy: An Overview.* In V. D. Volkan M. D., J. Montville, & D. A. Julius (Eds.), *The Psychodynamics of International Relations*, 1991, Vol. 2. *Unofficial Diplomacy at Work*, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, p. 16.

Track 1-

Gouvernement, or Peacemaking through Diplomacy. This is the world of official diplomacy, policymaking, and peacebuilding as expressed through formal aspects of the governmental process.

Track 2-

Nongovernmental/Professional, or Peacemaking through Conflict Resolution. This is the realm of professional nongovernmental action attempting to analyze, prevent, resolve, and manage international conflicts by non-state actors.

Track 3-

Business, or Peacemaking through Commerce. This is the field of business and its actual and potential effects on peacebuilding through the provision of economic opportunities, international friendship and understanding, informal channels of communication, and support for other peacemaking activities.

Track 4-

Private Citizen, or Peacemaking through Personal Involvement. This includes the various ways that individual citizens become involved in peace and development activities through citizen diplomacy, exchange programs, private voluntary organizations, nongovernmental organizations, and special-interest groups.

Track 5-

Research, Training, and Education, or Peacemaking through Learning. This track includes three related worlds: research, as it is connected to university programs, think tanks, and special-interest research centers; training programs that seek to provide training in practitioners' skills such as negotiation, mediation, conflict resolution, and third-party facilitation; and education, including kindergarten through PhD programs that cover various aspects of global or cross-

cultural studies, peace and world order studies, and conflict analysis, management, and resolution.

Track 6–

Activism, or Peacemaking through Advocacy. This track covers the field of peace and environmental activism such as issues as disarmament, human rights, social and economic justice, and advocacy of special-interest groups regarding specific governmental policies.

Track 7–

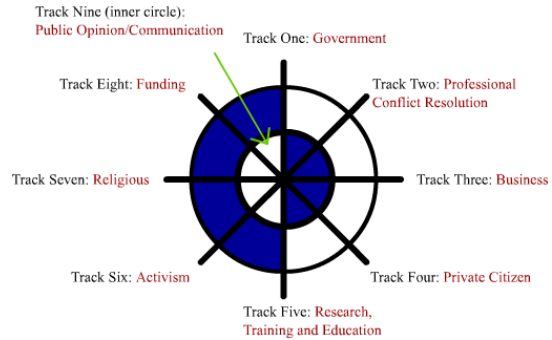
Religion, or Peacemaking through Faith in action. This examines the beliefs and peace-oriented actions of spiritual and religious communities and such morality-based movements as pacifism, sanctuary, and non-violence.

Track 8–

Funding, or Peacemaking through Providing Resources. This refers to the funding community—those foundations and individual philanthropists that provide the financial support for many of the activities undertaken by the other tracks.

Track 9–

Communications and the Media, or Peacemaking through Information. This is the realm of the voice of the people: how public opinion gets shaped and expressed by the media—print, film, video, radio, electronics systems, the arts.



Source: Diamond and McDonald, The Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy (IMTD)

3. Second Subtitle

The role of Multi-Track diplomacy in resolving international disputes

Track-one Diplomacy in Conflict Resolution: Track-one diplomacy's application to conflict resolution is shaped by the interwoven web of international relationships that form the context for international conflicts. In this context, track-one diplomats take on many roles and utilize diverse techniques. Track-one diplomats can act as the primary parties to negotiations, support one or more of the primary parties, or act as third parties. These multiple roles, and issues of official recognition, complicate track-one diplomacy's application to conflict resolution. Official diplomacy is a permanent system of official communication between countries, including the exchange of ambassadors, the stay of embassies in foreign capitals, the sending of letters by officially qualified envoys, and participation in conferences and other direct negotiations. Track One Diplomacy or Official Diplomacy has a long history whose roots lie in the remote history of humankind. The most important feature that

distinguishes Track One diplomacy from all other forms of diplomacy in its formal application at the state-to-state level. It follows a certain protocol to which every state is a signatory. Track One Diplomacy is usually considered to be the primary peace-making tool of a state's foreign policy. It is carried out by diplomats, high-ranking government officials, and heads of state and is aimed at influencing the structures of political power. While negotiating to further the interests of their polities, diplomats typically identify the peaceful resolution of conflicts and the avoidance of war as common interests".¹⁸

