

THE INFLUENCE OF DIPLOMACY ON CONTROVERSIES: A COMPARATIVE STUDY BETWEEN DIPLOMATIC MEDIATION AND ARMED CONFLICT

Cícero Ricci Cavini¹

Introduction

International Security developed after the World War II, under the aspect of state protection. Traditional security currents have developed their theories in a Cold War environment, thus, there are epistemological elements of Rationalism and Positivism (Barrinha 2013; Lasmar 2017). The goal of this study is to observe the influence of diplomacy on international controversies, analyze real situations where diplomacy influenced the mediation choice and the armed conflict choice, and finally, deepen the knowledge of the consequences of war and mediation.

The article has its theoretical framework on Post-Structuralism, characterized by Lasmar (2017) by the conditioning of the human being as meaning and attributor of the facts (social construction). In the International Security sphere, Post-Structuralism must nominate the threat or the protection as also the means for this. Therefore, it can expose the hidden intentions in the act of political construction (including political speech). The authors and researchers Christer Jönsson and Karin Aggestam question the preference of the states for mediation or war, and, given that, we intend to contribute with analysis under the diplomatic prism. Thus, we can align the revisited theory to the diplomatic actions, collaborating with the international security system.

International Security developed other theories, that in this study only have the function of contextualization, first of all, the Realism (Neo-realism), characterized by the understanding that the state is the lead actor

¹ Superior Institute of Social and Political Sciences, Universidade de Lisboa. Lisboa, Portugal. E-mail: cicero cavini@gmail.com

of International Relations and, also, is unitary, rational and the power holder in an anarchical environment. Due to the absence of regulator power in the international environment, there is excessive distrust, rivalry, hostility and search for power. In this way, Realism understands that one state is the main threat to another state (Santos and Ferreira 2012; Lasmar 2017). Continuing with the vision of Lasmar (2017), Liberalism in international studies has its basis on human reason, that is, there are institutions, dialogues, norms, values, development and, finally, peace (Theory of Democratic Peace). In this environment, characterized by progress, commerce and democracy (the goodness of individuals), there is little space for conflict between the states.

Critical Studies about International Security began in 1960 when there was a search for a bigger understanding of International Security. In this context, three theoretical schools stand out in this studies: the Galesa School, through researchers Ken Booth and Richard Wyn Jones, that criticize security in an anarchical environment, disseminated by the Realist Theory; the Copenhagen School, through the authors Barry Buzan and Ole Waever, that developed the Theory of Securitization; and, lastly, the Paris School, through Didier Bigo and Jef Huysman, that analyzed International Security policies by the domain of the state (Gomes 2017).

Finally, the Constructivists, that interpret the actions, practices and social institutions from the collective and its meanings, i.e, the social practice build norms and institutions. Hence, it is not possible that conflicts have an only material bias, so it is necessary to be aware of the values, norms, alliances, institutions, and perceptions to give meaning to a threat (Lasmar 2017).

In this International Security Environment, diplomacy builds itself under three connected basis: (1) Public Diplomacy, that represents a nation and the image of this country abroad; (2) Information, data grouping for intelligence services; and (3) Negotiation, dialogues that make possible the win-win and secure the defense (Jesus 2014). Diplomatic efforts to solve conflicts constitute integrant parts of state governance; those efforts can be translated by negotiations. The term diplomatic is intrinsically connected to official representatives, professionals that need to trust in their abilities (Jönsson and Aggestam 2009).

The 1961 Vienna Convention about Diplomatic Relations (article 3) describes the functions of diplomacy as (1) Representation, the state is represented abroad by the diplomats; (2) Protection, the state defends its citizens on foreign lands; (3) Information, messages between governments characterized by the most diversified fronts; (4) Promotion, the projection of both the image and the good economical, cultural and scientific relations; (5) Negotiation, the seeking of agreements and common compromises with other states;

(6) Technical Specialization, the ability of the diplomat in a specific matter such as press, trade, and culture; (7) Mediation, when the hostile actions between states need a third impartial part to establish contact (Mendes 2017).

According to Marshall (1990), there are six meanings assigned to diplomacy that influence conflict resolution:

1. Diplomacy became synonymous with Foreign Policy;
2. Diplomacy conducts foreign policy, synonymous with Governance;
3. Diplomacy makes International Relations management through negotiations;
4. Diplomacy is organized, linked with a state or a professional team;
5. Diplomacy conducts relations by intelligence and the perception of the environment; and
6. Diplomacy includes norms, language, and courtesy.

