Spider Diplomacy as a complementary explanation of the new internationalcircumstances

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Abstract

The new century with the dynamics of international relations has challenged theories, as it called Popper 'strict universality' and the need for 'numerical universality' theoretical explanations. In the twentieth century, theories of international relations developed, but these theories are in the battle with explanation *changes* rather than *expanding* the theoretical framework. The need for new explanations doesn't reject old theories, only requires their axioms to be more inter-theoretical and with new variables that explain the course of the deliberate actions of state actors to the intended purpose. So this theoretical *change* and the acquisition of some *realistic axioms*, by adding inter-theoretic *variables* (pragmatism, foreign policy analysis, offensive realism, and defensive realism), sends us to a theorization we have called "*spider diplomacy*".

Almond in the 1960s considered that "with the decline of the norms and traditions of political sciences, the need for political theory and theories has increased", where we find the same situation today for explaining the new geopolitical and geostrategic circumstances. Therefore, these circumstances we

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try to explain, through "spider diplomacy" as a hybrid theory for empirical, inductive, probable and testable studies based on three initiatives of international subjects (from state actors to non-state actors, from state actors to other actors' state, and mix).

In this research, we have analyzed the causes and the chronology of a diplomatic network, the wild stretch that Russia is trying to make today and Serbia in the new state of Kosovo. But for the illustration, we have taken another example from the past. One of Israel's wars with Arab countries. We have found verifiable, pragmatic and analytical results that prove the "spider diplomacy" scheme is needed.

Keywords: *spider diplomacy, realism, Western Balkans, Israel, Russia, Serbia*

Since ancient times mankind has been trying to find forms and ways of explaining and predicting events, even explanations and predictions derive from primitive superstitions, whether from the political, social, wars and economic spheres. Greek civilization has achieved in many spheres of social sciences, but also the exact origins of scientific or synthetic sciences, the sophists, as well as Hesoid, Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Alcidimus, are just a few names that have contributed so much to the division of normative with the natural. They have succeeded in convincing themselves and others that nothing is absolute and society evolves, that is, the "theory of change," then proceeding with "the theory of changing the opposite identity." Protagoras is the first to deal with the "theory of change" between nature and society, while Plato has written about the "theory of forms" and the return to the genesis. Even Plato has had a 'totalitarian justice', making 'totalitarian science' that in many approaches can approach if not united with positivism. Karl Popper, who gives us powerful arguments to dismantle Plato, Hegel, and

Marx's totalitarianism with his works for open society, and later with his work "Logic of Scientific Research". With this, Popper opens the doors to go to post-positivism, where science can be open and arguing more than with strict norms to explain and anticipate events. Popper does not believe in the absolute theory, even he says that any theory, one day will be invalid.

Can we have new theories?

Many fundamental questions have been raised about why we need the theory, when we can ask the actors directly, or another fundamental problem, that the world is not so simple and people are not fully aware why they are acting in certain ways (Smith S. , 2013).

But can we be confident in the responses we receive from the actors, if we were to get honest answers, then we do not need theories. It would simply suffice for the media to report. But the world does not work that way. And we need theoretical approaches that help us to follow and explain the actions of international actors.

However, the theories did not always get all the confidence needed to explain and anticipate the actions of international actors. Theories are not gods, nor are uncontested truths. Thus, international relations are distinguished from other disciplines of science by the particular character; they are polyarctic, plural, complex and impulsive (Sielski, 2007).

Theories are the nets to catch what we call "the world": to rationalize, explain and master it (Popper, Theories, 2002). Theories or the main attitudes of international relations are a universal theory, or as Popper calls it, "strict universal theory." These theories with the dynamics of international relations have undergone changes and new *neo-isms* for explaining new circumstances. Even to go even further, after the September

11th incident, there was a debate about the validity of international relations theories (Bunyavejchewin, 2012).

It should be remembered that the debate on the validity of the theories is not attempted by the 21st century.

Mills said that building a big theory would be just an obstacle to the development of human sciences. In the 1990s Lemart said that it is a natural tendency of social thought to be released from the pressure to question the nature of what is going on around us. Such skepticism can also be found in Bell, in his book The End of Ideology, or in Aron's "The Intellectuals Opium". The two researchers claimed that the era of construction of great theories had been ideological. Isaiah Berlin in the 1970s had written a provocative article titled "Does Political Theory Exists?", Rewriting and publishing it in the 1980s (Sielski, 2007). However, the existence and continuity of international theories, especially the ordinary ones, cannot be put at any moment in doubt, especially by the term "strict universal theory".

