The international system, until recently, was marked by a series of regional crises situations aggravated by the power compulsions and ideological differences between the United States of America, the Soviet Union and China. These crises posed a complex challenge to diplomacy as the involvement of global powers had made it difficult to evolve adequate mechanisms not only to find ways for reducing the tensions but also to settle the issues peacefully.

The Afghanistan and the Kampuchean crises are a clear case in point wherein the military interventions were followed by protracted negotiations on one side and low intensity conflict through insurgency on the other side. The study of these two crises offers many insights into the patterns of diplomatic management and the problems in arriving at a negotiated settlement. Also, the various elements of comparability of these two crises can be drawn as they are both a function of intervention and insurgency.

The purpose of this research work is to analyse the structure and process of diplomatic efforts in the management of Afghanistan and Kampuchean problems. The specific questions that will be tackled include: (a) how the negotiated outcomes, reflected in Geneva Accords on Afghanistan and the Paris Accords on Kampuchea, have been achieved; (b) account for the
prolonged nature of the negotiating process; (c) the factors that help or hinder the commencement of negotiations as well as the negotiation process itself; (d) various diplomatic techniques and instruments adopted by the parties to the conflict to achieve their goals and objectives; (e) the negotiating styles and bargaining strategies of the participants; (f) the relationship between force and diplomacy and its bearing on the resolution of the crises and (g) an identification of and arranging of the variables, in the light of the two case-studies, towards a theory-building on the nature of diplomatic management of regional crises where global powers display their stakes and interests.

The research framework of this study treats 'state' as the central unit of analysis as the nation-state continues to be the dominant actor in international politics. Given the unequal distribution of power and conflicting interests, it would be appropriate to enumerate the various actors involved in the crises under study. This would include the national, regional and international actors and their relative importance; a critical analysis of the complex phenomena of the inter-twining of proposals for negotiations at one level and the adoption of such diplomatic strategies as aid, trade, arms transfer and propaganda at another; goals and achievements of the actors concerned. Apart from the 'state' actors, the 'non-state' actors do play a considerable role in crisis negotiations. In this context, the study examines the
role of and techniques employed by multilateral bodies like the United Nations, regional organisations and the Non-aligned Movement. This includes, at another level, the role of personalities and insurgent (sub-national) groups in the light of such factors as legitimacy and diplomatic styles. The study assesses the role of non-state actors in terms of their influence (or lack of influence) on the process of negotiations towards a settlement. The negotiation approach which is applied in the present work involves a study of the pre-negotiation and the negotiation processes. The negotiation process is further divided into three stages: the diagnostic phase, the formula phase and the implementation phase. An attempt is also made to assess the suitability of the various approaches to negotiation in the study of the two regional crises.

The primary sources included policy statements, conferences, agreements, treaties, UN debates and documents, the broadcasting news of Foreign Broadcasting Information Service (FBIS) and Summary of World Broadcast (SWB), the official publications, memoirs of the prominent individuals concerned. There is a sufficient secondary source material in the form of books and articles in journals, periodicals and newspapers (vide detailed select bibliography at the end).
The first chapter of the thesis titled **Crises and Diplomatic Management: A Conceptual Framework** deals with the definitional aspects of crisis, diplomatic management and their relationship; the various approaches to negotiation analysis; identification of modes and levels of diplomatic management; role of the third parties in mediation; analysis of time factor and crisis resolution in a conceptual framework. The second chapter titled **Diplomatic Management of the Crises: State Actors (Regional and Global Powers)** briefly describes the setting of major domestic and external events that had a bearing on the origins of the Afghanistan and the Kampuchean crises; the role of state actors, regional as well as global, in furthering their interests through various diplomatic strategies like aid, trade, arms transfer, propaganda, overt and covert assistance to insurgent groups and, besides, putting forth proposals and packages for negotiations and the relative priorities. In the third chapter **Diplomatic Management of the Crises: The Non-State Actors - I (The Role of OIC, ASEAN and NAM)** the focus is on the role regional non-state actors like the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) and another non-state actor namely the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and their influence on the process of negotiations. The next chapter entitled **Diplomatic Management of the Crises: Non-State Actors - II (The Role of United Nations)** deals with various negotiating techniques like indirect talks, proximity talks, conference diplomacy and shuttle diplomacy,
innovated and adopted by the United Nations Secretary-General and his representatives, in bringing the parties to the negotiating table and his mediating role towards arriving at a settlement leading to the signing of Geneva and Paris Accords in the respective crises situations; its credibility and diplomatic leverage vis-a-vis global powers. The fifth chapter entitled **Personalities and the Regional Crises: A Case Study of Zahir Shah and Norodom Sihanouk** is concerned with the assessment of legitimacy/popular acceptance and the negotiating skills of personalities like Norodom Sihanouk and Zahir Shah who may have helped in imparting flexibility to the process of negotiations. The last chapter entitled **Managing Regional Crises: An Assessment** evaluates the relation between global powers and diplomatic management of regional crisis in general in the light of comparison of the two case-studies. (Also, a few important documents of resolutions and agreements are reproduced as appendices).

In this thesis, the name 'Kampuchea' has been used to refer to Cambodia (though Kampuchea was renamed as the 'State of Cambodia' in the year 1989) for the sake of consistency and convenience. However, if the name 'Cambodia' has been used in important resolutions and statements, they have been reproduced accordingly. Secondly, the names 'Soviet Union' and 'USSR' referred to in this work will imply the erstwhile Soviet Union.