Therefore, diplomacy characterizes itself, firstly, as the activities exercised in the relations between states, whose main goal is peace and conflict prevention; and, after, negotiation and power, that illustrate the oscillation between threat strategies and reward. Those strategies influence the incentive structures to conflict resolutions and, can reach war routes (Jönsson and Aggestam 2009).

Remaining in the authors' vision, in the last years, the great challenge to diplomacy has been the management of those conflict groups and the supervision and the implementation of negotiated agreements. We consider that the changes in regulatory frameworks evolved and facilitated the resolution of the conflicts. In this way, diplomacy is, with a certain frequency, a contrast of war, but the so-called coercive diplomacy makes use of limited force and threats to persuade its opponents.

The Middle East is an example of the extremes of mediation and conflict, at the same time that the region builds peace, it accomplishes war. Diplomats are always in this environment, making negotiations and coercions and when hostilities occur there is a break of diplomacy and war demands new diplomatic efforts (Jönsson and Aggestam 2009).

The researcher Sales (2016) writes that conflict mediation is a mean that seeks for resolution through the consensual dialogue, inclusive and collaborative, between the parts involved and a third impartial participant. According to the United Nations (2012), mediation is considered one of the more effective ways more in prevention, management, and controversial

resolutions. So, to achieve this satisfactory final goals, it is essential that the participants involved know the nobility and the merits of mediation, always with technical and political support.

Mediation with a preponderance to pacific resolution makes the connection between listening and dialogue. If necessary, it accomplishes the introduction of other parts interested in the peace negotiation. A peace agreement that expresses quality and offers justice, security and reconciliation must cover, obligatorily, “the treatment of past mistakes and create a vision of the future for society” (ONU 2012, 25).

Talking about diplomatic mediation assumes conflicts, having wars² as a large part of human history. Zahreddine (2017, 133) tell us that after World War I, Idealism gained force through Woodrow Wilson with his fourteen necessary points to create the closing conditions of the Great War. Continuing with the author’s contributions, in 1929 the crisis on the international system and the change of the states’ vision caused Liberalism to fail to respond to development problems (2017, 134). Consequently, this Theoretical School could not stop World War II, and after this event, Realist Theory understood as the cause of wars the systemic events in the anarchical environment.

To Lara (2011; 2017), diverse factors have become war agents: the means, the goals that will be achieved; the conflict duration and its extension. The conflicts are distinctive in three groups: (1) Total War, when a state desires the total destruction of another state and utilizes all means possible to achieve that; (2) General War, when it seeks the destruction of its opponent, but with no effect to the totality of available resources; (3) Limited War, when the conflict has a restricted purpose, with partial use of available resources. When we revisit historical facts, it is possible to observe approximately 824 mediations carried out by the United Nations between the years 1947 and 2017 (ONU 2019) and, by on another hand, there are approximately 37 armed conflicts from 1932 to 2009, being considered in this number, wars/invasions that involved/involve two or more states (Sohistoria 2019).

Methodological research note

There are two motives that drove to study this content and its observation. The first one refers to the declaration of the General-Secretary of the UN, on 05/23/2019, that made public the information that in the last year

² The terms “wars” and “armed conflicts” have semantic meanings, the only distinction being the emotional charge of the words due to the negative histories of the first term.

there were 22.800 deaths of civilians in six countries where there are conflicts, they are Afghanistan, Iraq, Mali, Somalia, South Sudan, and Yemen³. The second motive was the release of *UN Peacekeeping*, on 05/21/2019, that informed that, daily, 44.000 people are forced to leave their homes and their means of survival due to conflicts and, consequently, enter to the poverty world⁴. Thereby, under the argument of diplomatic influence, we propose the starting question: how can diplomacy influence the controversies in the international scenario?

Characterization of the research performed

The present research is framed in the qualitative paradigm, where we are going to use study cases to explore and describe the phenomenons and characteristics of a determined region or population. In this way, the scientific investigation is the search for the resolutions of the problems linked to pragmatic knowledge in which we live (Martin 2009).

Sample and collection of research data

In this article, we utilize two study cases to analyze the phenomenon of diplomatic influence in mediations and armed conflicts. The cases were chosen by geographic space, followed by date proximity, with similar controversies and, in the end, by the choices made by its leaders: mediation or war.

The first study case is located on the African continent, and occurred in 1999 to a controversial resolution on the borders of Sudan and Uganda; the countries opted for diplomatic mediation. The second study case, also located in Africa, occurred between 1998 and 2000, to a controversial resolution on the borders of Eritrea and Ethiopia; the countries opted for armed conflict.