It is impossible today to explain and anticipate international events without major international theories, but we will also be unable to explain and anticipate many international events if we are left behind by the dogma and the tradition of the great theories. Almond in the 1960s, with a scholarly work on theories of political science, claimed that the growth of theorists in this field coincides with the departure from the norms and traditions of political sciences, which is also pushing the increase of the number of political theories (Almond, Political Theory and Political Science 1966).

Therefore, in explaining and predicting the various events of the 21st century, the emergence of new theories based on the great theories allows us to approach more adequate explanations and forecasts, based on Popper's theoretical model, "numeric universality" or otherwise "singular attitudes".

Referring only to a finite class of specific elements within a given spatial region. Attitudes of this kind, in principle, can be replaced by a union of singular attitudes; for a long time, all elements related to the class (assigned) can be counted.

That is the reason, why we speak in such cases of "numerical universality" (Popper, Theory, 2002).

Relying on *numeric universality*, we can have events and actions in international relations, such as having no substantial explanation from the great theories and are such actions that want a particular explanation and prediction, which conflicts with what cover the *strict universal theories*. So, in different cases and actions of international actors, we need *theoretical hybrid* explanations, which are not general but are *singular or universal numerical attitudes*.

We can not explain with enough realistic theory, the support of an international actor, terrorist groups against an international actor, nor the Russian demagoguery call for peace in Syria. Or China's investment actions for new jobs in parts of the world, when a part of its people are facing, poverty and big problems for a good life.

So, pushing forward theoretical changes and the creation of hybrid theories, we come to a functional viewpoint of constructing the theory. From a functional point of view, P. Sztompka said that theory can be made by emphasizing its autonomous functions - theory as a means of constructing a theory. Sztompka also said that his instrumental function could be emphasized - understanding the theory as a set of theorems that allow a practical action or a set of theorems that enable the explanation of facts or generalizations - answers the question "why?" (Sielski, 2007).

Taking the theory as a tool for constructing a theory, along with the autonomous function of theory, we can take theorems and axioms as needed from the strict universal theories that would

allow us to help create the necessary and universally demonstrable hybrid theory, and enables us to explain the facts and anticipate events by answering the question "Why?".

But we need to consider and give an explanation for our research needs that the theories are divided into five categories: big theories, general theories of certain scientific disciplines, theories of a wider area, the theories of the middle zone, and theories of details (Sielski, 2007).

Given the above division, one should bear in mind that the question of meta-theory does not pose a problem in the matter of theoretical study, since considering the categories, it is apparent that each category is the category of the preliminary category, among others, meta-theory has had a debate about whether it is scientific or not, but to our research at this stage, it is not accepted for explanation. After attempting to elaborate on a theoretical basis for new hybrid theories, we are in a position to explain a theoretical hybrid scheme that will try to fill where it can and in a hybrid way to clarify the actions of the international actors.

International Theories and 'a neutral theory'

The study of international affairs is best understood as a protracted competition between realistic, liberal and radical traditions. Realism highlights the steady tendency for conflict between states; liberalization identifies several ways to mitigate these conflicting tendencies, and the radical tradition describes how the whole system of state relations can be (Walt, International Relations: One World, Many Theories 1998).

Theories of international relations in their explanation essentially hold the protection of their axioms by defending or even describing the actions of international actors within the theory. Indeed, great international theories manage to

eloquently prevail over each other always being dependent on their theoretical and normative dogma. Sometimes they tend to persuade their tendencies as their intentions move from theoretical falsification to the exact one.

Criticisms on international relations researchers are increasing each day more and more, as field professionals are failing to explain the events at least to approximate the projections, since they focus more on theories and models predicting behavior rationally consistent with predictions of theories and realistic or liberalistic rationalism, fail to explain the events and dilemmas which are a hybridization and an inverted pyramid to their great theories and their neo after World War II. Who predicted that it could come to a meeting of US President Trump with the North Korean dictator?