Diplomats engaged in negotiations as direct parties seek to further their own country's interests by influencing other direct participants in negotiations, by influencing mediators, and by influencing the international community. For example, in the conflict between Russia and Chechnya, Russia can be seen as a direct party to the conflict. Track-one negotiators (and mediators, as described below in the section on Third Parties) may bring considerable influence, concrete incentives, and other resources to the negotiations. In contrast to track-two diplomacy, track-one diplomacy may include substantial positive incentives ("carrots") such as humanitarian aid, weapons sales, and trade relations. Likewise, track-one diplomacy can also include significant negative incentives such as sanctions, expulsion from international organizations, and even military force.¹⁹

Track-one diplomacy takes place as part of the regular interaction of states and also throughout the life cycle

¹⁸ Jeffrey Mapendere, Track One and a Half Diplomacy and the Complementarity of Tracks, COPOJ—Culture of Peace Online Journal, 2(1), 2006, p66-81.

¹⁹ Susan Allen Nan, Track-one diplomacy, June 2003, set: https://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/track1_diplomacy

of conflicts. Track-one diplomacy may escalate or de-escalate a conflict. Governments may try to prevent conflicts, resolve them, and support reconstruction and reconciliation activities.

This vision of track-one diplomacy serving an important and central, but not the only, role in peace processes fits with the logic of the track-one and track-two metaphor, though the metaphor is problematic in other ways. The metaphor of official and unofficial diplomatic initiatives as different trains traveling on different tracks represents the separate nature of official and unofficial initiatives. Even while going in the same direction, these locomotives travel on separate tracks. However, productive official and unofficial diplomacy may interact more often and at times be more mutually supportive than the train track metaphor implies. Perhaps the various forms of diplomacy represent different building blocks for peace. Or perhaps a new metaphor can better capture the dynamic interrelationships of the many forms of official and unofficial diplomacy. Connecting the various components of official diplomacy with the various components of unofficial diplomacy is a promising area of current work in addressing intractable conflicts world-wide.²⁰

Track-one diplomacy varies not only according to the different roles states play, but also according to the manner in which these track-one roles are carried out. Official interactions may be at the senior head-of-state level, ministerial level, or involve lower-level officials. In negotiations, states may shift the level of official sent to negotiations as a signal of the level of commitment to the negotiation. When a state shifts from a lower-level official to a higher-

²⁰ Susan Allen Nan, opi.cit

level official, this may usefully signal a growing confidence in the negotiation process. At each level of interaction, the types of track-one diplomacy interactions range from written communication, to formal meetings, to casual conversations. Many official negotiations involve a combination of forms of interaction. Written documents relating to an agreement may be exchanged, diplomats may meet to discuss draft agreements formally, and informal side conversations during breaks may bring an additional component to the negotiations. For example, when U.S. President Jimmy Carter negotiated the Camp David Accords with Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat in 1978, a written document resulted from a combination of formal meetings and significant informal personal discussions that Carter held with Begin and with Sadat.

Strengths of Track One Diplomacy-

Track One Diplomacy was developed as a foreign policy tool to specifically improve relations among nations. Although the strengths of Track One Diplomacy are numerous, the most widely cited in the literature are four. First, Track One Diplomacy has the ability to use political power to influence the direction of negotiations and outcomes.²¹ Second, Track One Diplomacy has the capacity to access material and financial resources that give high leverage and flexibility in negotiations.²² Third, Track One Diplomacy can employ in-depth knowledge about the parties' interests because of the use of various intelligence sources. Fourth, Track One mediators have the competence to use broad knowledge of their states' foreign poli-

²¹ Sanders, H. H. Officials and citizens in international relations. In V. D. Volkan, M. D., J. Montville, & D. A. Julius (Eds.), *The Psychodynamics of International Relations*, 1991, Vol. 2. *Unofficial diplomacy at work*, p. 41