The data about the two situations of the study cases of this article were taken from United Nations (UN), Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), academic books and scientific articles about the subjects. The countries in those study cases are located in East Africa, a region that has its importance related to the studies of Samuel Cohen as an integral part of *Shatterbelt* of the Middle East. The controversies of those fourth countries were considered one of the main conflicts of the 1990s in the African continent (Batalha 2015).

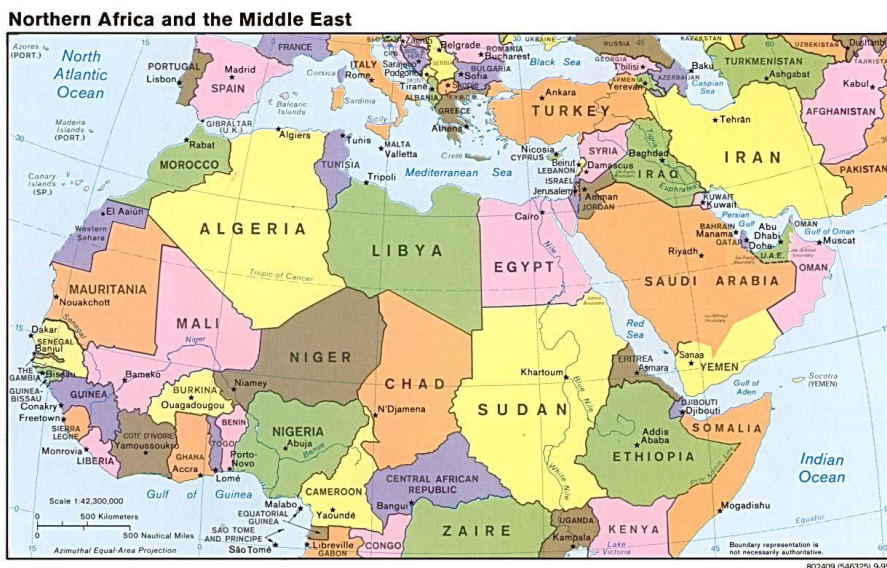
3 Information extracted from the tweet of the UN Secretary-General, Mr. António Guterres, on May 23, 2019 at 5:09 pm.

4 Information extracted from the UM Peacekeeping tweet on May 21, 2019 at 2:00 pm.

Development: analysis and results

After the lecture and identification of the key elements of the study cases, there is the following analysis of each one of them. It is possible to observe the map of the African continent, dated of 1995 (Figure 1), last CIA update before the beginning of the conflicts here studied, dated of 1998 to 2000:

Figure 1: Northern Africa and the Middle East



Source: University of Texas Libraries by the Central Intelligence Agency, 1995

Case 1: Diplomatic mediation between Sudan and Uganda

Sudan and Uganda are located in Northern Africa and are separated, currently, by South Sudan. In the year of 1995, the two countries broke off diplomatic relations under the argument of border violation and the support to rebels (Neu 2002). In principle, Sudan supported the *Lord's Resistance Army* from Uganda as the meant for relation due to the participation of the Uganda Government in the Sudan war against the *Sudan People's Liberation Army* (Neu 2002).

In the year of 1999, those two countries have taken an important step toward maintaining peace among themselves. The agreement, denominated *Nairobi's Agreement*, was signed in December 1999 to guarantee the respect to sovereign and territorial integrity, based on the Letters of United Nations and, also, of the Organization for African Unity. So, both countries renounced the use of force and hostile actions to solve their differences through diplomatic mediation.

For the effective peace of the countries, the UN was responsible for the mediation between the parts and the controversial resolution program was based on ten essential points, according to UN (2019), being:

1. each country Sudan and Uganda must respect the sovereign and territorial integrity of another, according to the United Nations and Organization for African Unity charters;
2. renounce the use of the force to solve the differences and perform actions to avoid any hostile acts between each other;
3. there will be efforts to dismantle and disarm terrorist groups, prevent any acts of terrorism or hostile actions that can originate on the territories generating danger and insecurity for the other nations;
4. there will not be a shelter, sponsorship, military information or support to any of the rebel groups, opposition groups or hostile elements in the territories of the countries;
5. there will be a common effort to promote regional peace, at their initiative, with the total support of IGAD (Intergovernmental Authority for Development), and at no way hurting or interfering in their role, to end with the civil war in Sudan;
6. there will not be hostile and negative propaganda campaigns between both countries;
7. the war prisoners will be restituted to their countries of origin;
8. there will not occur any abuse or injury to innocent citizens, and there will be special effort to locate any missing persons, especially children that were kidnapped, and return them to their families;
9. the international laws that govern refugees, the NGOs' activities and the borders transports will be respected. There will be facilitation to the regress and resettlement of refugees; and
10. there will be amnesty and reintegration to all the ex-combatants.