But we must make it clear that international actors do not design theory, but only events and theory compile scholars. Therefore, there is a need for some pragmatic academic empiricism to go beyond the traditions of Cold War concepts. Avoiding 'isms' is an approach that would allow us to leave the dogma and the ideology that a theory must necessarily represent an ideological stream that explains the actions of an actor. Unfortunately, like economists according to Sharma (2017), even international relations researchers tend to ignore any factor that is too complicated to quantify or incorporate into an explanatory or prediction model. And this not by not knowing, but by the fear of experimentation, turning the concept of *theory* into the *universality of reality* that is more like positivism than with *testability* and falsification. Or if we continue with just a traditional approach, one day we can go into the theory of crowds in international relations, according to the theory of economist Surowiecki (2005), or the Law of Goodhart (1984).

If we want more scientific and pragmatic clarity of the actions of international actors, then we should avoid theoretical defensiveness and experimentation, testing the various axioms with sub-fields of international relations theories, using them as *theoretical variables*.

There are no permanent entities in the social sphere, where everything is under the shake of the historical influx (Popper, 1950). So we are not in contravention of the *methodological essentialism* developed by Popper. Besides, we do not want to accept a theological scientific dogma and have scientific priests or to revive once again positivism, but to be always in the search for the capture of a forging, testable, observable and predictable truth.
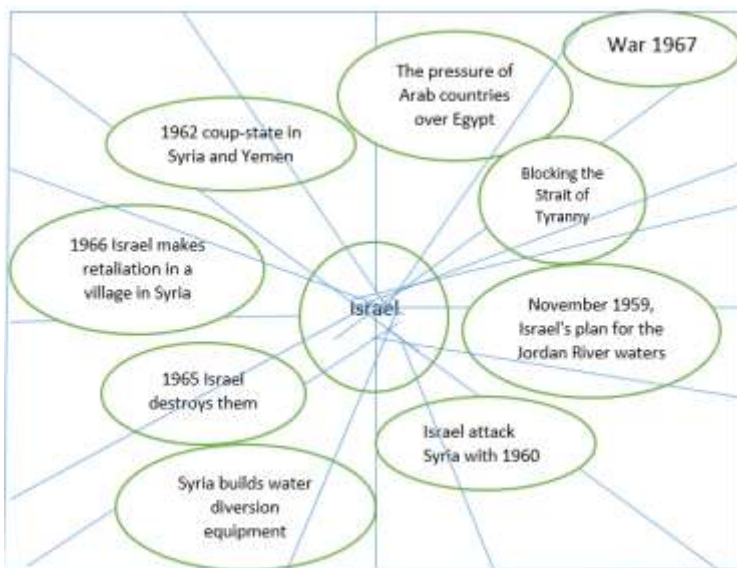
An example from the past for building a hybrid theory for contemporary needs

After the war in 1957, Israel gained a credible reputation for its offensive and preventive power. Nasser, now recognizing this power of Israel and the weakness of his country and Arab countries, by military power and unity for Israeli isolation, decided to pursue himself despite political pressures coming from Arab countries (Smith C. , 2004). However, Israel who benefited from Arab countries' mistakes was not in favor of allowing a peace in the Middle East, which would potentially enable Arab countries to consolidate militarily and politically over this period. Therefore, he also wanted the region to keep it in battle and to take action. To provoke insinuations and dissatisfaction between Arab countries and create a state of war, Israel took a variety of actions. The actions outlined in scheme… show that spider actions of Israel are also based on compelling theory, where it is shown that Israel's interactions have also fueled reactions within the Arab world itself and

numerous dissatisfaction with Egypt and the regime of Nasser. Where in spider diplomacy we find that this spider diplomacy is the order in which it intervenes imposing and exploiting and returning to its favor the actions of other countries as in the case of Israel.

Israel, besides pointing to beneficial strategic points, their goal was to gain recognition from Egypt and to change the approach of Egypt, even by offering it back to Sinae in exchange for recognition (Smith C. , 2004).

Figure 1. *Israel spider diplomacy: Authors' own compilation*

This section is written for research needs, and there are certainly many parts that can be added, but a pragmatic basis for an offensive and defensive external analysis of an international actor is needed.

So from this scheme mentioned above, we have found that there is a correlation of premeditated events that produce

targeted effects, such as a theory that factor A produces the cause B, and this is what we call it "spider diplomacy".

The development of theory in the context of the "spider diplomacy" analysis

The beginning of political science and later of international relations as science and practice has had a confrontation, not least in the division with the economic sphere. If all states intervene to regulate and limit problems with economic markets, and markets create effects that affect states' behavior (Rosenberg, 1994), then why was the discipline of international relations or political sciences in general needed. In order not to waste space in answering this question, Rosenberg simply opens the door to "for deeper answers we need to go out of the existing discipline ..." (Rosenberg, 1994).