²² Bercovitch, J., & Houston, A. (2000). Why do they do it like this? An analysis of the factors influencing mediation behavior in international conflicts. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 44, 2000, p. 170-202

cies, and also the foreign policies of the conflicting parties.²³

Track Two Diplomacy

Track Two Diplomacy as, "unofficial, informal interaction between members of adversary groups or nations that aim to develop strategies, to influence public opinion, organize human and material resources in ways that might help resolve their conflict",²⁴ Montville emphasized that Track Two Diplomacy is not a substitute for Track One Diplomacy, but compensates for the constraints imposed on leaders by their people's psychological expectations. Most important, Track Two Diplomacy is intended to provide a bridge or complement to official Track One negotiations.²⁵ Examples of Track Two organizations are Search for Common Ground, West African Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP), European Centre for Conflict Prevention (ECCP), and many others.²⁶

The distinction between track-one diplomacy and track-two diplomacy was clarified by Davidson and Montville. They labeled unofficial, non-structured interaction as track-two diplomacy, and described track-one diplomacy as a supplement to track-one endeavors. They were quick to point out that track two is only a supplement to, and not a replacement for, track-

²³ Stain, W. K. & Lewis, W. S. (1996). Mediation in the Middle East. In C. A. Crocker, F. O. Hampson & P. A. All (Eds.), *Managing global chaos: Sources of and Responses in international conflict*, 1996, pp. 463-473. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace

²⁴ Montville, J. Track Two Diplomacy: The Arrow and the Olive Branch: A case for Track Two Diplomacy. In, V. D. Volkan, M. D., J. Montville, & D. A. Julius (Eds.), *The Psychodynamics of International Relations*, 1991, Vol. 2. *Unofficial diplomacy at work* Massachusetts: Lexington Books, pp. 161-175.

²⁵ Sanders, H. H. op. cit. p. 69.

²⁶ Louise Diamond and John W. McDonald, *Multi-Track Diplomacy: A Systems Approach to Peace* (Kumarian Press, 1996), p. 40

onediplomacy.Theywrote,"reasonableandalt
uisticinteractionwithforeigncountriescannotb
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onediplomacy,withitsofficialposturingandits
underlyingthreatoftheuseofforce".²⁷Thus,track-
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TrackOneandaHalfDiplomacy:

Diplomacycanoccurinnumberofforms,or“tr
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uildersanddiplomatslookingtoaddressdifficul
tpolicychallengesareincreasinglyincorporatin
gtrack1.5andtrack2dialogues—
oftenreferredtoas“backchannel”diplomacy—
intotheirstrategies

TrackOneandaHalfisatermthathasbeenusedin
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neffortthatdefiescategorizationwithothertype
sabove(TrackOneandTrackTwodiplomacy),a
ndiscommonlycalled“TrackOneandaHalf.”N
andefinedTrackOneandaHalfDiplomacyas“u
nofficialinteractionsbetweenofficialrepresent
ativesofstates”.²⁹

StrengthsofTrackOneandaHalfDiplomacy

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²⁷ Davidson, W.D. and Montville, J.D. (.), "Foreign policy a
ccording to Freud," *Foreign Policy* 1981-
82, No. 45, Winter, pp. 145-157.

²⁸ Agha, H., Feldman, S., Khalidi, A., & Schiff, Z. *Track II
Diplomacy: Lessons from the Middle East*. Cambridge: B
elfer Center for Science and International Affairs, 2003, p.
68.

²⁹ Nan, A.S. *Complementarity and coordination of conflic
t resolution efforts in the conflict over Abkhazia, South Os
setia, and Transdnistria*. Fairfax, Virginia: George Mas
on University 1999, p. 202.,

The first strength of Track One and a Half Diplomacy is that it complements Track One and Track Two and its actors fill in the gap between the two tracks. "Because of his prominence as a former president, Carter is able to serve as a bridge between Track One and Track Two diplomacy"³⁰ This second advantage of Track One and a Half is that it directly influences the power structures, yet it is not driven by governmental political agendas. It has been noticed that some Track One and a Half officials get into conflict situations in which their governments may not be interested because of antagonistic relations.³¹ Another advantage of Track One and a Half is its diplomacy agility. When a direct high-level approach is not possible, a Track One and a Half intervention can reach out to lower-level indirect approaches to peace making such as the use of humanitarian intervention to gain the trust of the parties.