Those signed terms between the countries allowed in February 2000 the two capitals involved to designate diplomatic teams to continue the services. There was the sending of ambassadors and the diplomatic relations were restored.

Case 2: The armed conflict of Eritrea and Ethiopia

Observing the situation of Eritrea and Ethiopia is too complex with “embarrassing diplomatic contradictions” (Prunier 2015, 233). For the comprehension of the conflict that occurred from 1998 to 2000, we remember that the origin of the Eritrea state is fruit of thirty years of armed conflict in the region. When, finally, Eritrea managed its independence in 1993, the international community thought that the situation was solved. However, new armed conflict reaffirms the geopolitical problem of the region. To Gérard Prunier, the Eritrea-Ethiopia question can be compared to the Israel-Palestine question, characterized by cultural divergences and offensive history.

The solution to this conflict was considered complex because it is based on “feelings” (Prunier 2015, 235). According to the author, the historical background of this region is resumed to occupation and agricultural explorations (or industrial-agricultural on XX century), beginning in 1314, by Emperor Amda Syon, passing by Ottoman Empire, after Egypt (1821), the influence of Great-Britain and, finally, Italy (1907).

What relighted the war between the two regions in 1998, at principle, was an economic factor, but there are other causes in this context. We must pay attention that Eritrea had throughout its history a projection to be an industrial agricultural nation; but, with the little advance and growth of Ethiopia, the region has again had problems.

On one side, Eritrea said that the new production capacity of Ethiopia mined its exports and, on the other side, Ethiopia said that Eritrea explored its underdevelopment. The paths chosen by the nations after the split in 1993 show that Ethiopia’s conquests were based on a federal choice, while Eritrea was taking a path with a centralized choice, based on the authoritarianism of guerrillas (Prunier 2015).

Remaining under Prunier’s look, the economic problems were not the causes of the resumption of war, and, yes, political and cultural disconnections (besides the other facts already exposed on the text, what aggravates the situation is that a part of the population is Christian and the other is Muslim, incurring in an ethnic-political division). Eritrea was proud of being influenced by the Ottoman Empire, while Ethiopia was not; and Eritrea’s big economic disadvantage in comparison with Ethiopia bothered Eritrea’s superiority (a lot).

The guerrilla's authoritarianism that was in power in Eritrea and the lack of diplomacy of the country were the real reasons that re-started the war. This authoritarianism by guerrillas in power can also be seen in countries like Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, and South Sudan. What fostered the new conflict of 1998 to 2000, in Prunier's (2015) opinion, was "the prejudice and the irrational politics justified by border territories without economic value" (Prunier 2015, 251).

This war dragged itself through the trenches, World War I style, with the salty cost of US\$ 4.5 billion and approximately 80 thousand deaths. Diplomacy was as "obscure and confused", as the armed conflict itself, and resulted in a non-peace status, subsequently non-war (Prunier 2015, 252). After the war ended in 2000, Eritrea drowned itself in a dictatorship, with the closing of independent organizations and Christian churches. In the beginning of the 21st century, Eritrea was the second biggest refugee's source of Africa and the fourth of the entire world (Prunier 2015, 253).

Conclusion

The current work addressed the theme of diplomacy and its influence and controversies, specifically about mediations and armed conflicts. The goal of this article is to observe the influence of diplomacy in controversies, analyze real cases and deepen knowledge and theoretical characteristics of the matter.

After the proposed research in the study case methodology, we can perceive that in Horn of Africa region there was the realization of both diplomatic mediation and armed conflict, and such events respected the proposed parameters of (1) geographical space proximity, (2) date proximity, (3) with similar controversies and (4) distinct choices that were accomplished by its leaders: mediation (Sudan and Uganda) and war (Eritrea and Ethiopia). We can answer the starting question reflecting on how diplomacy can influence controversies in the international scenario; this being its main mission or even its key role.

Firstly, we have to consolidate that diplomacy, mediation, and armed conflict are choices of the political system to which we are inserted. They are tools to obtain power, influence, and money in a geopolitical space where the states face or cooperate with themselves to achieve a specific goal.