The creation of study disciplines has covered many gaps in understanding the practices and actions of states. How could we understand the missile crisis in Cuba if international relations were not a discipline in itself?

Every discipline and subfield of politics has its own rise and a process that is not infrequently long and very contradictory, especially when facing new pragmatic strategies like; George W. Bush's "Preventive War" strategy, Barack Obama's "Patience Strategy," and last by Donald Trump, "Strategic Responsibility," "Chaos Strategy," by Russian General Valery Gerasimov, and others.

So, if we rely on what they call 'general actor theory' in international relations (Hudson, 2005) and in the induction research method, two different sides of the coin at first glance, but with the sub-field of international relations, the foreign policy analysis, find a practical co-operation method.

This is because, as Lane explains, the foreign policy analysis is positioned to provide a concrete theory that can revive the link between the theory of the general actor in international relations and the founding of social science (Lane, Concrete Theory: An Emerging Political Method 1990).

Here we come to the levels of analysis where three of them directly influence international relations. While in the analysis of "spider diplomacy" we have to be within an interstate level in cooperation with influences such as power (war and diplomacy), the balance of powers (treaties and summits), alliance formation (trade agreements and deals) and dissolution of alliances (NGOs and reciprocity) (Goldstein & Pevehouse, 2014).

"Spider diplomacy" paradigms

As a kind of evidence to draw some diligent explanations of "spider diplomacy", we have stopped at two quick examples, one involving Russia and the other with the Western Balkans.

Figure 2. *Russia spider diplomacy: Authors' own compilation*

Ukraine's ambassador to Serbia, Oleksand Aleksandrovych, stated: "Russia is training Serbian mercenaries to kill in Ukraine. Russia is using Serbian extremists to make a coup in

Montenegro. Russia Encourages Serbian separatism (Bosnian Serb-dominated entity) in Republika Srpska to destabilize Bosnia and Herzegovina. Russia is using the Serbian factor to destabilize Macedonia. Russia is playing an active role in countering Kosovo Serbs against Albanians in Kosovo. Russia is selling arms to Serbia to create tensions with Croatia (Zivanovic, 2017).

If we look at Figure 2, then we draw a concept of two levels of "spider diplomacy", the level where its feet are to a state actor somewhere else and head somewhere else.

So, "spider diplomacy" includes three sub-concepts:

1. Spider diplomacy based from state actors to non-state actors;
2. Spider diplomacy based from state actors to other state actors; and
3. Spider diplomacy mixed.

In the case of Russia based on Figure 2, we have the case of a six-factor diplomacy, five of them belonging to the sub-concept, and only a state-owned actor concept with a state actor.

Another chronological illustration can be the statements and actions of politicians in governance in Serbia over Kosovo. Serbian President Aleksandar Vucic, before the informal meeting with Kosovo President Hashim Thaci, said a dialogue on the fate of Serbs should be held not only in northern Mitrovica but also within Kosovo and Metohija because they are vulnerable and discriminated (B92 2017).

Figure 3. *Serbia spider diplomacy: Authors' own compilation*

Ana Brnabic, Serbia's prime minister, then stated that a dialogue on autonomy for northern Kosovo needs to be discussed and then talks on the final status of Kosovo, and if Serbia is obliged to choose between the EU and Russia, it will choose the EU -in (Savic & Filipovic, 2017).

Brnabic, again said that Serbia would be EU partner and friend of Russia. (B92, EU is our partner, Russia our friend - PM 2017)

Jadranka Joksimovic, Serbia's European Integration Minister, stated that Serbia will receive over 1 billion euros of EU aid for the membership process by 2020 (MEI, 2017).

Milovan Drečun, head of the parliamentary commission in the Serbian Assembly for Kosovo and "Metohija", stated that the Special War Crimes Tribunal committed by former senior officers of the "Kosovo Liberation Army" is the international

community's latest attempt to judge crimes against Serbs and non-Albanians, and Serbia will help this process.

Ivica Dacic stated that Serbia would never break relations with its permanent allies that are Russia and China under any condition (RS: MFA, 2017).

Brnabic: Russia is an important partner of Serbia and we want to deepen cooperation in the development sector research, and university cooperation (B92, EU is our partner, Russia our friend - PM 2017).