Therefore, Track One and a Half interventions can be applied at different stages of a conflict such as prevention during the latent stage, mediation during war, and other interactive conflict resolution techniques during the peace building stages, Track One and a Half Diplomacy also helps world leaders who are stuck in difficult situations by providing them with an honorable way out of their problems. This facesaving ability of Track One and a Half diplomacy is facilitated by the characteristics of the third parties such as non-partisanship, political prominence, trustworthiness, lack of real political power, respect for and by both parties, and honesty.³² The 1993 Oslo Accords between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization achieved significant breakthroughs. The talks began as a track 2 diplomacy but

transitioned to track 1 diplomacy by the time they finished.

Weaknesses of Track One and a Half Diplomacy-

The first disadvantage of Track One and a Half mediation or facilitation is that the mediator is sometimes viewed by the parties as representing his/her home country's foreign policy. Such an attitude may jeopardize the process if the home country has an aggressive foreign policy towards one of the parties. Another disadvantage is that Track One and a Half mediators have limited ability to use inducements and directive mediation techniques because they do not have the political power to command resources. Track One and a Half factors have not technical, financial, and military resources needed either to encourage an agreement or to support or enforce agreement implementation. Moral authority is one of the major strengths of Track One and a Half factors.³³

COMPLEMENTARY APPLICATION OF TRACKS OF DIPLOMACY

Two Track Diplomacy: From Theory to Practice
The term "Two Track diplomacy" was introduced for the first time by Joseph Montville, who distinguished two tracks in resolving conflicts. He explains Track One as encompassing "traditional policy statements by the president and secretary of state for example, or official visits and meetings. In other words, this is the official government-to-government level of interaction. On the other hand, Track Two diplomacy is unofficial and non-structured, built on the assumption that "actual or potential conflict can be resolved or eased by appealing to common human capabilities to respond to goodwill and reasonableness."³⁴ Later, Louise Diamond coined the phrase "multi-

³⁰ Louise Diamond and John W. McDonald, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

³¹ Mitchell, C.R. *The structure of international conflict*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989, p. 55.

³² Jeffrey Mapendere, *Track One and a Half Diplomacy and the Complementarity of Tracks*, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

³³ Jeffrey Mapendere, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

³⁴ William D. Davidson and Joseph V. Montville, "Foreign Policy according to Freud," *Foreign Policy*, No. 45 (Winter 1981-82), pp. 145-157

track diplomacy,” recognizing that lumping all Track Two activities under one label did not capture the complexity or breadth of unofficial diplomacy.³⁵

Today, Track Two or citizen’s diplomacy is used as a broadly defined term, uniting unofficial efforts of the actors of the above-mentioned eight tracks such as conflict resolution professionals, representatives of media and non-governmental organizations, private citizens, religious leaders, etc.

However, in practice the relationship between the two tracks has never been easy. On the one hand, Track Two actors “do not want to feel pressured or unduly constrained because they are exploring a policy that Track One opposes”. Track One actors, “on the other hand, like to remain informed of citizen action.” Furthermore, “Track Two facilitators must recognize that if their initiative is successful, they will probably have to merge with Track One eventually,” because “governments are ultimately responsible for negotiating, signing, and ratifying treaties and other formal documents that may be needed to seal a successful Track Two initiative.”³⁶ Track One and Track Two initiatives are usually implemented by the joint efforts of local and international actors. The latter usually act as third parties (or mediators) in both formal and informal mediation.