Diplomacy, as seen at theoretical review, moves between the two extremes (mediation and coercion), being the direct answer of the countries at controversies. By its characteristics, diplomacy influences and is vital for both

paths observed in this article. For example, we remember that the Ambassador can formally request to the UN, through a diplomatic letter, intervention in controversies as a way to seek the pacific solving of the problem. When this does not occur, it shows a horizon that can result in armed conflict.

In the same way, diplomacy, through intelligence, can choose a coercion path and point to a more aggressive level that will not contemplate the diplomatic mediation. Even if the new geopolitics expresses itself by space and power, it is important to be aware of the consequences of armed conflicts (Batalha 2015), such as migration, refugees, authoritarian governments or neoliberal capitalism, sexual violence, degradation of social and familiar structures, unemployment, poverty, inaccessibility of basic services unities, barriers to exports, commodities devaluation, increase in alcohol and drug use, increase in prostitution, falling of basic sanitation and access to clean water (Piepole 2001; Batalha 2015).

To Prunier (2015), even if an armed conflict is good for economy and politics (and, even, geopolitics), due to involved interests, it has a cultural effect that can be characterized in a negative way to society and, even so, to the government itself. Mediation seeks alternatives paths for the controversies that do not achieve the extremity of war. However, we recall that diplomacy has legality to point any one of the analyzed paths in these pages, being that, for mediation, the diplomatic body itself can initiate the request and the process, while for war the diplomatic body break off relations with another country and wait for the Chief of state to authorize the confrontation.

This study has some limitations, such as: (1) there was no deepening of economic bias on the two possibilities (mediation or war); (2) there was no discussion about the war profits, market gain, and geographical space increase; (3) we used only two study cases in just one region; and (4) we did not use a comparison with others regions to measure and discover new interpretations such as mediations as also conflicts.

Following this study, we suggest researches that fill the gaps of the limitations mentioned above, including: (1) the economic gain of war due humans lost; (2) the political influence of the decision of mediate or war face to social consequences; (3) check other controversies solutions that do not configure mediation or war; (4) search for new ways to end a controversy in the XXI century; and (5) measure the political, diplomatic and religious maturity of the regions with historical armed conflicts. This study made it possible to observe diplomacy, provide knowledge and continue studies on mediations and conflicts in order to reflect and understand these two international phenomena.

References

- Barrinha, André. 2013. "Olhar o passado para pensar o presente: o Realismo Clássico e os Estudos Críticos de Segurança." *Revista Nação e Defesa*, n° 135, 5ª série, pp. 201-213, 2013.
- Batalha, Alexandrina Pereira. 2015. *Geopolítica das grandes pandemias e endemias na África subsaariana*. Lisboa: edição Cosmos, 2015.
- Convenção de Viena. 1961. Decreto-Lei n° 48295. *Convenção sobre Relações Diplomáticas de 18 de Abril de 1961*. Available at: https://www.portaldiplomatico.mne.gov.pt/images/pdf/Protocolo-estado/viena_diplom%C3%Articas.pdf
- Fortin, Marie Fabienne. 2009. *O Processo de Investigação: da concepção à realização*. 5ª ed, Lisboa: Lusociência, 2009.
- Gomes, Áureo de Toledo. 2017. "A Escola Galesa de Estudos Críticos em Segurança Internacional: 25 anos depois." *Revista Carta Internacional*, Belo Horizonte, v. 12, n. 1, p. 173-197, 2017. Available at <https://cartainternacional.abri.org.br/Carta/article/view/609>
- Jesus, José Duarte. 2014. *Diplomacia. Enciclopédia das Relações Internacionais*. Org. Nuno Canas Mendes e Francisco Pereira Coutinho. Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas. Universidade de Lisboa. Publicações Dom Quixote, 2014.
- Jönsson, Christer, and Karin Aggestam. 2009. *Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution. The SAGE Handbook of Conflict Resolution*, Edited by Jacob Bercovitch, Victor Kremenyuk and I William Zartman, Sage Publications, 2009.
- Lara, António Sousa. 2011. *Subversão e Guerra Fria. Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas*. Universidade Técnica de Lisboa: Coleção Manuais Pedagógicos, 2011.
- Lara, António Sousa. 2017. *Ciência Política: estudo da Ordem e da Subversão*. Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas. Universidade de Lisboa. 9 ed. Lisboa: Coleção Manuais Pedagógicos, 2017.
- Lasmar, Jorge Mascarenhas. 2017. *Segurança e Estudos Estratégicos. Paz e Guerra: Contributo para o diálogo entre Direito Internacional e Relações Internacionais*. Org. António de Sousa Lara, Roberto Correia da Silva Gomes Caldas e Jamile Bergamaschine Mata Diz. Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas. Universidade de Lisboa. Guide artes gráficas, 2017.