These two actions of Russia and Serbia are the first basic tests that become "spider diplomacy".

Explanation through spider diplomacy

Kosovo on 26 August 2015 signed the agreement on demarcation of the border with Montenegro (Agreement 2015), where the same day was protested in Peja against this agreement, then a day after the signing of the agreement, a group of professors from Kosovo publish a research on the issue of demarcation of Kosovo with Montenegro, (Gruda, Cërabregu, et al., Demarcation Kosovo - Montenegro 2015) while the then opposition to the Kosovo Assembly in October at the beginning of the parliamentary sessions had begun throwing tear gas in the assembly hall, expressing dissatisfaction with the agreement.

A survey of the Kopaonik Mountains in northern Kosovo, since in the past, there has been built a military remote radar ranging in the Mediterranean, and then bombed by NATO in 1999, mountains dividing Kosovo's border with Serbia, we find data on new geostrategic movements. From satellite maps, it is noticed that military remote control has been reconstructed and according to Serbia's geo-portal, the borderline with Kosovo has moved to 600 hectares, (geoSrbija n.d.) while the Kosovo

geo-portal says the opposite (The State Geoportal of the Republic of Kosovo n.d.).

From this we have that Belgrade's approach to the north of Kosovo will be done by allowing Serbia to take control of the Kopaonic Mountains and Zubin Potok, two important strategic points, with Montenegro in NATO and the positive epilogue it got on March 21, 2018, in the Kosovo Assembly after Kosovo's internal disagreements to limit the border with Montenegro, by an extended diplomatic activity of the international factor, would give the region a perspective on NATO membership in response to Russia and Serbia with bases their military in the Presevo Valley and the head of Kopaonik.

From Vucic's request for internal dialogue for Kosovo in Serbia, Bernabic's request for autonomy for the north and talks on Kosovo's status, evidence on the military remote control in Kopaonik and the borderline there. On the other hand, the issue of strategic points in the West of Kosovo at the border with Montenegro shows a spider scheme that sends us to the point where: Serbia will keep the Kopaonik Mountains and opposite it there will be NATO from Çakorri, Zhlebi, and Kulla, and thereby free the paths for more technical observations on the final settlement of Kosovo's issue after providing at least one strategic point for Serbia and Russia in the Western Balkans.

From this we have that spider diplomacy, according to the paradigm of 'state actors towards state actors', shows that: a map is created which has many levers in order to preserve or increase the influence of an actor through geostrategic and geopolitical exposures where best explain the analysis of foreign policy and pragmatism their intentions. An actor finds it hard to reach its goal or goals for either new geopolitical or geostrategic spaces or maintaining influence, without much action as a big chessboard.

Cold collision

The rise of worldwide military technology, the spy, and internet network, has created a "Hot peace, with cold showers" have created a "realistic liberalism," a pact to break the old pacts. We currently have a world with an obsolete international law, where most of the laws by which international relations are regulated are used only as justifications that every powerful state uses in its interest.

International politics in general and state policy, in particular, are experiencing the beginnings of the dark medieval states, and it is in primitivism just as when the first states began to be built and the church was divided by the state. Therefore, the streams are many times unpredictable, where each one is against each one as Thomas Hobbs tells us, or some states trying to remove fortifications according to the makiavelist proposition so that only one principality or even today is paradoxical and dangerous countries. The removal of this fortification today is from the initiative of US President Donald Trump, who urged all NATO member states to contribute proportionally to this organization. Only this could fulfill the Alliance's strategic concept of basic security goals and duties for preventing and protecting from threats or aggression against any NATO member country. Each country is independent and free to make its own decisions, but through common planning and resource allocation, they enjoy the collective security scale, much higher than what each one could achieve one. This remains the fundamental principle of cooperation in the area of security within NATO.

Invoked in realpolitik - foreign policy is based on calculations of power and national interest (Kissinger, 1994).

Trump's realpolitik today is to show the dependence of allies on the strongest in NATO and to show that it has a willingness

to protect Western interests in such a way that it links all on the basis of interest rather than belief. So a spider diplomacy, where is the net and who builds and rebuilds and keeps that network alive, and if someone tries to deviate, it will know the consequences correctly.

- Because it is clear that the world is in search of a new world order, and is ahead of the geostrategic clashes which, at certain moments in the periphery, also explode with acts of war.
- Because there are historically clear geostrategic confrontations between Russia and the West, Benn Steil has finally explained quite well (Steil, 2018).