The international actors who are involved in the Track Two mediation efforts “have a long-standing experience of, and a deep commitment to international conflict resolution (e.g. the Quakers).” Furthermore, they approach a conflict as pr

³⁵ James Notter and Louise Diamond, “Building Peace and Transforming Conflict: Multi-Track Diplomacy in Practice,” *Occasional Papers*, No. 7 (October 1996), p. 5.

³⁶ John McDonald, “Guidelines for Newcomers to Track Two diplomacy,” *Occasional Papers*, No. 2 (November 1993), p. 9.

ivate citizens in their personal capacities, utilizing “their academic competence, credibility and experience to facilitate communications, gain a better understanding of the conflict, and work toward its resolution.”³⁷ They organize interactive problem-solving workshops, which use an “unofficial academically based third-party approach to the analysis and resolution of international and ethnic conflict anchored in social psychological principles.” Bringing together “politically influential members of conflicting parties in a private, confidential setting for direct, and non-binding communication” in problem-solving workshops, aiming to “generate wide as for mutually satisfactory solutions to their conflict.”³⁸ At the same time, these meetings organized under the framework of Track Two initiatives are not intended either to simulate or to substitute for official negotiations, but if successful, they can introduce new ideas into official negotiations. Thus, experience with Track Two initiatives shows that the impact of problem-solving workshops, which include “examining assumptions, establishing a working trust, building coalitions across conflict lines, and seeking solutions that meet the needs of the other community as well as one’s own” are useful both before negotiations begin and when they are proceeding.³⁹

³⁷ Jacob Bercovitch, “Mediation in International Conflict,” in William Zartman and J. Lewis Rasmussen (eds.), *Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods & Technique*, Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997, pp. 140

³⁸ Herbert C. Kelman, “The Interactive Problem-Solving Approach,” in Chester A. Crocker and Fen O. Hampson and Pamela Aall (eds.), *Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict*, Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997, p. 501.

³⁹ Eileen F. Babbitt and Tamra Pearson D’Estree, “An Israeli-Palestinian Women’s Workshop: Application of the Interactive Problem-

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Multi-track diplomacy can serve many purposes: it can help to incorporate grassroots and civil society participation when these groups have otherwise been excluded; it can support peace processes; it can maintain a channel of communication when officials are not speaking to each other; and it can be used as a forum for discussing tough policy issues that two or more countries are trying to address. Regarding the strengths of track 2 dialogues: Although government officials do not participate, this framework also allows for deeper understanding of positions and perceptions, as experts outside of government are able to share their independent and personal views in ways that can later feed into the policy process. In most cases, these participants are familiar with the positions of their respective governments, but are not necessarily expected to assume or defend those policy positions in the dialogue. The absence of government officials can sometimes lead to more open discussions, with a greater likelihood of breaking through difficult impasses than would be likely if officials were in the room. Further, track 2 dialogues can construct a secondary channel of communication that can help build trust between the same group of participants over a period of years.

Track 2 processes provide unofficial spaces and flexible settings to test ideas and shape relationships. Such efforts can be critical to advancing negotiations when parties are not yet committed to a process, or during negotiations when parties are stuck and looking for alternative ideas to overcome an impasse. More successful track 2 processes consider the importance of diverse stakeholders, work to fill in the gaps of the larger peace effort, and address power asymmetry among participants. They'll also manage expectations across participants, and—increasingly important—

establish and implement what are recalled “transfer” mechanisms. In other words, the influential participants within a track 2 dialogue and the official mediators of the peace process can often serve as effective transfer channels, exchanging information and ideas developed within the group to more formal processes, for example with official actors through confidential briefings or memoranda to the public through speeches, op-eds, interviews or other inclusion initiatives such as public consultations.

The main reason for introducing Track One and a Half Diplomacy is not just to enrich conflict resolution vocabulary, but to highlight its theoretical and practical utility in resolving interstate and ethno-political conflicts by bridging the gap between Track One and Track Two Diplomacy. For many years Track Two actors have been stuck in their position unable to move their initiatives up the chain of leadership, blaming the arrogance of official diplomacy. Similarly, diplomats have for many years been frustrated by the naivety of Track Two actors who through their lack of political sophistication interfere with national interests.

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