- Mendes, Nuno Canas. 2017. *História e Conjuntura nas Relações Internacionais*. Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas. Universidade de Lisboa. 2 ed. Lisboa: Coleção Manuais Pedagógicos, 2017.
- Marshall, Peter. 1990. *The Dynamics of Diplomacy*. London: The Diplomatic Academy of London, 1990.
- Neu, Joyce. 2002. *Restoring Relations between Uganda and Sudan: The Carter Center process. Conciliation Resources Accord an International review of Peace initiatives*. Issue editor: Okello Lucima, 11, London, 2002. Available at <http://www.c-r.org/accord/northern-uganda/restoring-relations-between-uganda-and-sudan-carter-center-process-2002>
- Organização das Nações Unidas. 1945. *Charter of the United Nations*. Available at <http://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/chapter-vi/index.html>
- Organização das Nações Unidas. 2012. *Guidance for Effective Mediation*, September. Available at https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GuidanceEffectiveMediation_UNDPA2012%28english%29_o.pdf
- Organização das Nações Unidas. 2018. *Prevention and Mediation*. Available at <https://dpa.un.org/en/prevention-and-mediation>
- Organização das Nações Unidas. 2019. *Digital Toolkit*. Available at <https://peacemaker.un.org/digitaltoolkit>
- Organização das Nações Unidas. 2019. *Peace Agreements*. Available at <https://peacemaker.un.org/document-search>
- Piepoli, Sónia Infante Girão Frias. 2001. *Impactos Sociais da Guerra: apontamento sobre a mudança vivida em quatro localidades do interior de Moçambique. Populações, Ambiente e Desenvolvimento em África*. Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas. Coordenação de Óscar Soares Barata e Sónia Infante Girão Frias Piepoli. Universidade de Lisboa. Lisboa: ACMA, 2001.
- Prunier, Gérard. 2015. The Eritrean question. In *Understanding contemporary Ethiopia: monarchy, revolution and legacy of meles zenawi*. Editors Gérard Prunier and Éloi Ficquet. Hurts Company, London, 2015.
- Santos, Victor Marques, e Maria João Militão Ferreira. 2012. *Teoria das Relações Internacionais*. Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas. Universidade de Lisboa. Lisboa: Coleção Manuais Pedagógicos, 2012.
- Santos, Victor Marques. 2012. *Elementos de Análise de Política Externa*. Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas. Universidade de Lisboa. Lisboa: Coleção Manuais Pedagógicos, 2012.

- Sales, Lilia Maia de Moraes. 2016. "Técnicas de mediação de conflitos e técnica da reformulação – novo paradigma e nova formulação para os profissionais do direito." *Revista Novos Estudos Jurídicos – Eletrônica*, v. 21, n.3, set/dez, 2016.
- So História. 2019. *Lista cronológica de guerras e conflitos mundiais*. Virtuoso Tecnologia da Informação, 2009-2019. Retirado de <http://www.sohistoria.com.br/ef2/cronologiaguerras>
- University of Texas. 1995. *Map of Africa*. Retirado de https://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/n_africa_mid_east_pol_95.jpg
- Zahreddine, Danny. 2017. *Estado Nacional e os novos conflitos armados. Paz e Guerra: Contributo para o diálogo entre Direito Internacional e Relações Internacionais*. Org. António de Sousa Lara, Roberto Correia da Silva Gomes Caldas e Jamile Bergamaschine Mata Diz. Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas. Universidade de Lisboa. Guide artes gráficas, 2017.

ABSTRACT

The article seeks to understand the influences of diplomacy in controversies. We observe cases in the African continent, which are detected in the same geographical space, followed by the proximity of dates and, finally, similar controversies, in which there were distinct diplomatic choices between mediation and confrontation. It is concluded that diplomacy, mediation and armed conflict are choices of the political system in which we are inserted. They are tools to obtain power, influence and money in a geopolitical space where states fight or cooperate with each other for a specific purpose.

KEYWORDS

Diplomacy; Africa; Mediation; Confront.

Received on December 16, 2019

Accepted on January 25, 2020

Translated by Luiza Ferreira Flores