While, a fierce policy of realism, but without arms confrontation, is also pursuing China, which is even stretching in terms of soft power, but in reality, it is not. Because the latter has a deep mistrust with all the world powers and there have been wars with virtually all Western powers, and Russia. China is also taking care of the world, by funding millions of dollars in its image of geostrategic expansion.

Anne-Marie Brady of Canterbury University in New Zealand refers to China's intervention as a "new global battle" to "lead, buy, or force political influence." The result is different from the cold war - less dangerous, but more difficult to deal with. While the Soviet Union and the West were sworn enemies, China is a strong trading partner that is investing huge sums beyond its borders. (How China's "sharp power" is muting criticism abroad, 2017).

China is going beyond the theoretical explanations of the Cold War and beyond the explanations provided for the "Marshall Plan" or any other economic aid. China is not giving aid, but it is linking interests and dependencies, as China knows well that belief and geostrategic cannot be reconciled, while any struggle with the powerful is a mutual loss, then the

expansion of the economy and dependence on Chinese products and investments, creates the network of interest and not the confidence to hold a state on it.

Major power struggles today are in the spying, internet, and military technology advancement networks, where the latter is more used as an act of repression than real war, so in the future we can more clearly explain all actors' policies international, we will need a networking scheme over the three paradigms mentioned above, as in spider diplomacy.

Conclusions

We have found a breadth of arguments on the possible ways to construct a theory where only a few are involved, and according to the need for international relations, we provide a theory based on Popper's numeric universality, where we could cover the explanation of the actions in a particular area of state actors and not state actors. And this through the three paradigms that we have mentioned above. This has enabled us to draw a hybrid theory based on the pragmatism of state actors, in the analysis of the foreign politics and in the offensive and defensive realism. So pragmatism is the key part of this concept. Spider diplomacy is not just a concept that explains state movements and tactics in foreign policy but is based on analysis and is included in long-term strategies that have a clear purpose and aim at achieving it through multi-level offensive and defensive battles.
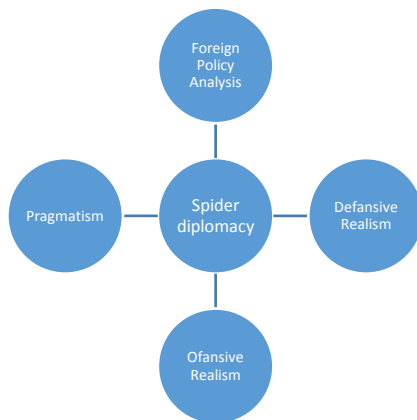
Figure 2. *Sources of spider diplomacy: Authors' own compilation*

"Spider-man Diplomacy" may not stay the time, and not suitable in many stages of the study, but this is not a disadvantage for this concept, because, in a very polar, dynamic, and interdisciplinary science, theories are also failing to be able to explain the circumstances and predict theirs. In the spider diplomacy from the elaboration of two examples, we saw that its effect at first glance is just a ranking, but if we recall the ten reasons that send to the war of Van Evras, one of those reasons was about the strategies and secret actions of states with also secret purposes, spider diplomacy helps us build a scheme that similarly to chess gives us the chance to understand the whereabouts of a state actor who has taken such an initiative.

Spider diplomacy is the middle of explaining why a country or alliance is offensive and the other in defense.

Thus, spider diplomacy lies in the observation, elaboration, and discovery of the goals and actions of states or alliances that aim to dominate the region, the continent, and to the Hegemon. Scientific works of such nature are in small numbers because the concept of spider diplomacy is a methodology that did not

exist before, so it is difficult to explain and to find its advantages and disadvantages. However, it is only a starting point for welcoming more criticisms and studies, and this work in the future will be the source and incentive for such research. However, through this research and through spider diplomacy, we have managed to argue the actions of state actors that would otherwise never get out of their mouths.

Theorizations are a difficult scientific field, and there are many dogmas embedded in, which needs the courage to handle beyond what we know, but we should never be self-sufficient and create theoretical dependence, so a theory like a spider diplomacy resembles a scheme which is verifiable and falsifiable. In this case, a good understanding of the circumstances and an accurate ranking to understand and elaborate on the goals of state and non-state actors and real opportunities for achieving those goals are needed.

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